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SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

VOL. I.

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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

BY

BARON HÜBNER,

FORMERLY AMBASSADOR OF AUSTRIA IN PARIS
AND IN ROME.

FROM UNPUBLISHED DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE IN THE STATE ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN, SIMANCAS, VENICE, PARIS, VIENNA, AND FLORENCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH

BY

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HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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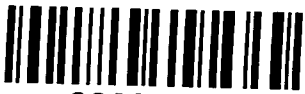
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PREFACE

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

ANXIOUS as I have been to render my translation of the present work a faithful reproduction of the original, I must apologise for the literal rendering of many phrases which have no equivalent in English and indeed are no longer used in French.

Baron de Hübner has applied himself so diligently to the task of removing the veil by which the true character of Pope Sixtus V. had been obscured by contemporary historians, that his quotations have been necessarily multiplied to a degree which he could not at first have anticipated.

Many of the quotations are themselves translations from the Spanish, Italian, and Latin languages; while many expressions in the correspondence of French diplomatists of the period are either no longer in use, or have lost the sense in which they were then employed.

There is a quaintness, however, about them which I would gladly have rendered in all instances had it been in my power; but, on reading my translation over, I am almost sorry that I have kept to the literal sense, lest what was witty, and even sarcastic, in the original may in my version provoke only a contemptuous smile.

The fear of robbing the sayings of such men as Cardinal d'Este, the ambassador Pisany, and the correspondence of the Venetian envoys of their quaintness has nevertheless withheld me from offering the pith instead of a complete translation of their communications, and I must crave indulgence for those passages which may surprise an English ear unaccustomed to the eccentricities of foreign and old French styles.

HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM.

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SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE LIFE and PONTIFICATE of SIXTUS THE FIFTH have often been written. Each of the three centuries which separate us from that great Pope has seen many works appear in memory of his deeds. Of the several authors who have written about him, three have done their utmost—the one to falsify truth, the other to find it, and the third to propagate it. Their names are Leti, Tempesti, and Ranke.

The work of Gregorio Leti—full of silly tales, of contradictory statements, and of palpable falsehoods—does not reflect either wit or style, and was published for the first time at Lausanne in 1669. It was reprinted several times, and translated into many languages. The enormous success which it obtained in its day can only be explained by the very great interest then attached to the still recent memory of Sixtus, and by the ever-

powerful attraction which scandal and the condemnation of the work in Catholic countries obtained for it. Another cause of success was the popular form which Leti gave to his book, in order to flatter the taste of his readers, by making Pope Sixtus a kind of Quixotic hero of romance.

This style of literature, which was invented in Spain, as everyone knows, had already then crossed the Pyrenees and gained favour with the public of Europe. It maintained itself in favour during the remainder of the seventeenth century, and reached its zenith in France under the pen of the author of 'Gil Blas,' when it crossed the Channel and merged into the school of the English novelists. We should insult the old Castilian writers of romance, as well as Le Sage, Fielding, and Smollett, were we to associate with their names that of Gregorio Leti, who is unworthy of being in such noble company. While their works have immortalised them, and do not cease to be read, Leti and his writings have long since been deservedly forgotten. The caricatured and bad portrait which he drew of Sixtus V. has unfortunately survived the memory both of himself and of his book. While oral traditions grew fainter, without however wholly disappearing,[1] the ridiculous mask portrayed by the seventeenth-century historian was everywhere accepted as true to and like the original. The more educated portion of the public mistook a book of fiction wherein what is true and false is mixed up, but where what is false predominates, for a book of history,

[1] Coinciding as little as they did with the portrait traced by Leti, they have nevertheless subsisted up to the present time in Rome in the shape of legends.

and Sixtus V. passed to posterity under an ignoble disguise. A pig-driver as a child, later a giddy and youthful monk, then a restless, insupportable, and ambitious subordinate—a facetious talker—a fanatical inquisitor, an hypocritical cardinal, who threw away his crutches as soon as he had secured his election by a vulgar artifice—a tyrannical Pope—the friend of the King of Navarre, at that time chief of the Huguenots, dreaming only of waging war against Philip II., the most powerful sovereign of Christendom, and his principal supporter, and finally poisoned by the King whose suspicious nature he had contrived to rouse,—such is the Sixtus of Gregorio Leti, such as he has been depicted over and over again, such as he has appeared in all historical summaries, such as the youth have been taught to look upon him, and such as he has been endlessly represented in painting and in sculpture.

A hundred years after Leti, Padre Tempesti of the order of the Conventualists, to which Sixtus had belonged, undertook to redress the wrong done to that Pope's memory.[1] The book is the work of a monk who claims for his order one of the glories of the Papal succession. It constitutes as conscientious a panegyric as a panegyric can be, and being based upon contemporary manuscripts, upon many official documents of an authenticity which cannot be contested, but also upon others which lack it altogether, may be considered as a valuable collection of materials for the use rather of the learned than of the general public. Being

[1] *Storia di Sisto Quinto.* 1754.

little known, the learned monk's book failed to obtain its end in its failure to secure many readers. Close upon a century more had elapsed when Leopold von Ranke, enlightened by Padre Tempesti, and making use of new information, had the honour of being the first person who understood and portrayed in a masterly manner, and with a much nearer approach to the truth, though in very few pages, the characteristics of the great Pontiff. Thanks to the German historian, light began to dawn, although not as yet completely. Several essential phases of his remarkable existence, such as the transactions relative to the affairs of France, and in general the nature of the relations between the Courts of Rome and Madrid, which are so important in the appreciation of the character of Sixtus V., have remained in the dark.

At the time when Ranke wrote his 'History of the Popes' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the archives of Simancas, which contained the correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors, were not yet thrown open to the literary world. In these archives are to be found the reports made to Philip II. by Count Olivarès, his ambassador ordinary at the Court of Rome; by the Duke de Sessa, his representative in the Holy City; by Don Bernardino of Mendoza, his ambassador in France; together with the King's instructions, drawn up by the Secretary of State, Ydiaquez, and corrected and augmented by the King himself.

Sixtus V. was his own Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was wont to transact business personally and *vivâ voce* with foreign ambassadors. The despatches and

instructions addressed to the several Nuncios which exist at the Vatican are few in number, and often refer to verbal instructions or to remarks made by travellers. In all these documents, drawn up either by himself or by a congregation of cardinals, and always signed by Cardinal Montalto, his grand-nephew,[1] Sixtus V. shows himself such as he wished to appear. In the reports of the ambassadors which gave accounts of their interviews with the Pope, and related their impressions of the moment, Sixtus is represented as he appeared to their mostly just and discerning glance, though passion might at times blind their judgment. They were ever anxious to sound his inmost thoughts, and there to look for the truth. His secret relations with the Court of Spain, which have hitherto been very imperfectly known, relate to matters of the highest interest, and to questions of the most vital importance in his times and reign. Hence the importance of the archives preserved at Simancas.

The ambassadors of Spain, in the opinion of the Romans, held, to use a modern expression, the first place among the members of the Corps Diplomatique. The representatives of Philip exercised most influence, and enjoyed the highest authority at Court and with the Sacred College, but their Venetian colleagues possessed the confidence and friendship of Sixtus V. Both the one and the other were remarkable for their statesmanlike powers of appreciation and their experience, engaged as they constantly were in the

[1] Venice—Alberto Badoer to the Doge, May 9, 1590. 'Dispacci.' Rome, 'filza' 24.

transaction of the most important and complicated business. This is easily conceived when it is remembered that the sun never set within the boundaries of the Spanish king's realm, and that the Republic of Venice, thanks to its exceptional position at Constantinople, often served as an intermediary between the Porte and the seat of Christianity. Charles V.'s monarchy, mixed up as it was with all the quarrels which troubled the world and itself, made up of so many conflicting elements, had required, on the part of that prince, and, indeed, had developed in him, a greater talent for negotiation than for administration. The fate of the Republic of St. Mark, placed as it was between the two branches of the House of Hapsburg, between France and the Sultan, depended henceforth, as indeed the issue of the League of Cambrai had shown it, far less upon its military and maritime resources, which were allowed to be insufficient against a coalition of European Powers, than upon the wisdom of its rulers and the ability of its diplomatists. It is in the itinerary cabinet of Charles V. and in the midst of the 'most excellent' college of Venice that analogous wants gave birth to modern diplomacy, and that the art of negotiating and thus of supporting the interests of the State without having recourse to the uncertainty of arms for their safeguard, took the form, and adopted the rules and usages, which govern it even to this day.

King Philip II. required detailed and continuous reports from his agents abroad. He was wont to read these with the most scrupulous attention, and often made remarks upon them in his own illegible hand-

writing. These important historical marginal notes, which it is so difficult to decipher, often shed floods of light upon the inmost thoughts of that prince, on his bent of mind, and on the ultimate aim of his politics. Nothing escaped him in this equally broad and narrow minded, deep and minute examination. Accessories, insignificant details, often arrested his attention and absorbed his thoughts. Thus, for instance, on one occasion he was told that Sixtus V., in a late allocution, had recalled a precedent of Henry VII. of England. Philip at once discovered the Pope's error, who mistook Henry VII. for Henry II., and in giving the report to his secretary of state, wrote in the margin: 'I do not think it is Henry VII., but a former sovereign. You will let me know.'[1] The drafts of his answers, corrected and revised by himself, were often altogether altered and transformed before being written out for his signature and sent to his ambassadors. Hence the care with which the latter used to draw up their correspondence; not as regards style, which was too often diffuse, careless, and even obscure, but so far as it was their duty to keep their master well informed of the progress of the negotiations with which they were entrusted.

They were men of business as well as statesmen, faithful, zealous, and often ardent executors of the sovereign's will, fearless of giving their opinion and of advising the King, who in his reply was not above explaining his motives for either accepting or declining to follow their

[1] Olivaris to Philip II., January 9, 1589. Relacion del cardenal Ascanio Colonna. Arch. Simancas, S. deE. Leg. 952.

advice. Deferential according to the customs of the times, but never obsequious, ever full of that Spanish *sosiego* which never left them even in the presence of the King, they variously appeared in their relations with foreign sovereigns and ministers to be insinuating or domineering, irascible, using corruption without any sense of shame, or threats without any degree of fear; nor were they ever unmindful of the greatness of the Spanish Power, which, although already on its decline, was still the first Power in the world. In people so highly situated at Court and in the State, one can easily perceive, through the eccentricities of official style, both the character of the man and of the statesman—the proud Castilian, who from an hidalgo became a grandee of Spain, who remembered still too vividly the feudal independence of his forefathers to be completely transformed as yet into the obsequious courtier which after one or two generations his heir was destined to be—the high functionary of state, the confidant of the King, whose experience in public affairs had obtained for him the mastery over all its intricacies, who knew how difficult, nay, how dangerous, it might be to replace him, who was therefore penetrated with his own importance, and yet foreshadowed the looming bureaucrats of the future.

The writings of Philip's diplomatic agents reflect the last traditions of the Middle Ages, of an era which was already past, and the first tokens of modern civilisation just beginning to spread throughout the world. In these writings can be traced the contact of the two eras which are about to part for ever.

The difficulties and delays in communication with Spain, across a sea infested with pirates, or across France, which was the seat of the battles of the League, account for the great discretion allowed to the ambassadors. Of this discretionary power they made ample use. Not scrupulous in the selection of their means, they were aware that the essential point was to succeed, that their master was too far away to control their actions at every moment, and that in any case they had time to change their line of conduct if necessary, and thus avoid a possible disgrace. On the other hand, the King, slow in making up his mind, and still slower in acting up to his determination when once fixed upon, was buried in his papers, which even in his relations with his ministers he made use of instead of words, thus establishing the germs of that bureaucracy which, while born in his reign and in the silence of the Escurial and of the Prado, was destined to invade the chanceries of every nation, as the Spanish etiquette was already beginning to invade all the Continental courts. He treated his ambassadors with all the consideration due to their exalted position, and to the magnitude of the interests confided to their care. He felt that while honouring them he was honouring himself, and that nothing is so disparaging to the authority of a sovereign as the denials he may give to the proceedings of his representatives. While they served him, he entirely trusted them, which is another great quality in a king. He instructed them with great care, entered fully into questions, foresaw every contingence, never neglected to recommend

prudence and moderation as well as frequent and detailed reports of proceedings; and he did all this in a simple, good-natured manner, which, while it showed by its tone that he was the master, spared the susceptibilities and endeavoured to animate, while it repressed, the zeal of his agents.

It was customary at Venice for the text of the instructions and despatches, which for that reason are called deliberations (*deliberazioni*) to be discussed in the Senate. At the end of the drafts of such despatches, the drawing up of which was agreed to by a formal vote, it was usual to inscribe the result of the votes for and against, as also the number of abstentions. This process often gave rise to indiscretions, and was much objected to by diplomatists. Both Sixtus V. and Philip II. were occasionally wont to amuse themselves by letting the representatives of the Republic see how well-informed they were.[1] Ambassadors accredited to the Republic treated all matters before the Senate, or in the Doge's apartment in presence of all his secretaries, for he never saw them alone. The results of these conversations were consigned in reports of the proceedings known as *esposizioni*. The agents of the Republic addressed their reports (*dispacci*) to the most serene prince, the Doge, who opened them and read them to the Senate. Hence the habit of offering a premium to those messengers who reached Venice before the hour of meeting of the Senate; a custom which, adopted later by the diplomatic chanceries of

[1] Arch. Ven. Disp. Rome, fil. 25. *Ibid.* Espos. June 24, 1588, and *passim.*

other countries, has been continued down to a recent time in the shape of the *gañaoras* of the Spanish messengers. The reports called *dispacci* are mostly masterpieces which our young diplomatists would do well to study and emulate. All the gifts which Providence alone can give or deny at will, such as wisdom, elevation of ideas, greatness of views, and foresight, as well as the results of experience in the shape of patience, coolness, and a knowledge of the human heart, are noticeable in these despatches. Add to them great dignity, coupled with considerable suppleness, a worship for truth, a noble frankness which does not dread to offend those in power, and which constitutes so rare though so necessary a virtue when the interests of one's country, and not one's own personal interests, are at stake; all those qualities, in fact, which make the Statesman are visible in every page of those despatches which centuries have yellowed, but which seem to have been written only yesterday in a simple, correct, and earnest language, though not in so elegant a style as the classical and pure diction of the public men of Tuscany. On their return to Venice, ambassadors were compelled, in virtue of a law which was decreed towards the end of the thirteenth century, to read before the Senate a memorandum of the events which had occurred during their missions abroad and of the part they had taken in them. Such are the *relazioni*, which being published for the most part have proclaimed the genuine worth of the Venetian diplomacy. These accounts, however, though undoubtedly valuable as historical documents of that time, imply

certain reservations which their being drawn up after the events had occurred easily accounts for, and lack the interest of complete historical narratives. As compared with the *dispacci* they are only second in interest. Finally the Doge's secretaries, when sending off the despatches, used to annex flying leaves, giving a summary of the latest news which was for ever flowing from every part of the globe, and especially from the Levant, into that great centre of politics and commerce. It created an excellent opportunity for ambassadors to satisfy the curiosity of sovereigns who were ever anxious to hear fresh news, to make themselves welcomed, and to increase their opportunities of obtaining an audience. The advices (*avvisi*) from Venice, which contained the small chronicles of the day, were highly appreciated in Prague, where the correspondence of the House of Fugger at Augsburg vied with that of the ambassadors, and not less so in Paris, in London, in Rome, and in Madrid. Philip II. used to say that no court in Europe was so well-informed as that of the Doge. The *avvisi* have unfortunately not been preserved in the Venetian archives, because, bearing no official stamp, no drafts were kept of them. They are to be found dispersed here and there in various libraries.

The Emperor Rodolph II., preoccupied as he was with German questions, with the affairs of Poland, with the anxieties which the Sultan was ever causing him, with the incipient disputes in his own family, could devote but little attention to the affairs of Italy. He on most occasions referred to Philip II., not, however, without experiencing a certain degree of jealousy at

the preponderant influence which the head of the Spanish branch of his house exercised in the Peninsula. Baron Madruccio, who was his ambassador in Rome, and enjoyed a great reputation, but who was then infirm and approaching his end, was assisted by his brother, the great Cardinal of Trent, who, owing to other occupations, wrote but seldom and left but few traces of his writings in the archives of Vienna.

Cardinal d'Este, protector of France, brother of the Duke of Ferrara, a partisan of the House of Valois both on account of his blood connections and of his gratitude, together with M. de Saint-Gouard, better known later under the title which he assumed of Marquis de Pisany, were invested with the full powers of Henry III. After the death of Cardinal d'Este, Cardinal de Joyeuse succeeded to the protectorate. His letters,[1] thanks to his witty secretary, the Abbé d'Orsat, who was afterwards made a cardinal, are well known. The correspondence of these men, together with the despatches of M. de Villeroy, which he used to write in his own name or in the shape of letters from the King, the drafts[2] of which are all in his own handwriting, bear too individual a stamp to authorise the historian to form his judgment upon French diplomacy at that time. The chiefs of the League, the princes of the blood, the King of Navarre, each had in Rome several agents. Their correspondence, of which several important fragments have been preserved,

[1] Published in 1654, and republished later, together with the letters of the Abbé d'Orsat.

[2] Preserved at the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris.

prove how active, how intelligent, they were, and how great at times their influence must have been at the Vatican.

Among the Italian princes no one took more pains to be well with Rome than the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. Neither his brother, the Cardinal de' Medici, nor his ambassadors lost an opportunity of writing to him by every courier, and he remained himself in active correspondence with his *auditore de rota* and some unacknowledged agents who, like Monsignor Sangaletto, held places of confidence about the person of the Pope. Tuscan diplomacy was no longer what it was in the times of Machiavelli. The Republic of Florence, though a first Power in the fifteenth century, and erected into a grand-duchy since, no longer boasted that relative importance which it had possessed in the days before its destinies were handed over to foreign States. As the States of Italy ceased to be free and independent, so did the influence of Tuscany diminish, and the sphere of action of its political men proportionately decrease. This is felt in the Grand-Duke's correspondence, which nevertheless constitutes one of the most fertile sources of information in the study of the life and of the Court of Sixtus V. His letters are remarkable for their exquisite taste, their great clearness, and especially for a charm and purity of style worthy of the cradle of modern arts and literature.

The Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, Parma, Ferrara, and Urbino kept up intimate relations through their agents at Rome with the cardinals and most influential residents.

The Pope's Nuncios were chosen among the Italian bishops, and only when they had attained the rank of legate in the Sacred College. We owe much valuable information to the reports of Cardinals Morosini and Gaetani, both legates in France, which are deposited in the secret archives of the Vatican. This correspondence completes and controls while it confirms that of the foreign ambassadors accredited to the Court of the Vatican.

Nothing is more worthy of credence than the reports of diplomatic agents, who are bound, by the duties of their position as well as in their own interest, to render a faithful account of events which come under their observation, and of the conversations which they hold with people with whom they are called upon to treat. In voluntarily sinning against truth, a diplomatist would not only fail in the performance of his first duty, but would expose himself, sooner or later and in all probability immediately, to the discovery of his fault, and hence to certain ruin. He is aware that his Government is constantly informed, through the agent of the Court to which he is himself accredited, of all the steps of the negotiations entrusted to his care. He cannot ignore that the other members of the diplomatic body, at least the principal or best-informed among them, who attach great importance to following out from afar negotiations in which they do not themselves take a part, often penetrate its secret purpose and hasten to acquaint their own Courts. Hence the double control of the diplomatist's correspondence with the Cabinet with which he is negotiating, and of the echoes

of other Courts foreign to the negotiation; a control which of itself would keep him within the bounds of truth, were he not upheld by a sense of duty and of honour. It is, however, one thing to give facts as they have occurred and to reproduce conversations almost textually, but another to appreciate the character of men and to judge them. In this respect each man is supposed to follow the dictates of his reason and of his conscience; but men are easily influenced by interested motives, or led astray by the bad counsels of passion. This explains why, while the accounts which diplomatists give of occurrences are trustworthy, their appreciation of them is not equally so. Thus, in comparing the reports of the ambassadors of Spain, of France, of Venice, who pleaded before Sixtus V. interests widely differing in nature, and often carried on a warfare against one another, either secretly or openly, we cannot fail to be struck, not so much with the great difference of appreciation—a fact not to be wondered at—as with the perfect harmony which exists in their accounts of the same facts and of the same transactions. The moment they touch upon facts, all prejudices disappear, all passions are allayed, and they devote themselves wholly to the task of telling the truth.

These precious documents, inasmuch as they refer to the political action of Sixtus V. and to the several branches of administration of his government, except criminal justice, give but small information respecting his antecedents, the obscure existence of Frà Felice, and the forced retreat of Cardinal Montalto. All the details given in Tempesti's work are borrowed

from anonymous manuscripts in the 'Capitol' at Vallicellana, and in the archives of Prince Allieri. They were examined and criticised by Ranke, and contain, in spite of many errors, much that is interesting and apparently true. We shall only make use of these occasionally, and only when we can bring official documents to bear upon their truth. We had rather deprive the reader of some curious or amusing information, be it true or not, than deprive our work of the merit of being based upon official documents of genuine authenticity. Another point, still more interesting in the historian's eyes than the antecedents of Sixtus V.—his administration of criminal justice,—is to the same slight extent elucidated in the diplomatic correspondence. Ambassadors mention some of the most celebrated causes, sometimes blaming, at others approving, his proceedings, but in general speaking favourably of them, though they allow that his *régime* was somewhat severe. Their information and their criticisms will naturally find a place in our book. All that we have read in the numerous manuscripts which bear a subsequent date to this pontificate is marked with exaggeration and untruth. Such accounts we decline to notice. It is certainly an unfortunate void, but a void is better than a fiction. In order that a correct opinion may be formed of the criminal justice administered by Sixtus V., we should have before our eyes the original of those legal documents of procedure which have disappeared, or which, at least, we have been wholly unable to discover. The greatest portion, however, of these annals, which have been

many times reproduced, only date from the second half and from the end of the seventeenth century. At this time there existed in Rome and in Venice manufacturers of manuscripts, which constituted the only political reading in which the higher classes could indulge. The work of Leti, which was published, as we have already stated, at Lausanne in 1669, and the circulation of which was rigorously prohibited in Italy, where it had met with great success, naturally made Sixtus V. a subject of predilection with the news-mongers. They were often wont to do nothing but copy passages from Leti's book. The documents which they produced are apocryphal,[1] and the facts which they alleged either altogether falsified or grossly altered. They have no notion either of the men or the events of the day, and completely ignore circumstances which must have been known to all their contemporaries. Yet, with the exception of Ranke, all the biographers of Pope Sixtus have allowed themselves to be guided by these manuscripts.[2]

[1] Tempesti, as the reader will see, has allowed himself to be grossly imposed upon by relying on the truth of one of these MSS. which purports to be instructions from the Pope to his legate Gaetani, but which are wholly imaginary.

[2] According to the unanimous opinion of people well versed in such matters, and in particular of the eminent P. Theiner, prefect of the secret archives of the Vatican, not one of the MSS. to which we have just referred dates further back than the second half of the seventeenth century, most of them belonging to the latter part of that era. The quality of the paper, the character of the writing, the language and the style would all seem to confirm the fact, were it not plain from the accounts themselves and from the complete ignorance which their authors show of the times they treat of, that such is the case. Here are some instances which will satisfy the reader. Sixtus V. is meditating a war with Spain for the purpose of conquering Naples. He tells Olivarès that that king-

We will not follow such an example.

It is with the help of the diplomatic correspondence of those times that we have undertaken to write the

dom belongs to the Holy See. Olivarès insists on the Pope giving him proofs of this fact. Sixtus sends to Fort St. Angelo for a paper which establishes the rights of the Church. Olivarès asks to be allowed to read the document at his leisure, which permission is granted to him on the condition that he shall bring it back at his next audience. Olivarès takes the paper with him and takes care that it shall not be returned. What is to be done? The Pope would like to imprison the Ambassador; but the Governor of Rome suggests a better means of recovering the stolen talisman. He requests an autograph order of the Pope, authorising him to cut the Ambassador's head off in front of the palace which he inhabits opposite the Anina, a place where Olivarès never resided, his embassy being situated in the Corso, at the palace of Urbinum, now called the Palazzo Doria, where it stood for many years, the fact being known by every child in Rome, but conveniently forgotten a hundred years later, at the time when these stories were fabricated. The Governor's notion pleases the Pope. Monsignor Pierbenedetti, followed by the *bargello* and by several executioners, causes the scaffold to be erected on the Piazza Navone, and the Ambassador's house to be surrounded by soldiers, steps up to Olivarès' room, summons him to give back the document, which the Ambassador, trembling for his life, hastily does, and in return for this act the Governor is made a cardinal.

Young Ranuccio Farnese has an audience of the Pope, but unfortunately as he is kneeling before His Holiness, a pistol falls from his pocket. It being prohibited under penalty of death to carry fire-arms, Farnese is taken to St. Angelo and ordered to be executed at midnight. Happily for him his uncle the Cardinal is a man of expedients. He causes all the clocks in Rome to be stopped, and his nephew is saved. The Pope, furious at such conduct, obliges the Cardinal at the next public Consistory to kneel, and to repeat a 'pater,' an 'ave,' and a 'credo' while kneeling with his arms stretched in the form of a cross. 'It is a priest,' said Sixtus V., 'who has deceived a monk, and it is a monk's penance I have inflicted upon you; next time I shall punish you as a Pope should.' The stories of Sixtus V. wishing to kill the hereditary prince of Parma, son of Prince Alexander, nephew of Philip II., commanding the army of the latter in Flanders (whom he wanted to marry to one of his grand-nièces), whom he had every reason not to thwart, and whom he so far dreaded to offend (as will be seen hereafter) that he actually risked a feud with the Emperor!—and of the penances imposed by the Pope on Cardinal Farnese, are so many anecdotes which bear the print of vulgar ignorance, and resemble those popular tales which are generally sold at country fairs. Yet, notwithstanding their absurdity, eminent authors have actually reproduced them. The story of

history of Sixtus V. These documents are the reports drawn up by the nuncios, by the ambassadors, of the Emperor, of Spain, of France, of Tuscany, and of Venice—the instructions received from their Governments—the autograph letters of the Pope, of Philip II., of Henry III., of the cardinals, envoys to the great Powers, and of the agents of the League. These official documents, which are almost unknown as yet, are perfectly authentic, for they have been copied under our superintendence from the originals in the State archives of the Vatican, of Vienna, of Paris, Simancas, Venice, and Florence.[1]

The Venetian 'advices,' the flying sheets of the Roman newswriters, which also were styled *avvisi* —the parish registers of the Holy City—a few forgotten publications of those times, will furnish us with information not as regards the history of facts, but with respect to the customs, and the social constitution of Italy and Rome at that period.

The judgment which contemporaries pass upon themselves and the events of their times are undoubtedly of great historical value. We are often too prone to judge of the past by the light of our own

Ranuccio is to be found in several works, and amongst others in Monroni's *Historical Dictionary*, published at Venice in 1842, vol. xv. p. 201. How then can we add faith to the history of the criminal suits told in these manuscripts?

[1] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in France has legalised copies of several of Philip II.'s letters as well as of his diplomatic agents. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, has kindly placed them at my disposal. Other documents of the highest importance (reports to the King by Count Olivarès) were copied for me from the originals in the archives of Simancas, by the late M. Bergenroth.

generation. To be fair and just, we should place ourselves on their own level, and to obtain this end, we should listen to them. We shall therefore take great pains in collecting their opinions. With the help of such documents as we already possess, we shall penetrate into the intimacy of those princes, ministers, and favourites, statesmen and others who have played an important part, and have contributed to the history which we are endeavouring to write. While occasionally expressing an idea of our own, as it is the undoubted right and duty of an historian to do, we shall bear in mind the dominant ideas, the manners and customs, prejudices and aspirations, of the period. Good and evil undoubtedly remain what they are; but our notions of either are constantly changing within certain limits. Each century has qualities and faults peculiar to itself, its bright and dark sides, its heroes and its monsters, its martyrs and its dupes. Those who can resist temptation, and who can keep free from the stains of their epoch, naturally call for our admiration. But these form the exception; the majority, struck by the evil, follow the current. The weak, it appears to us, have claims to our indulgence, and should be allowed to plead extenuating circumstances before the tribunal of history.

What would now-a-days be said of a Government which would allow a man's life to be taken without having him previously tried? It would be universally condemned, or rather such a contingency is no longer possible. It was not always so. Even in the time of the Guises, the sovereign was looked upon as the

supreme judge, who, it is true, had bequeathed his rights to competent tribunals, but who could dispense with their aid whenever the public safety or that of his own person seemed to require it.

In the sixteenth century, public offices were sold by the Treasury, and the buyer got back his capital and the interest of his purchase-money by levying a tax upon those who had recourse to him in the exercise of his special functions. In the present day, on the contrary, the expenses of the several departments of the State are covered by duties levied upon the whole of the nation, and it is through the medium of the several departmental treasuries, and not from hand to hand, that the public functionary now receives the salary due to his efforts.

It is clear, then, that what would now deeply affect our sense of justice, such as murder, our sense of delicacy, such as venality, neither astonished nor shocked anyone in those days, because such acts were in accordance with public right, the organisation of the State, and the customs of the day.[1]

Finally, it is by gathering our information from authentic sources, and principally from diplomatic reports perfectly trustworthy as to facts, as well as by attaching great importance to the judgments of con-

[1] The assassination of the Duke of Guise was defended, on the ground that it was an act of justice, by the Cardinal de Joyeuse and the Bishop of Mans; was actually approved of by the 'catholics-royalists;' was much praised by the Grand-Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, and by Mocenigo, the ambassador; was excused by all the political friends of Henry III., and was only condemned by his adversaries, by the League, by the Spaniards, and—be it said to his credit—by Sixtus V., in the name of morality.

temporary writers, that we have gone on with this study, which is the fruit of a long research, having for its sole aim to arrive at the truth as regards Sixtus V. and to proclaim it.

Free from all thought of the present, we will bestow our whole attention on the past; for it is an historical work, and not a casual story which we intend to publish.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF EUROPE AT THE TIME OF THE ELECTION OF SIXTUS V.

GREGORY XIII. died on April 10, 1585. If, at that moment, some writer at his Court had undertaken to give us a picture of the state of Europe at that time, France and Spain would have occupied the most prominent positions. France was then a prey to the horrors of a civil war, under the shaken authority of Henry III. Spain was still under the rule of the son of Charles V. Older every day and infirm, but yet active in his own manner, Philip II. was still waging a successful war against Flanders, helping in an underhand way the disturbances by which France was the sufferer, and ruling over Italy, where he possessed the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the outposts of the Maremma. Harassed by English filibusters, the most audacious of whom, Drake, was soon to disturb his peace of mind, seeing that the English flag of Elizabeth protected his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries, Philip already meditated the conquest of England as a remedy against the evil at home.

In Germany, Rodolph II. was entirely taken up by the affairs of the Empire which were not yet settled, and by the precarious state of his hereditary possessions,

which were being slowly undermined. The Sultan, who was at war with Persia, allowed Europe to breathe a little more freely. Poland, the seat of events of momentous importance, and dear to the Popes on account of the Catholic interests there at stake, almost escaped their tender attention, owing to its distance from Rome; and the well-nigh imaginary country of the Moscovites or Russians, whose schism was deplored in Rome, was scarcely better known than China and certainly less than Japan.

A writer of that epoch would have devoted many pages to the Queen of England and to the King of Navarre, whose names are for ever recurring in the letters and memoirs of that time. Henry of Navarre (called the Bearnais at the Court of Spain, for since the annexation to Spain of the Navarrese provinces situated on the southern slope of the Pyrenees, Philip considered himself as the legitimate sovereign of all the lands which the son of Jeanne d'Albret had been able to keep) had already become a popular personage. His turn of mind, his friendly and chivalrous ways, his bravery, his really French good humour, and even his touch of gallantry, earned for him the favour of the general public. Even at the Court of Gregory XIII., which was entirely devoted to Spain, there existed a great disposition to forgive him, because it was hoped that he would recant. Queen Elizabeth also enjoyed great consideration. The terror which her name inspired made up for the charm which constituted Henry's good fortune. Rome, ill-disposed to put up with the protection of Philip II., with which, how-

ever, she could not dispense, followed intently, and not without a certain amount of pleasure, the movements of that bold, intelligent, and proud woman, who could be coldly passionate whenever she thought it necessary, who had succeeded in strengthening her tottering throne, and had ventured to excite the hatred, nay, what was still more dangerous, to awaken the apprehension, of the most powerful sovereign in Europe. The unfortunate Mary Stuart was still confined in her prison at Fotheringay. Her death had not yet determined the rupture between the English queen and the Catholic world, though (strange and significative of the manners of the day) Elizabeth's cruel proceedings neither forfeited for her the allegiance of her subjects nor the admiration of Europe. She and Henry of Navarre, who were at that time the stanchest supporters of the new doctrines, and were both excommunicated, were both, notwithstanding, treated with regard at Rome, it being always hoped that they would return to the Church, and that then the triumph of the Catholic Faith in England, from which country it had been altogether expelled, and in France, where a similar result was apprehended, would be secured.

CHAPTER III.

RELATIONS OF THE POPE WITH THE STATES OF EUROPE.

THE Pope, as head of the Church, whose interests were mixed up with those of the State, religious and civil laws still everywhere running into one another; the Venetian Republic, still powerful, though gradually falling from the high position which she had formerly occupied among nations; the Duke of Savoy, as master of the Alps; all three, Pope, Doge, and Duke, were, in Italy, forcibly mixed up in all the questions which then interested Europe. Venice and Savoy were essentially European Powers.

The Republic of the Doge had no longer any other wish than to maintain whatever influence and territory she possessed, as well as to insure for her commerce with the Levant that monopoly which, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, was about to be wrested from her. From a restless and ambitious policy, she had come down to one most pacific and conservative in character. Thanks to a correct appreciation of her position, which was daily becoming more exceptional and hence more compromised, Venice already sought the guarantees of her existence in that balance of power

between the great States and in the European equilibrium which was soon to be established in principle and to become one of the bases of modern society.

The hope, or rather the illusion, of some day re-establishing the supremacy of the Pope on its former footing had not yet been altogether abandoned by some personages in Rome. In Madrid, Philip II., less by a desire of conquest than by a natural wish to strengthen his monarchy by bringing together its scattered members, encouraged that dream of a universal monarchy which was so near being realised by his father. No sooner had Henry of Navarre ascended the throne of France than his views took a similar line, until he had formed the grand project of humbling the House of Austria, of scattering its powers for the benefit of all, as he was wont to say, but in reality for the sole benefit of France, and thus of becoming the arbiter of the world's destinies.[1] These several ambitious schemes, which, could they have been realised, would have proved to be exactly alike, would not have failed to seek a justification in the old theory of the Christian world as understood in the Middle Ages, namely, the sublime doctrine, never wholly realised, of the mystic union of the Church and the State, each represented by a chief—the Pope and the Emperor—who in dividing between them the exercise of supreme power, guarantee and embrace the whole range of human interests. A river, however, can never be brought back to the source from which it springs.

[1] D'Aubigné already styles him the Emperor of the West.

Those times were gone, never to return, and with them those notions had disappeared which had characterised them. The universal monarchy of Charlemagne had no more chances of revival, except indeed momentarily and on the condition of meeting with insurmountable obstacles, than had such reigns as those of Popes Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

Situated as she was in constant and direct communication with both branches of the House of Austria, the Republic of St. Mark, which was for ever experiencing the influence of Philip at Rome and in all the important towns of the Peninsula, took the utmost care not to get into trouble either with the Emperor, the King of Spain, or with the Pope. Meanwhile, however, she leaned towards those States which, by their silent or open hostility to the Hapsburgs, appeared to her *ipso facto* to be her natural allies. These were France and England,—Henry III., and after him the King of Navarre, then at the head of the Huguenots, but who, as people already felt in Venice, was likely to inherit the Valois throne, and Elizabeth, the heretical Queen, who, like Henry, was separated from the Communion of the Church of Rome. This position was all the more difficult, the more delicate, and the more false, that while the Republic was ever jealous of its rights and was ever ready to defend them against what she termed the encroachments of Rome, she had remained in the matter of religion exceedingly catholic, and had no intention whatever of embracing the faith of those whose alliance she sought.

With regard to her relations with Turkey, she found similar obstacles to fight against. Her paramount interests, her wide frontiers, open on every side to incursions from barbarian hordes, and her possessions in the Levant which were open to the fleets of the Sultan, obliged her to be most guarded in her manner with him. The maintenance of general peace in the East, of a solid and friendly understanding between herself and the Turks, which was however precarious and needed the constant intervention of the Republic's agent at Constantinople to arrange matters between the Sultan and other persons, constituted the object which the Republic had in view at the Porte. Hence the exceptional position which she occupied, and of which she made capital for the benefit of her commerce and of her navigation. Thus whilst in the West her interests brought her in contact with heretics, they acted similarly with infidels in the East. But these same interests required that she should maintain good relations with the Pope, who was the *custos fidei*, and whose influence was everywhere felt, with the Emperor, who was the first prince in Europe, and with the King of Spain, the most powerful of Christian sovereigns. It was no easy matter to conciliate the confidence and favour of the Kings of France, England, and of the Sultan, without displeasing the Pope, the Emperor, or the King of Spain. It formed, however, the basis of the foreign policy of the Venetian Government, and the principal duty of its diplomatic agents. When Sixtus V. became Pope, Nicolas de Ponte was

Doge, but he died the same year, and Pascal Cigogna succeeded him.

Savoy,[1] that is to say the duchy of that name, united with Piedmont, which the peace of 1559 had restored to its legitimate owner, was looked upon as the rampart of Italy, while Emmanuel Philibert was considered one of the most eminent men of the day. He was a near relative of Philip II. through his mother, a daughter of King Manuel of Portugal, and the sister of both the mother and first wife of Philip, besides being nearly allied to the house of France by his marriage with Madame Marguerite, daughter of Francis I. To these family ties corresponded the geographical position of his States, which were contiguous to France and to Spain. Savoy was on the borders of France, and Piedmont on those of the Milanese provinces, then Spanish territory. In these family connexions there existed means of turning to advantage the difficulties which arose from territorial conformation. Emmanuel Philibert was equal to the task. He had seen the world, been to Court in England, had followed his uncle Charlemagne during his German wars, and his cousin Philip at Barcelona; he had commanded in chief the Spanish armies in Flanders, and had been victorious at St. Quentin. At one time the prospect of becoming King of England had opened itself before him. His marriage with Elizabeth had been settled, the marriage-contract had been signed, and his proxy had been appointed, when

[1] Venice. Dispacci di Bolda, Cavalli, Morosini, Lippomamo, Molino, Alberti, Urbani, &c.

the project was put an end to. It was only after long and rough experience, after seeing what war is and waging it on a large scale, after playing a part on such immense stages, that he returned to Savoy, there to take possession of his small State and bury himself in its mountains. The Venetian agents accredited at his Court have left us a portrait of this remarkable man. He was small, thin, all muscle and bone, with a clear complexion and fair hair which reminded one of the German origin of the house in which he gloried. Graceful, gracious, self-possessed, he never said a harsh or inconsiderate word even before people of the lower orders, and stood always upright. An indefatigable walker and sportsman, he was the despair of the ambassadors who accompanied him, and whom when he had to speak to them on business he used to receive in his garden in all weathers. He was very fond of mathematics and passionately devoted to the study of occult sciences; spoke several languages, German and Spanish perfectly, French with 'Madame illustrissime' and her son, Italian with everybody. Though simple in his ways and somewhat parsimonious, he was surrounded by a numerous court, and adopted in the style of the House of Austria the severe Burgundian rules of etiquette. According to the notions of the times, and like all the other Italian princes, Emmanuel Philibert ruled and governed absolutely, and mostly without listening to his ministers except indeed to his postmaster or 'spy' as he is somewhat artlessly described by a Venetian diplomatist. His principal preoccupations were his foreign policy, and his relations with the two

great powers of the day, France and Austria. He was bound to Philip by as sincere a friendship as his position could justify; but though there were occasional differences between them, their friendship maintained itself. It is evident that early recollections of mutual services rendered, to which Emmanuel Philibert was indebted for his restoration, and the high reputation which he enjoyed as a warrior and a statesman, as well as ties of blood and gratitude, exercised over him a powerful influence, without, however, preventing his mildly but persistently fighting against Spanish preponderance whenever he met with it, which he did a little everywhere. He kept up old relations in Germany, knew personally most of the Electors, and corresponded with some of them. Petty ambitions and lofty aspirations intermingled somewhat in his character, but, on the whole, the good predominated. His aim was to increase the weight which, when the day came, he might be able to throw into the scale, and thus to insure his independence in any future European complications. Whilst adroitly giving himself up to a game which he saw himself fatally condemned to play between the two great rival houses, he succeeded, where his son failed, in keeping himself free from the suspicion of duplicity. To know Italy under Sixtus V., it is necessary to know Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy and Cosmo of Tuscany, who, though both dead at the time, still lived by the impulse which they had given to the affairs of their country.

Charles Emmanuel, aged nineteen on his accession, and twenty-four at the death of Gregory XIII., had

just married, at Saragossa, the Infanta Catherine, daughter of Philip II. This marriage, which was the fruit of negotiations extending back to the time when the prince was still a child, and which at last succeeded, greatly to the displeasure of Catherine of Medici, naturally attached the young Duke for some years to his father-in-law's policy. Not a moment was to be lost in turning this alliance to the benefit of his ambitious views, and thus in complicating the already troubled state of European affairs.

Florence had already left far behind the olden days of turbulent liberty, and was reduced to a principality, which Pius V. had endowed with the title of a grand-duchy, and which had been increased in territory, thanks to a diplomatic stratagem which elicited high praise at the time for the Duke, but for which the Escurial never forgave him, by the annexation of the town and territory of Sienna. But, from its extent and resources, Florence, or rather the grand-duchy of Tuscany, still held the first place among Italian States after Rome and Venice. Cosmo, the memory of whose deeds still lived in the recollection of all, was considered to be, and is, the type of the Italian prince of that day. He possessed all the requisite qualities: he was deep, mysterious, dissembling, and impartial whenever his interests were not at stake: he had a taste for arts and sciences, energy, and an iron hand which could fell an adversary. His proverbial luck had increased the prestige of his name, and this luck was attributed to the circumstance of his being born under the same constellation as Augustus and Charles V. His

political aim abroad was to obtain the protection of both the Pope and of the House of Austria. Enjoying the never-changing friendship of both Maximilian and of Rodolph, he questioned that of Philip II., whom he constantly feared as a disagreeable neighbour who might become dangerous, for he still occupied the presidency over the Maremma, and meditated the retaking of Sienna, and so contrived, in order to divert the King's attention from Italian affairs, to embroil him in difficulties with the Sultan through his agent at Pera. But Rome formed his principal care, for not only was it necessary to maintain the friendship of the reigning Pope, which was doubly precious to him inasmuch as that of Philip was uncertain, but also to insure the good graces of the Pope's successor, that is of the eligible cardinals, and what was still more important, to deprive of any chance of success those among the latter who might seem hostile to him. The Pope's protection was indispensable to him, and a condition of the stability of his newly-formed power, based as that power was upon fear, and only repressing with difficulty as yet the half-smothered passions of the existing ancient parties. 'To his intrigues, next to God,' says the ambassador Mocenigo, 'does Pius IV. owe his tiara;' and it will be seen how important a part Ferdinand of Medici, the Grand-Duke's son, took at the election of Sixtus V. According to the testimony of his contemporaries, Cosmo was the most admired and most hated man in Italy.

For many years, Francis, who had rather inherited the faults than the qualities of his father, had been

regent. His mother was a Spanish lady, daughter of a Viceroy of Naples belonging to the Toledo family, of which the Dukes of Alva are the head. It was only after having endeavoured in vain to marry a natural daughter of Charles V., who had been made Duchess of Parma, that Cosmo had united himself to that lady, thus anticipating the wishes of the Emperor which he considered to be orders. His son, however, could aspire to the hand of an Archduchess of Austria, so great had the Medici become in so few years! After the death of the Archduchess Jeanne, Francis married Bianca Capello, whose adventures are known and who was adopted by the State as a daughter of the Venetian Republic. He had visited Rome, Madrid, and Vienna, the three great centres where, like his father, he looked for the guarantees of his power. His person, his manner of living and of dressing, all bore the print of the Spanish influence which still predominated in Italy, and was to be found in the ideas and customs of that time.

All the other princes in the Peninsula had lost their independence, and had no political existence but a borrowed one. Such were the Gonzagas at Mantua, the Farnese at Parma, the Duke della Rovere at Urbino, and Alphonso d'Este at Ferrara, whom the genius and misfortunes of Tasso have rendered illustrious. So was it also with the republics of Genoa and Lucca; the one preserving her riches and her magnificent monuments, without her previous political greatness; the other barely maintaining a false appearance of ndependence. As for Sicily, Naples, and the Milanese,

placed as they were under the Spanish dominion, these were governed respectively by the Grand Constable Marco Antonio Colonna, one of the heroes of Lepanto; by the Duke of Ossuna, and by Don Carlos of Aragon, Duke of Terranova, one of the remaining veterans of Charles V.'s armies, who owed his antecedents to great influence at Court, and whose Sicilian origin secured him the popularity which he enjoyed with the Milanese. In all difficult and pressing cases, his counsels were sought by ambassadors, generals, and agents of Philip in Italy, in Switzerland, or in Franche Comté, who were anxious to cover their own responsibility.

The 'caravans'[1] of the sovereign order of Malta were a constant source of difficulties to the Venetians. Whilst they compromised their position at Constantinople, they jeopardised the peace of Italy, nay even that of Europe, in its relations with the Sultan. The Tuscan knights of St. Stephen were equally obnoxious, and political men were of opinion that chivalry, having become more dangerous than useful, had served its time. The satirical pen of Cervantes was soon to damage it for ever in public opinion.

Cardinal d'Este, himself an Italian prince, gives of Italy the following description: 'Should the Duke of Savoy arm, the King of Spain must increase his forces in the Milanese. The Venetians, who are already apprehensive of his Majesty's intentions upon their frontier towns of Brescia and Bergamo, will not fail to

[1] Expeditions against the corsairs of the Barbary States.

arm likewise; the Grisons also; and the King of France, having to protect the Marquisate of Saluzzo, will do the same. The Duke of Mantua will arm against the intentions of the Duke of Savoy upon Montferrat, and Genoa will arm because the territories of all these encircle her own. But if Venice arms strongly, the Duke of Ferrara must do the same, nor can the Duke of Tuscany do less. This will occasion an increase in the Spanish garrisoning troops at Porto d'Ercole and other ports, and also armaments on the part of the Luccans and of the Duke of Urbino. Whilst, however, this armament on the part of every prince and potentate in Italy must occasion an expense of some millions of money, it will be difficult to avoid on all sides the opportunity of making use of those arms which each will hold, besides the already too numerous rancours and pretensions which animate them. There is not a corner of Italy where a traveller will not find some pretension of one prince over the right of the other. Our Holy Father himself, who in time of peace is revered by every prince, will be calumniated and detested by many who will impute to him a great part of the misfortunes brought about by the war, which they will believe he ought to have foreseen and prevented, but did not do so. Besides which it must not be believed that Italians are satisfied with settling their quarrels among themselves: those who are afraid of defeat will call to their help and introduce foreign nations into Italy, who will thus have the means of again committing those spoliations for which they were remarkable on former occasions, and from the horrors

of which even Rome was not exempted, for she was sacked oftener than any other known town.'[1]

In fine, the state of Italy was not very satisfactory. Except the Pope, who represented a principle, Venice and the Duke of Savoy, who were obliged to mix in European affairs, all the other Princes and States had but their individual and local interests at heart: first their legitimate desire to exist, and next of becoming more important, for never did the want of power lessen their ambition. In order to insure their existence and prepare a chance of aggrandisement, they had sworn fealty to Spain, then predominant; not, however, to the exclusion of France, whose protection they were ready to ask so soon as she should have regained the strength which she had lost through civil wars. The peace of Italy, so ardently desired by the Pope who had just died, as it was to be likewise by his active successor, was not consolidated. A spark was sufficient to provoke a war.

[1] Paris. Bibl. Imp. Coll. Harlay. Mémoire annexed to his letter to M. Villeroy of the 22nd of Sep. 1586, concerning the attempt of Charles Emmanuel against Geneva. Though written fifteen months later than the date of the accession of Sixtus V., the 'mémoire' applies admirably to the state of Italy at the death of Gregory XIII.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAUSES AND RESULTS OF THE RENAISSANCE.

A GREAT change had taken place in Rome since the middle of the century.[1] To understand it, it is necessary to go back to the times when the Popes, on their return from Avignon, began to strengthen their temporal power, which had been much shaken in their capital, and to raise the latter from the state of anarchy and prostration into which it had fallen during their absence. This work of reconstruction dates from the advent of Martin V. to the pontifical throne.

At that time the Italy of the Middle Ages had ceased to exist. A new element, the genius, as it were, of the old times springing up from its ashes, had invaded every mind, beginning with the exceptionally great, and then gaining the upper classes, the governing powers, princes, chiefs, and town magistrates of free towns, literary circles, and finally, though not so powerfully, even the members of the high clergy, and of the monastic orders. This element

[1] We do not intend writing the history of the Papacy from Martin V. to Gregory XIII. We think it, however, necessary to recall it to the reader's memory, and to indicate to him those points from which he will best be able to judge the pontificate of Sixtus V. with impartiality.

already pervaded the arts and the sciences, affected the customs of the day, and even compromised the prevalent creed. The age of the *renaissance* had come.[1] Conspicuous among the leaders of this pacific revolution were the scholars known under the name of 'humanists.' They filled every public chair, enjoyed the confidence of princes, were at the disposal of republican governments, or of the then numerous great and small barons of Italy. Appointed in most cases for a very limited period, perhaps for six or twelve months only, as actors now-a-days are hired for the season, they were always travelling, spread throughout the Peninsula, and for a long time enjoyed a great authority. Blinded, however, by success, they became their own destroyers. Their presumption, their cynicism, their contempt of the forms to be observed, their avarice, their immorality, made them each day more odious; and when, towards the end of the century, printing, which had recently been introduced into Italy, had spread about the country cheap editions of the classics as well as lexicons, they suddenly found themselves bereft of that monopoly which they had enjoyed and abused during the preceding years. Revered at first as the propagators of science, endured afterwards as a necessity, and finally falling into general discredit because people had learnt to do without them, these scholars had instilled into the Italian mind the religion of antiquity. Those of their number who were most considered were the Hellenists, the Greek mania reigning supreme during the whole of

[1] Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance* (Basel, 1860).

the fifteenth century, its golden era. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the mania rapidly fell, and under Leo X. it had almost disappeared from the world to take refuge in the schools, where it found its last asylum. To obtain masters, recourse had been had to the East, whence Greek and Byzantine scholars had come for very high wages. Nor was it until the taking of Constantinople by the Turks that a stop was put to this importation. The fact is thus explained that during the first half of the century the educated people of Italy spoke Greek, while during the latter half they both read and wrote it, but no longer conversed in that language. The principal centres of Greek teaching were Florence, and after Florence, Bologna, Padua, Rome, Ferrara, Venice, Perugia, Pavia. In the fashionable world enormous sums were spent in obtaining multiplied copies of the old manuscripts. Libraries were formed. Printed books (though much sought after by the poorer classes) were not much appreciated by the learned, who, long after the introduction of printing, boasted that they possessed manuscripts only. Women shared the general mania, especially those in the higher spheres of society. Italian, though ennobled by Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, fell into discredit and continued to be called the vulgar tongue. With few exceptions (and among these must be mentioned Count Boiardo, whose poem, however, appeared at the time that 'humanism' was expiring), the authors most in favour all affected to despise their mother tongue.

It is difficult to form an idea of the vehemence of

this very general impulse towards the classical studies, and still more so to discover its causes. Fashion —that despotic and only apparently capricious deity, for she is born within the deepest recesses of the human heart, of which she represents the instability in frivolous and in serious things alike—may explain a good deal, but not all. From whatever cause, however, that impulse was born, it was irresistible.

Fascinated by charms hitherto concealed from their view, anxious, by the help of the learned of the day, the 'humanists,' to tear away the veil which hid them, and anxious also to sound the mysteries of antiquity, the neophytes rushed to that majestic temple which was ready to receive them under the shades of its porticoes, to open its sanctuary to their gaze, and to bestow its treasures upon them. Pagan science was to heal every wound, to insure for ever the happiness of humanity. Of course the impulse became general. Some, and they were the least numerous, were carried away by the thirst of knowledge, others by curiosity, most by the contagious effects of example, and discomforted souls by the hope of finding in the philosophy of the ancients, which could only unsettle them still more by creating doubts in their minds, those consolations which they ceased to seek in faith.

The arts likewise were carried away by the current. With the single exception of Frà Angelico de Fiesole, the influence of the humanists may be traced in various degrees in almost all the great masters of the fifteenth century. The study of the antique, the worship of the senses, and the realism which had superseded the mysti-

cism of former times, enabled them to become emancipated from the traditions of the Middle Ages, and to break the links which fettered their genius, and clashed with the new manners of the reformed society. But, strange to say, however transformed they might be, the arts as of old never ceased to be devoted almost exclusively to the service of the Church, a devotion, however, which resembled that of those unfaithful servants who are on the eve of expropriating their master if he does not look out. To be convinced of this it is only necessary to look at the funeral monuments of the *renaissance* in the churches of Rome, Venice, Florence—Genii grouped around the Virgin and the saints, it is true, but extinguishing the torches of life — statues gracefully placed upon tombs, but no longer appearing as if they were standing before the Supreme Judge, nor sleeping the sleep of the just man awaiting the resurrection—Greek inscriptions—mythological symbols and ornaments—*putti* that are no angels—nymphs that are not saints, and whose classical outlines, though little veiled, then shocked nobody, but which in our eyes contrast so strangely with the sanctity of the place. Churches still were built; but the buildings appear less to bear testimony to a religious inspiration than to the prevalent love of art, which had no other field whereon to display itself. They were almost always deserted, and the faithful complained that the officials showed little reverence and care in the performance of their ecclesiastical functions. There is nothing wonderful in this. Religious convictions had become weakened by their contact with Paganism. The immortality of the soul

was at first in a screened manner, but afterwards openly, denied. The fundamental notions of Christianity, the knowledge of sin and of the redemption, were fast disappearing. Little by little the Epicureans, as those were called who denied a future existence,[1] made no scruple in avowing their sentiments, and ran little or no risk in confessing their apostasy. Machiavel could dare to assert that the Christian religion appeared to him to be unfavourable to the liberty of States. Fatalism taking the place of faith gave to astrology, which then was so widespread among the Christian nations, and which the Spaniards alone rejected from hatred to the Moors who practised it, the fresh zest, which it likewise communicated to alchemy, necromancy, and other occult sciences or practices common to superstition. The rupture with faith was more, however, in the mind than in the heart. It was not an uncommon event to see 'humanists' who had spent their lives in diffusing Epicurean doctrines, end their days by asking for and receiving the sacraments. The number of those who had ceased to practise religion was such, that when a priest had been called to the bedside of a dying man he used to ask first whether he was a believer.[2] While, however, the floods of infidelity

[1] Suo cimitero da questa parte hanno
Con Epicuro tutti i suoi seguaci,
Che l' anima col corpo morta fanno.
DANTE, *Inferno*, canto x. 13–15.

[2] 'Se avevano fede.' Vasari (*Vite de' Pittori*, 1568) says of Pietro Perugino that he had little religion and never could be made to believe in the immortality of the soul. Several modern writers, and especially M. Mezzanote (*Vita di Pietro Vanucci*, Peruggio, 1837) have combated this belief, but without being able to prove the contrary. A tradition

were thus rapidly rising, there occurred, by way of a striking contrast, several instances of noted returns to the faith. Never did preaching missionaries obtain greater success. They penetrated wherever irreligion and immorality had most corrupted the people, and at their voice whole populations were seized with remorse. The fact is, Paganism in the fifteenth century had not solidly established its rule, but was on the eve of victory when the Popes returned to Italy. The innovation had coincided with their departure for Avignon, and had reached its climax under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. It only subsided in presence of the great Catholic reaction which the Reformation called forth.

At the time when Martin V. came back to Rome, and during the remainder of the century, Italy bore the strangest aspect. Arts and sciences shone with unprecedented brilliancy, and manners had become more refined while they had relaxed. Courts, free towns, universities, every centre of public life, bore marks of the enormous progress which had been made, thanks to the study and newly-acquired knowledge of antiquity. Side by side with this brilliant spectacle of civilisation appeared, however, the dark

which still exists in Umbria, would seem to prove Vasari's statement. Be the fact however true or not, what deserves notice here, as a sign of the epoch, is that Pietro, who had spent his long life in painting Madonnas and saints, was accused not more than forty-four years after his death, not of Protestantism, but of want of Christian faith, of fifteenth century-kind of Paganism, and that this accusation was believed in his own country, where he had almost always lived, and which he had inundated with his works, representing for the most part religious and essentially Catholic subjects.

shades of barbarism, if such we may call the effects produced by the absence of any moral code, and hence the laxity introduced into the public morals,—the consequent deficiency in the administration of justice, the impunity thus afforded to the commission of crime, the absence of any public right, and hence the want of stability in the governments;—if, further, we may characterise by the term barbarism the despotic rule of princes whose power knows no control, not even that of religion or morality, and the consequent want of security to life and property, as well as the absence of all the guarantees which society claims.

How did the Popes behave in presence of such a new state of things? Were they indifferent to it, or did they resist the innovation, or, again, were they carried away by it?

From the pontificate of Martin V. up to the time of the great Catholic reaction of the sixteenth century, the Papacy went through two distinct phases. We first see upon the throne of St. Peter a series of pious holy men, each penetrated with the sanctity of his high office, and pontiffs in the true sense of the word. To these succeed after Sixtus IV. another series of prelates who may be called political pontiffs. The first are absorbed in the task of repairing evil. They endeavour to pacify Italy, to rebuild Rome, above all to save the Church by finally putting an end to the great schism of the West, and a momentary one to that of the East. They strive to save the Christian world, by preaching war against the infidels that threaten it, the Moors in the West, the Turks in the East: the one nearly extinguished,

the other more formidable than ever since their taking of Constantinople and their appearance in the waters of Apulia. None of these Popes except Paul II., the least learned of them, appear to have been alarmed by the increased attention bestowed upon the study of letters or the activity and influence of the humanists. They loved and encouraged the literary movement. Thomas Parentucelli, who later became Nicholas V., and began life as a preceptor,[1] the real type of the professor, clever, sarcastic, and with a slightly doctoral countenance, was himself a humanist, but a Christian one. Founder of the Vatican library, he was surrounded by men of letters, all as pious and learned as himself, spent money munificently to further the ends of science and to collect manuscripts, and, confident in the power of Christian knowledge and mind, he never dreaded the resurrection of pagan philosophy.

Next to the duties of his pontificate, and to the efforts which he was never tired of making to obtain peace for Italy, his whole attention was devoted to the culture of letters and to favouring those who made them their occupation. Vespasian of Bisticci, a clever and agreeable contemporary of Nicholas V., a stationer by trade, but enjoying the intimacy of persons of the highest rank,[2] gives, in his biography of this Pope, a list of the scholars he employed, as well as of the works which they wrote under his impulse. Therein are found, together with works upon the Scriptures and

[1] See his tomb at St. Peter's Grottoes.

[2] Born at Bisticci (Tuscany) in 1430, died at Florence in 1498. *Vite di Uomini illustri del Secolo XV.*; published for the first time by Angelo Mai, Rome, 1839.

the Fathers, translations of the 'Iliad,' of Strabo, of Herodotus, of Thucydides, of Xenophon, of Diodorus, of Aristotle, of the 'Republic' of Plato. 'I note only,' says Vespasian, 'that which I know;' and adds, 'Pope Nicholas was the light and ornament of letters and of the erudite; and if his successors had followed his example, sciences would have greatly developed, but for want of encouragement they fall from bad to worse.' These words specially apply to the 'political' Popes, to Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI., who had too much to do to trouble themselves about the learned and their works.

The learned Eneas Sylvio, afterwards Pope Pius II., though one of the most enlightened men of his day, was already too much taken up by multifarious occupations to devote to the literary movement any special attention. Anxious to fight the infidels, to re-conquer himself the tomb of our Lord, he died at Ancona, at the very time that a Venetian fleet entered the harbour to take him on board and carry him off to the Holy Land.

Paul II., who unites the two categories of 'church' and 'state' Popes, was the first to conceive some fears as to the orthodoxy of the humanists. They revenged themselves by heaping insults upon him,[1] and complained that he accused them of heresy. His vindicators hold that 'he loved the learned, and would always do so provided they were good.'[2] Hence it is clear that the action against the humanists and their influence was then

[1] Platina.

[2] Gasparo de Verone: Novaes, Sommi Pontifici, Card. Quirini Vindic. Pauli II.

being determined before the tribunal of public opinion. After Paul II. the era of the political Popes begins—the epoch of Sixtus IV., of Innocent VIII., of Alexander VI., of Julius II., of Clement VII. Not that any of them ever disregarded or completely neglected his duties as Head of the Church and guardian of the faith, for even Alexander VI. himself was looked upon by his contemporaries as a great Pope, unfortunate though his memory is to us. The history of his reign, which has still to be written, must have come down to us in a very altered form, or the moral sense of his generation must have been strangely perverted, since Ariosto in his poem published under Leo X. and while Lucrezia Borgia was still alive, could sing the praises of the latter without offending the public conscience. It is an unquestionable fact, however, that all these princes were taken up solely with the desire of consolidating their power, of acquiring new territories by conquest or otherwise, and by mundane or political preoccupations. Julius II., the most considered of these sovereigns, and one of the hardiest generals of Europe, who strengthened, enlarged, and saved the temporal power, and with it the Papacy itself, is the most striking instance of this fact.

How are we to account for this glaring contrast between the two series of pontiffs, the one solely devoted to their spiritual mission, the others mostly given up to fostering their worldly interests? Fate, just because it explains everything, explains nothing. Dynastic policy, common to many reigning families in Europe, and traceable in them through the course of

centuries, cannot exist in Rome, since the Popes are indebted to election and not to hereditary descent for their tiara. We must therefore seek elsewhere for the causes of this phenomenon.

Italy was then going through one of those great crises, through which generations appear to float at the mercy of the waves between two shores—that which they have left for ever, and another which, though still out of sight, they are about to be landed upon. The ideas, traditions, and routine of the Middle Ages had been left aside. Science, strengthened by its contact with the knowledge handed down by antiquity, and free from the trammels of faith, expounded theoretically either that which the passions of the princes of that age dictated to them, or the doubts expressed by the sceptics, or the insolent requests of those who had revolted against the Christian morality. By the light of this science, which was fed by the fire of 'humanism,' society sought, without yet finding it, the proper place which it was to fill in the new world about to issue from this chaos. No one overlooks the merit of the humanists, their wonderful knowledge, the great scientific discoveries for which the world is indebted to them; but it is certain now,[1] that, without being altogether the authors of the change, they played a great part in its development, in the direction which it followed, and in the confusion which it created both in the minds and subsequently in the morals of the people.

[1] We have already quoted the very interesting and valuable work of Mr. Burckhardt, whose views we have adopted in a portion of this statement.

It is clear that some time must have elapsed before the effects of the new doctrines became visible. Ideas, like plants, are gradual in their development. Humanism was in full growth under those Popes whom we have designated Pontiffs in contradistinction with their more worldly successors, but showed not yet the fruits which some day were to be gathered from it. The evil was preparing then, while it was over during the reign of the others. The hopes which the learned and generous Nicholas had built on the activity of the humanists had not been realised. The contrary had come to pass. In the time of Sixtus IV. and of his immediate successors, when the Renaissance, which had sprung during the fourteenth century, was bearing its fruit, the intellectual atmosphere of Italy was essentially impure. Is it therefore to be wondered at that those who breathed that air, even though they were Popes, should experience its influence? How did matters stand? Politically, there was a total absence of public law, and socially a shaking of every religious conviction, as well as great relaxation in the public morals. In the higher classes the pagan 'nihilism' had made great conquests. The Italian princes thought of nothing but aggrandisement, and despised no means provided their ambition were satisfied. The Popes, in order to save themselves, had to follow the political movement. Had they not done so, they would soon have seen themselves expelled from Rome, and compelled again to seek refuge in foreign lands. Such is the excuse which some of them can allege, while others, like Julius II., can bring it forward as the justification of the con-

duct followed by them during their reign. But there occurred then what always happens in difficult situations when each has a separate cause, and that the balance between them is broken. The one developes only at the expense of the other. As each successive Pope (sometimes, but not always, fatally) took part in the political transactions of the day, they became estranged from the spiritual character of their mission, without however, we must repeat, absolutely failing in this respect. A tendency became manifest which was essentially incompatible with the duties of the successors of St. Peter, viz. to insure to members of the Pope's family, to nephews and their descendants, a share in the power of the State. The dynastic feeling encroached upon the Papal obligations. Religion, the Church, and all the interests that concern them, were running the greatest risk. Faith had become weakened in many minds, while no other convictions filled up the void. To the excessive enjoyments and well-nigh intoxication of the intellect, disgust and gloominess had succeeded. But the reaction had not yet reached the heads of the movement. While Leo X. was devoted to the arts, and had little concern in the affairs of the Church, or in those of the State, unless the ambition of his family obliged[1] him to look to the latter; and while Clement VII., that unfortunate sovereign, wrote down in his annals the name of Luther, the severance of England from the Catholic world, and the sack of Rome, the

[1] 'Quando il Papa fu fatto, diceva a Giulano (Medici): "Godiamoci il papato, poichè Dio ce l' ha dato." Sicchè il Papa non vorria nè guerra nè fatica: ma questi suoi lo intrigano.'—*Rel. Ven.* Marino Giorgi, 1517. Coll. Alberi.

great reaction against the religious innovations of the North was maturing, and ever inflaming with more ardour those who had remained faithful, while it made an easy conquest of a great number who had gone astray, and who to its force could oppose nothing better than the emptiness of Pagan teaching. Prepared at first quietly in the midst of the diseased society which was clamorous for consolation, the reaction broke out during the pontificate of Paul III., Clement's successor, and, following a course of success, appeared at one time as destined to re-establish unity of faith throughout the world.

By destroying the stronghold where they were wont to meet, the sack of Rome gave their death-blow to the humanists. Obliged to leave, they fled to all parts. Their reign was over. Under the influence of a storm which had broken upon the Eternal City, the atmosphere had suddenly changed and become as it were purified. A new era was at hand.

Paul III. was born in 1468. One of the most celebrated among the humanists, Pomponio Leti, who had been persecuted by Paul II., restored to favour by Sixtus IV., and had been much appreciated by Alexander VI., took charge of his education. Having pursued his studies in Florence, and successfully terminated his course of classical lectures, young Farnese returned to Rome, to live in the vitiated and seductive court of the Borgias. Speaking of this time, one of the ambassadors from Venice writes: 'His life was not a holy one, and even during the time of his cardinalship, which lasted more than forty years, he took little part in

the affairs of the State.'[1] When a young man he had had a son by a lady from Ancona, Pierluigi Farnese. On his accession to the Papal throne, he gave this son Camerino, and later, as an exchange and to hold them as fiefs of the Church, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza; this being the last instance of a portion of Pontifical territory having been alienated in favour of a member of the Pope's family. After the assassination of Pierluigi, Paul III., who already felt the influence of the reaction, wished to incorporate afresh the duchy of Parma with the domains of the Church, but by indemnifying his grandson Ottavio, and giving him the State of Camerino instead. Repaid with ingratitude by those he had loved too well, the old man died of grief, incessantly repeating in his last hour the words: 'Were I not mastered by him, I would now be pure and purified of a great sin.' In politics, with the exception of his quarrels with Charles V. on account of those same duchies of Parma and Piacenza, he devoted his attention to pacifying Europe. As head of the Church, he fought bravely for the defence of the faith. In his life may be seen, therefore, the two currents which meet and struggle for supremacy. The old current, still omnipotent when Farnese began life, ever exercised over him a certain ascendency, but the new one was the stronger of the two. The Pontiff redeemed, by his zeal for the good of the Church, the follies of the young patrician and the weakness of the father.

The same contrast between the two opposite ten-

[1] Rel. Ven. Antonio Soriano. Coll. Alberi.

dencies appears for the last time, but in a lesser degree, under Paul IV. Caraffa, the monk, and founder of the Order of the Theatines, ascended the Papal throne with all the ardour, energy, and severity which characterise the great Catholic reaction. The old Papal Nuncio in England, at Naples, in Spain, the intimate counsellor of Charles V., had not bidden good-bye, however, to the affairs of state. Hating, as did most of the Neapolitan gentlemen, the Spanish dominion, he called down upon himself, by his provocation of Philip II., the mortification of seeing the Duke of Alva enter Rome alone, after beating the Papal troops, and prostrate himself at the feet of the vanquished Pope. Weak in his political action, still weaker in his parental affections, he allowed himself to be governed by his nephews, enriched them at the expense of Colonna, but ended by expelling them from Rome. The Venetian envoys believe, but without proving the fact, that he began the reckless war against Spain for no other purpose than to set the Caraffas on the Neapolitan throne. This supposition, whether true or false, proves, however, that in the diplomatic circles, that was looked upon as probable which the new Catholic opinion regarded as impossible.

At the advent of Pius IV. the triumph of the reaction in Italy was certain; under that of Pius V. it was complete. There are no more political Popes, and nepotism has changed its essence. The heads of the Church, now completely absorbed by their apostolic avocations, no longer dare create sovereignties in favour of their nephews at the expense of Church property. Pius V. was the first to condemn nepotism,

and by his celebrated bull '*Admonet nos*'[1] prohibited in future the alienation by any Pope of any towns, territories, or other places belonging to the Church. This bull, which was signed in a consistory by thirty-nine cardinals, who swore to observe its clauses, was subsequently confirmed by several Pontiffs.

The reaction, born of the great centre where all the intellects unite and all the social energies congregate, after passing in turn through every stage of ecclesiastical distinction, was then obtaining its last success, that of moving the Pope himself. Pius V., representative of the epoch of generation and struggle which had just been entered upon, is the first since Clement V.—that is, since the end of the thirteenth century—among the successors of St. Peter who obtained the honours of canonisation; he is also the last. The war was waged: the engagement was general. To stop the progress of Protestantism, to reform the Church, and thus to save it: these were the objects of the reactionary movement and the motives which impelled those who guided its course, i.e. Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V. The Venetian envoys at the Court of Rome are unanimous in praising the efforts which these Popes made in the cause. 'Truly,' says Lorenzo Priuli,[2] 'it would seem as if our Lord God had cast his eye of clemency upon Christendom in giving to the world since the last Council three successive Pontiffs who have well executed its decisions to the advantage of every Christian nation.'

[1] March 29, 1567.

[2] Rel. Ven. Lorenzo Priuli, 1586. Paolo Tiepolo, 1576, expresses himself similarly in speaking of Pius V. and Gregory XIII.

At this time also Protestantism, which had made great and rapid progress in the North, was preparing to invade the Peninsula. In the universities, in the churches, doctrines were often propounded from the various chairs and pulpits which could scarcely be called otherwise than heretical. Partial defections, sufficiently rare it is true, but alarming as symptoms, took place in some religious communities. Monks and novices were escaping clandestinely to Geneva, which was the nearest and most dreaded centre of Calvinism. In the higher ecclesiastical regions, the spirit of innovation was already beginning to obtain proselytes to its cause. Cardinal Morone and the celebrated Dominican Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who were unjustly accused of heresy and imprisoned on that account, are the most illustrious victims of that era of fear and distrust. Everyone knew that if the Reformation, which already triumphed in parts of Germany, France, Poland, and Hungary, and in the whole of England as well as Scandinavia, succeeded also beyond the Alps, Italy could not in the end escape a similar fate. The state of Spain gave equal cause for apprehension. Society was therefore placed between Protestantism on the one hand, which was ready to cross the Alps, and a weakened faith and corrupted morals, the inheritance left by humanism, the effects of which they were only beginning justly to appreciate. Of the two dangers to be apprehended, the first was the most apparent. Both were so formidable that Rome, awe-stricken and discouraged though not paralysed in her action, appeared at one time to despair of salvation.

Proofs of this state of things are innumerable. Luigi Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador at the courts of Paul IV. and Pius IV., writes in 1560 : 'Your Serenity is aware that in many countries obedience is almost denied to the Pope, and matters are becoming so critical that, if the Lord God does not interfere, they will soon be in a worse and almost desperate condition. Germany, which even more than any other country was religious and obedient to the Holy See, is now in a bad way, and leaves little hope of being cured. Poland also is in almost as desperate a state, and the scandals and disorders which have taken place in France and in Spain are too well known for me to speak of them. The kingdom of England, formerly an obedient servant of the Holy Church, after a short time since returning to her old obedience, has again, as everyone knows, fallen into heresy. The spiritual power of the Pontiff is thus so straitened that if, by means of the Council which is to be convoked with the consent of every sovereign prince, the affairs of our religion are not settled more satisfactorily, the greatest evils are to be apprehended.'

Three years later, another envoy, Girolamo Soranzo, writes to the Doge : 'A few days previously to my departure from Rome, the illustrious Carpi, the eldest of the Sacred College and a truly prudent cardinal, told me, that during his last illness, he had fervently prayed God to let him die rather than witness the obsequies of Rome. Other cardinals, enjoying the highest reputation, do not cease deploring their misfortune, which they look upon as all the greater that they neither know nor see a remedy, unless it pleased the Lord God

to bestow one with His own hands. And the illustrious Morone (who, as last President of the Council of Trent, shares with the Emperor Ferdinand I. the honour and merit of having brought it to a satisfactory conclusion) told me on leaving for the Council that there was no hope for the Catholic religion (*nulla spes erat*).'[1]

But great perils give rise to great measures, or rather they discover them. The alarm once sounded, every one was on foot. A holy league was formed as if by enchantment. From all parts and all ranks the combatants poured in, and in the midst of the ranks of this army of faith the chiefs were chosen. To be strengthened for the fight, by means of prayer, abnegation, and the exercise of those holy Christian practices which had been so disregarded and so little practised by preceding generations—to gather strength by reforming the clergy and society to cope with the danger which was looked upon and acknowledged as extreme—such was the cry which emanated from the heart of those who were burning with the love of divine things—the rallying motto which spread rapidly and divided the Catholic world into two camps, that which called for reform and that which rejected it. The conversion of those who had become separated from Rome, and the regeneration of those who were lukewarm and indifferent in their faith, formed the twofold object which those had in view who, like the remarkable men and pious women that we see at the opening of the campaign,

[1] Rel. Ven. Luigi Mocenigo, 1560, and Girolamo Soranzo, June 14, 1563. Coll. Alberi.

stood in the front ranks and earned for their name in future centuries the glorious titles of Saints and Beatified of the Church.

To the ranks of this sacred militia every Catholic country, and even some who have ceased to be so, contributed their number. That of Spain was the largest. So chivalrous, sober, earnest, and meditative a nation, which during eight centuries of struggle against the Moors learnt how to wield the sword in the service of the Cross, could not but join with ardour the new crusaders; and, full of the memory of her still recent traditions, she was fired by the example of her veteran heroes, the old soldiers of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Gonzalvo of Cordova, and of the last heroes of Granada. She seized not the sword or the coat of mail, as of old, but the crucifix and the monkish frock, bringing to the fight all the zeal, energy, conviction, and earnestness of olden times.

In 1534, the year of the advent of Paul III., a Basque nobleman, formerly an officer in the armies of Charles V., Ignatius Loyola, whose name has never ceased since to excite the world, laid in Paris, at the 'Buttes Montmartre,' with the help of a few friends, the foundations of the Society of Jesus. In the name given by him to his order may be seen how high were the aspirations of the founder, and, in its military organisation, how great he esteemed the struggle for which he wished to prepare his men by a severe discipline and an implicit obedience. Five years later Paul III. sanctioned the order. A few years later and we find already Francis Xavier, the apostle of the

Indies, carrying on the holy war and pursuing the conquest of souls in the extreme East, Padre Nuñez doing the same in Abyssinia, Padre Gonzalez in Morocco, others in Brazil, in China, and in Japan. At the same time they penetrate into England and into the North, and are admitted in all Catholic countries. At the death of Ignatius, sixteen years only after the foundation of the order, the Society was flourishing in twelve provinces; those of Portugal, Castile, Andalusia, Aragon; Italy, which comprised Lombardy and Tuscany, Naples, Sicily; high and low Germany, France, Brazils, and, finally, in the East Indies. In these provinces there were one hundred colleges or houses belonging to the Jesuits. Shortly they overran Europe. Fathers Larinez and Salmeron, theologians of the Holy See, became conspicuous at the Council of Trent: Father Maffei distinguished himself by his eloquence and the classical purity of his Latin diction: the Duke of Gandia (St. Francis Borgia), the friend of Charles V., formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, by his humility and sanctity: Father Porsevin, who was ever on his way between Rome and Poland, between Moscow and Rome, and was the first diplomatist of the Order, by his ability and experience in the transaction of business. At Rome, the learned P. Toledo enjoyed, during several pontificates, the highest authority. It is he who, by a famous phrase, 'Clement VII. lost England by precipitancy: Clement VIII. will lose France by too much slowness,' brought the Pope, after long hesitation, to absolve Henry IV. The opposition which the Jesuits encountered even in the Church can be measured by the

prodigious success which they obtained at their outset. The writings, private letters, and diplomatic correspondence of the period are for ever talking of the new Order; and while some exalt its merits, and others blame and even insult it, they all agree in testifying to the great part it has taken in the work of regenerating the Catholic world.

Another Spaniard, P. John d'Avila, who was called the Apostle of Andalusia, is one of the first and most active authors of the reaction. His eloquence moved whole populations. By one of his sermons delivered in the cathedral of Granada he converted a poor Portuguese, who as a common soldier had fought in Flanders and in Hungary, and who of his own accord had subsequently gone to Africa to take care of the Christian slaves. This philanthropist, who became the founder of the 'Fate Bene Fratelli' (St. John of God), lived and died in extreme poverty; but the force of his example proved so powerful with St. Theresa and St. Francis Borgia, that it put an end to the hesitations of the one, and greatly contributed to the decision which the latter took of renouncing the world to embrace religion.

Thanks to Theresa of Cepeda, Avila, where she was born, became one of the centres of the Catholic movement. Lost at the far end of Castile, and situated in the midst of hilly moors, which are interspersed with granite blocks and shut out by sierras from the rest of the world, Avila, more perhaps than any other city in Spain, reminds one, by its battled walls, its half-temple, half-fortress-looking cathedral, and its *solares*

(houses), of the history and genius of the old Spanish race. At every step some emblem of monastic life, or the armorial bearings of gentlemen, the cross and the sword, meet the eye. All about it breathes of prayer and fighting, and on leaving its precincts one finds oneself suddenly thrown into solitude and the silence of a desert, after passing the splendid monasteries of St. Thomas and St. Vincent, which form, as it were, the detached forts of the place. Here it is that St. Theresa, who belonged to one of those noble families who from generation to generation had fought against the Moors, often for and often against their kings, gave herself up entirely to devotion and to the work of reformation, showing in her character that of the city wherein she was born as well as the influence of the day. Here it is that she founded the Order of the Barefooted Carmelites, wrote her mystical works, and embodied in lines worthy of the Castilian muse her passionate outbursts of ecstasy. Subject, like all innovators, to every species of persecution, but fighting bravely and triumphantly against her detractors with the help of Philip II., she died in the convent of Lista, in the arms of the Duchess of Alva, with the satisfaction of having seen that the orders of both friars and nuns which she had instituted were rapidly prospering.

Another Spaniard, St. John of the Cross, of whom St. Theresa says, 'he was small in stature, but big in the eyes of God,'[1] belonged to the order which St. Theresa had founded, and was her compatriot and collaborator. He was martyred, not by his adversaries,

[1] Sta. Theresa to Francisco Salcedo. Lettere di Santa Teresa. Venice, 1690.

but by those very men whose cause he defended. He fell a victim to his refractory monks. St. Peter of Alcantara, of the Order of the 'Recolletti,' also a friend of St. Theresa, reformed Portugal, to which country he had been called by John III. From his retreat in the Sierra d'Arabida, the fantastical appearance of which mountain comes out so gracefully in relief upon the horizon of Lisbon, and from the summit of those barren rocks, at the foot of which an earthly Paradise extends, St. Peter watched and directed the reformation of his Order. Other names equally illustrious in the annals of the Church may be added to those we have mentioned: the two Neapolitan Caracciolos, St. Francis and Fabricius, the blessed John Baptist of the Conception, the founder of the Barefooted 'Trinitarii,' St. Francis Solano of Cordova, the apostle of Peru, the blessed John Leonardi; and among those who shone most conspicuously, St. Charles Borromeo at Milan, and St. Philip Neri at Florence, the founder of the Oratorians.

The name of Charles Borromeo is often met with in the despatches of the foreign envoys in Rome, and in those of the governors of Milan during the latter half of his life, which he entirely spent in his diocese. What most strikes all these several statesmen is[1] the purity of his life. 'His life,' says a Venetian envoy, 'is so pure that he may be said to be exempt from any stain of sin.' 'He leads so exemplary an existence,' says another, 'that by his example he does more good

[1] Rel. Ven. Girol. Soranzo, 1563, and Giacomo Soranzo, 1565. Coll. Alberi.

to the Court of Rome than can all the decrees of the Council.' They wonder that a young man, rich, beloved, much spoilt by Pope Pius IV., his uncle, of whom he was a Secretary of State, the dispenser of every favour, the man to whom everyone—ambassadors, cardinals, prelates—all address themselves, should be possessed of so much virtue. 'He has conquered himself, he has conquered the flesh and the world,' exclaims Giacomo Soranzo, who praises the saint's modesty, his reserve, his theological knowledge, and his entire forgetfulness of self. But this same envoy blames his slowness, his scrupulous tendencies, his aversion to asking favours of the Pope, which aversion was not likely to make him popular with courtiers, who had no reason to be satisfied with him. 'He only harbours 150 persons in his palace,' says Girolamo Soranzo, 'many of whom are obliged to defray their own expenses, and to live in Roman fashion—that is, on hope. The Jesuits have induced him, besides his own natural inclination, to lead the holy life which he does. The Pope, who would have liked to see him livelier and spend more, has often exhorted him to lead a less austere existence; but he has not changed his ways.' His revenues, which were close upon fifty thousand scudi, were all spent in charities, or in bestowing dowries on portionless girls, or in paying the debts of his brother. His zeal, however, became a subject of quarrel with the governors appointed by Philip II., who complained to the Pope and thus created serious embarrassments to his Holiness. Though a saint himself, Pius V. complained of the too great

strictness of the archbishop.[1] The saints are not always accommodating, no more than were the representatives of Philip II., who were for ever quarrelling either openly or secretly with the ecclesiastical authorities in his Italian possessions. To the encroachments of the Spanish high functionaries the Archbishops of Milan and of Naples replied by excommunication. The Court of Madrid revenged itself, but never carried matters so far as to break with Rome. The untimely death of Charles Borromeo was universally deplored.[2]

Such were the men who had the honour of being first in the field. Even in a political sense, their biography is precious, for in studying their lives an insight is obtained into the evils which had corrupted the Catholic world. One marvels at the success, and perhaps even more at the courage, of those who undertook to remedy the evil, and one learns never to despair of great causes which are said to be lost beforehand, but which in most cases are only so when they cease to be defended.

The Sacred College, according to some official observers residing in Rome, was better composed than it had ever been. With the exception of some instances

[1] 'Sua Santità dice che quel cardinale col suo troppo rigore li da sempre qualche travaglio, perchè da una banda non può abbandonar la sua difesa, ma dall' altra vede che fà le cose con mal modo e molte anche non bisogneria mostrar di veder, le tratta con troppo asprezza.'—Michel Surian to the Doge, 1569.

[2] 'La morte del Cardinale Borromeo se bene universalmente è stata sentita con dispiacere, come se conveniva alla grande ed esemplare religione e bontà di questo santo uomo, però non mancano di quelli che ne risentono qualche contento per il comodo che ne riceveranno.'—*Arch. Ven.* Disp. fil. 18. Rome, Leop. Priuli, Nov. 1584. The diplomatic correspondence of the time contains, as it were, the elements of his canonisation. While writing of their relations with him, and often complaining of him, they were writing, during his lifetime and unwittingly, the history of a saint.

of nepotism, and a few favourites who were unworthy of their patron, the men chosen by the Popes since Paul III. to be cardinals were almost all men whose selection was justified by their piety, their learning, or their high origin. Several of them figure among the most renowned personages of the day. Alexander Farnese, called the Great Cardinal, though made a cardinal when only fourteen years of age, a fact which caused great scandal in Rome, proved nevertheless to be one of the stars of the Sacred College. John Fisher, known by his controversy with Luther, died a martyr in England, of which country he was a native. Gasparo Contarini, a Venetian nobleman, known by his embassy to the peace conference of Bologna, was a statesman and a writer of eminence. To these must be added Simonetta, the great lawyer; the pious and zealous Caracciolo, governor of Charles V. in Milan; the modest Sadolet, one of the most eminent Latin scholars of modern times; the illustrious Reginald Pole, of the ducal house of Suffolk, who, elected Pope by 'adoration' (acclamation), refused to wear the tiara because, said he, 'he preferred entering by the door rather than by the window;' Hippolyte d'Este, a real cardinal prince, known for his munificence as well as for his statesman-like qualities; Pietro Bembo, of Venice, one of the last of the humanists and styled the renovator of the Latin and Italian languages, and Giovani Morone of Milan, who, suspected of heresy, was thrown into the prison of Fort St. Angelo by order of Paul IV., but came out gloriously to terminate the labours of the Council of Trent. Admired by everyone, dreaded by his adver-

saries, he was, on account of his reserve, called the well (bottomless) of St. Patricius by the ever lively and sarcastic Roman people. With these we see the pious and generous Frederic Cesi; Pedro Pacheco, one of the stars of the Council; Charles Borromeo; and Granvella, the intimate counsellor of Charles V. and his ambassador at the Court of Francis I. Viceroy of Naples, he became the prime minister of Philip II., and one of the most universally appreciated statesmen of his time. Polyglot and clever, he was said to be 'rigid in the service of his God and of his master.' We have also to name Ludovico Madruccio, the great Cardinal of Trent, the confidant of both branches of the house of Austria; Geseraldo, who during forty-two years of cardinalship constantly gave the example of every Christian virtue; and Guglielmo Sirletto, one of the numerous instances of hazard being justified by merit. He was a 'famigliare' of a cardinal previously to becoming one himself, thanks to the discernment of Charles Borromeo, who appreciated 'his great science, his great virtue, his profound religious knowledge.' Gabriel Paleotto, professor of law at Bologna, the Cardinals' theologian at the Council of Trent, one of the lights of the day, was compared to St. Charles, and died with the reputation of never having sullied his baptismal innocence.

On the other hand, as we have said, scandal was not backward. The Caraffas, nephews of Paul IV.; the ignoble del Monte, made a cardinal by Julius III., constitute the other side of the picture. But the men who proved to be unworthy of their exalted position were

much less numerous than those who deserved to be considered as ornaments of the Church. But what is most important, at least to understand the new aspect of affairs, is to note how a bad choice (the times of the Borgias had long gone by) was keenly criticised, openly blamed, and became, for the Pope who had made it, a source of so much embarrassment and a cause for so much regret that he hastened to satisfy public opinion by making promotions which would meet with general approbation. This public susceptibility, which is a symptom of the reactionary movement, began with it, under the pontificate of Paul III.[1]

All these eminent men formed, as it were, the staff of the great army of faith which the Popes commanded, and of which Rome constituted the headquarters, and the world their field of battle.

From the time of Paul III. the work of reform advanced unceasingly. This Pope it was who instituted the Congregation of the Inquisition, which was composed of six cardinals, and was destined to watch over the purity of the faith. The severity of the inquisitors, exaggerated during the pontificate of Paul IV., was lessened during that of Pius IV., at least in Italy. Still imbued with the spirit and practices of the neo-paganism of the last century, he took special care to reform morals. Julius III., whose

[1] 'E perchè Sua Santità ha voluto creare i nepoti cardinali d' età molto tenera (che il reverendissimo Farnese non passa li quatordici anni e l' altro poco più; di che ha pur acquistato nota il mondo, ed ha causato mormorio grande: cosa chè può senza dubbio dargli imputazione appresso i Luterani e nel Concilio), ha voluto Sua Santità ricoprire tale errore, con fare poi la susseguente promozione dei cardinali, tanto degna e di persone di qualità excellentissime.'—*Rel. Ven.* Antonio Soriano. 1535.

character was little inclined to be ascetic, persevered, however, in the same line of conduct, suspended throughout Christendom the granting of indulgences which had had such fatal consequences, and was the first to prohibit reading impious books. With the help of Cardinal Morone and St. Ignatius, he founded the German College, which is still flourishing in Rome. Marcellus II. found time during his twenty-two days' pontificate to stigmatise nepotism, to protest against the interference of Popes in political matters, and to reform sacred music, which had so degenerated that he would have excluded it altogether from church services, had not the immortal Pierluigi Palestrina saved it by the composition of the celebrated mass which bears the name of Marcellus. Paul IV., whose faults were errors of judgment, and whose virtues were those of a saint rather than of a pontiff and a sovereign, continued with implacable zeal the work so well begun. Pius IV. owed to the times in which he lived, and to the aid of Charles Borromeo, the thanks which the Church awards to him. Pius V. was entirely devoted to his apostolical mission. Gregory XIII. was full of attention to the education of the Catholic youth of all countries. Finally came Sixtus V. All these Popes, borne up by the new current of ideas and aided by the knowledge of many eminent men, adopted a series of measures destined to strengthen the Church, and to bring to a satisfactory end the great work of reforming her.

At all times would the assembling of a congress for the purpose of negotiating peace with the enemy and

smoothing over difficulties which had arisen among allies, even before hostilities had come to an end, prove a most difficult enterprise and one which offered little hope of success.

This is, however, what was courageously attempted and what good fortune brought to a satisfactory end. The Council of Trent is the greatest success of the reactionary impulse of the sixteenth century. By its decrees, which were drawn up in concert with the head and principal members of the Church and with the co-operation of the great Catholic States, that Council established a new basis for future operations, and arrested the progress of the enemy. Without entirely fulfilling the hopes of Charles V. and of Pius IV., or bringing the whole flock back to the fold, it effected, as indeed Venice had with its usual perspicacity foreseen as its chief possible result, a real and lasting reform of the Church. The history of its preliminaries likewise shows the gradual progress of the great Catholic movement. Leo X. and Clement VII., through personal or interested motives, had opposed the meeting of a Council which Charles V. never ceased to ask for. Clement VII.'s fear of such a Council influenced his policy, caused his ruin, and, maybe, indirectly his death. Pope Farnese had also opposed it. He was apprehensive lest such an assembly should entirely absorb the authority of the Pontiff. He only called it at the repeated instance of the Emperor, whose pressure he dared no longer resist.

Pius IV., though personally little affected by the new ideas which already invaded the whole of the

Catholic world, made no resistance.[1] The work was completed under his pontificate. That work was now to be made to bear fruit, and to do this was what his immediate successors considered their most important duty, a duty which they performed to the best of their ability. Could the great ecclesiastical Parliament have been assembled in the midst of the general indifference which in religious matters characterised the Italy of the Renaissance? We may question it. In all probability the repugnance of Leo X., of Clement VII., of Paul III., founded on the general apathy of the public, would have carried the day against the pressing demands of the Emperor. But in the sixteenth century this dislike dwindled away under the pressure of the Catholic opinion, which had become irresistible. How are we to explain why the Popes, who should in their capacity of Heads of the Church have been the promoters of the reaction, were, on the contrary, as regards the Council, the last to follow it? Leo X., Clement VII., and to a certain degree Paul III., were men of their times, of those times which had not seen them reign, but had given them birth, had seen them grow and advance in their career. They were children of the Renaissance, and of that essentially political era of the Papacy. Questions besides specially affecting the interests of their position made them necessarily diffident towards so extreme a party. In every sense it appeared to them to be dangerous that

[1] Rel. Ven. Girol. Soranzo. 'Si deve per certo credere che Sua Santità si movesse a così santa opera per sua propria elezione con fine di ridur sotto un solo pastore tutto il gregge: non di meno si sa che la necessità vi ha havuto una gran parte.'

the examination, and, maybe, the solution, of those grave questions which were mooted in the Church. should be entrusted to a Council. Would it be possible, asked Paul III., to direct, restrain, and at last dissolve, an assembly composed of so many different elements, a prey to changeable influences, and even accessible to the influence of those sovereign princes whose representatives were to sit in the Council? What would be the result? None could foresee it. But then was it not leaving matters to chance, to place them in the hands of that areopagus, so profoundly to alter the constitution of the Church, or exchange its monarchical for a synodal character? These hesitations had, therefore, a *locus standi*, and it would be unfair to accuse Paul III. of egotism and lukewarmness, only because he disliked to rush into the unknown, or to expose to risks which he could not measure, those interests of which he was at once the guardian and the receptacle. But in the highest region it was finally felt that a great effort must be made to bring back the dissenters, which already implied negotiations in the future, and to reform the Catholic clergy, which necessarily required their free concourse.

This double object, the reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics, if possible, and the reformation of Catholic existence, could only be obtained by the dangerous but unavoidable means of a Council. This conviction once acquired, all the fears and hence the resistance of the Popes disappeared at once to make way for other feelings. Throwing aside all considerations in respect of person or position, the Popes

then headed the reaction, brought to a satisfactory conclusion the business of the Council, insured the execution of its decrees, and, in a word, saved the Church which had been so near its ruin. The wonderful results obtained are to be accounted for by the equally wonderful forces which were gathered almost by a miracle in so short a space of time,[1] by the advantage taken of it, by the energetic measures adopted. The Protestants had adopted equally strong measures, and these contrast powerfully by their severity with the gentle customs of the present day, but were in harmony with those of the age, and answered to the exigencies of the occasion. These results are finally accounted for by the then recognised fact, that the Protestant Reformation had, in the hands of those princes who were its leaders, become an instrument of war and a flag which covered interested projects,[2] while the Catholic reaction was a purely religious

[1] To be convinced of this it is only necessary to cast a glance at the dates of the births and deaths of the saints whose names we have already given. St. Ignatius, 1491–1556; St. John of God, 1495–1550; Padre John d'Avila, 1569; St. Peter of Alcantara, 1499–1562; St. Francis Xavier, 1506–1552; St. Francis Borgia, 1510–1572; St. Theresa, 1515–1582; St. Philip Neri, 1513–1595; St. Charles Borromeo, 1538–1584; St. John of the Cross, 1542–1591; the blessed John Leonardi, 1543–1609; St. Francis Solano, 1549–1610; blessed John Baptist of the Conception, 1561–1613; St. Francis Caracciolo, 1563–1608.

[2] There are abundant proofs. We shall only quote here the statement of Girol. Soranzo, Rome, 1563. 'Questi affetti [of the Popes for their nephews] adunque et interessi mondani, che sono stati tanto palesi al mondo, hanno causato che prencipi temporali, presa occasione di tali esempi e della suscitazione di tanta eresia, hanno pensato di impadronirsi anche loro dei beni della Chiesa; il che non potendosi fare senza alienarsi dall' obbedienza della sede apostolica, ha fatto che essi ne sono in tutto partiti. E per mio credere nell' alienazione della Germania ed Inghilterra ha avuto molto maggior parte il proprio interesse dei prencipi che la opinione di Martino Lutero e del Melantone; e dei presenti moti di

movement, born in the inmost recesses of hearts, and based upon dogmas of faith which are inaccessible to the action of individual reason, the essence and starting point of Protestantism. Ambition, no doubt, played a great part in promoting the movement. The wars of the League, and the favour with which Philip II. honoured it, are so many proofs. Nor was the Protestant camp wanting altogether in religious aspirations, but the two changes, taken all in all, were remarkable for being the one an essentially religious, and the other a political movement — the temporal interests of a limited number of individuals, on the one part; the religious belief of a whole and compact mass of individuals, on the other. All the moral advantages of the fight were on the side of the Church, and her triumph would have been complete had the success of those princes who defended her in the field been equal to the display of her spiritual forces.

Francia sa molto bene la Serenità Vostra che non il Calvino ne il Beza, ma le inimicizie particolari e il desiderio di governare sono state principal cagione.'

CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND COURT.

SUCH was, at the death of Gregory XIII., the nature of that religious movement which it is agreed to call the great Catholic reaction, and of which we have attempted to give a slight sketch. Rome was, though not its cradle (for the reaction belongs by birth to every Catholic country), at least the great centre where the flood and ebb tides of the new ideas met. To the head of the Church, residing in Rome, devolved the care of directing, enlightening, and restraining it. The Pope, however, is not only a pontiff, but he is likewise a king. He exercises the temporal power which has been entrusted to him without control, either personally, which is seldom the case, or, as is usual, through ministers freely chosen by him from among the members of the Sacred College. These formerly were members of the Pope's family, or at least compatriots, and ever-faithful executors of his will. Made Pope by an election the results of which cannot be foreseen, and invested with a supreme power which has no political limits, the Pontiff governs the state during a more or less limited space of time, the maximum of which, twenty-five years, has as yet been reached by

one Pope only, St. Peter,[1] and the mean of which has been not more than seven years. Nine days after his death, when his body has been deposited in a vault before being removed to one of those rich tombs which make of St. Peter the finest mausoleum in existence, his successor, whose name is known only to Providence, will be elected. Here, again, as in almost all cases, the event will baffle the most scientific plans, belie the most authorised of previsions, and disappoint the hopes and fears which float around the tomb which has only so lately been closed. With the new Pope succeeds a new *régime*. A change, which is more or less extensive, but ever great since it affects the heads of the administration, takes place in the official world. These changes of sovereigns occur oftener in Rome, and occasion greater modifications in the higher spheres of Government, than anywhere else. Unforeseen issues and want of stability are characteristics of the Roman Government.

To this must be added the fact that the ecclesiastical calling is open to everyone, independent of country, birth, or race, and that it formerly gave access to State as well as to Church employment. 'It is fortunate,' writes Luigi Mocenigo, after noticing, as others had done, the evils to which such a system gave rise, 'that there are no men of sufficiently low birth or condition that cannot reasonably hope, if they embrace the ecclesiastical profession, some day to become a bishop, a cardinal, or even a Pope; and it is even

[1] It has been reached by the 259th and present Pope, Pius IX., on June 16, 1871.

easier for people of humble extraction than for illustrious and noble cardinals to obtain the tiara, for the latter, when they find themselves excluded, prefer, to their equals, some cardinals of obscure birth, and especially so if he has been in their service or in that of their household.' The frequent changes were due to the old age of the several popes. All who had embraced the clerical profession could aspire to every dignity, even the highest, and no one was excluded from that profession. In the conclaves the cardinals who had risen from the people had as much chance as the others of becoming Pope, if not more. The result was that on the very morrow after the election of the new pontiff opinion was rife as to possible results of the future conclave, and each tried to favour his chances, so that Rome became the focus of every ambitious aim, whether it were noble or the reverse.[1] The most precious favour which fate could bestow was to elect as Pope the cardinal whose chaplain or secretary or companion one happened to be.[2]

What justified in a measure these high aspirations were the numerous examples, whether old or recent, of men having made rapid and brilliant careers. Thus Adrian Florent, the son of an Utrecht mechanic, became successively doctor of divinity, preceptor of Charles V., his governor-general of Spain, a cardinal, and finally Adrian VI. Pius IV. and Pius V. were

[1] Sixtus V. was elected on the 24th of April, and on the 8th of May Cardinal d'Este wrote to M. de Villeroy: 'But as no sooner has a Pope been elected than minds are preoccupied about his successor, I will tell you what I think on the subject.'—Paris, Coll. Harlay, 288.

[2] Rel. Ven. Luigi Mocenigo, 1560.

born, the one of the lower ranks of the middle classes, the other of the people. Gregory XIII. was the son of a small tradesman. We need not speak of earlier Popes who had similar origins. In the same century there sat upon the throne of St. Peter the son of a poor gardener (Sixtus V.), and Ippolito Aldobrandini (Clement VIII.), whom his father, a gentleman and a lawyer of repute, but a poor man, had placed as clerk in a banking-house. As to the cardinals, they were many of them of low birth, and sometimes were in majority of those who could boast an illustrious descent.

'Rome,' writes a Venetian envoy, Girolamo Soranzo, in 1563, 'is beautiful in itself, but especially so by its Court; for it is unquestionably a great thing to see a multitude of people of every nation, of every rank and grade of society, congregate in one city, impelled by the hope which buoys up each man that he will attain his end. The man who is born rich, and who is not satisfied with the honours which he can attain in his own country, may with money arrive at the highest dignities. Another, who is poor and has a large family, selects among his sons the one who gives most promise, and sends him to Rome in the hope of finding for him there an honourable and sufficient living. A third, born in obscurity and in want, who feels that he has some knowledge either of letters or of business, at once proceeds to Rome, and on arrival, depending upon fate as well as upon his intellectual capacities, sets to work and aims at the highest dignities if not the highest honour. Lastly, the man who cares for independence,

and requires nothing but what everyone can command, likewise chooses Rome as a residence. This universal concourse, though giving rise occasionally to scandal, owing to the luxury of that Court, which, following the example of the early Fathers, should live apart from such splendour, turns, however, on the other hand, to the advantage of that poor Italy; for it opens many honourable and lucrative professions to many Italian gentlemen who otherwise would not know whom to address, and might possibly have recourse to no one but the Ultramontanes.'

Hence a feverish state which had become normal. All the inconveniences which attach to the elective power, and which were increased in Rome by the frequency of the changes of sovereigns, as well as by the extensive scope which presented itself to the ambition of everyone, are palpable and have often been pointed at. The advantages, however, accruing from such a system have much less often been noticed. The least, perhaps, of these is to have facilitated, as Soranzo writes to the gentlemen of Italy, the means of advantageously occupying their younger sons, at least those among them (and the fact deserves attention) who gave most promise, that is, had most brain and energy. What is more important is that Rome, while it offered such high rewards to merit, and left to fate so wide a scope, attracted from all countries men, who became enrolled in its service (which in reality was that of civilisation), and who brought with them, to that great centre of activity, the share of intelligence, strength, courage, and perseverance which they had received

from above. To enumerate the names and the works of those statesmen, churchmen, scholars, and artists which Rome has produced, but who were not born within its walls, would be to write a long page of the history of humanity. It is well known that almost all the artistic treasures of modern times which are accumulated in Rome are due to the munificence of the Popes and cardinals, and to the genius of those foreign artists who owed their celebrity to that exalted stage in the theatre of the world, as it was called, where taste became purified by the study of the antique, where the sacred fire ran no risk of burning out for want of fuel, where emulation was called forth by competition and progress by emulation, and where glory and often riches became the rewards of success, and immortal fame that of superior merit. What would Raphael and Michael Angelo have been without Julius II. and Leo X., had the one never left Umbria or the other Tuscany? Raphael, maybe, would have proved an idealised Perugino, but would never have painted the stanze and the loggie of the Vatican. Michael Angelo, who did great things at Florence but greater still at Rome, would never have painted either his 'Last Judgment' or his 'Moses.'

Rome owes to the double individuality of the Papacy—the spiritual power of which rests upon the immovable basis of the dogmas, and the temporal is so inconstant that it can be likened to the air which one breathes in the City, so frequent are its changes—that peculiar physiognomy which characterises it. At once fixed and movable it recalls those rare heads with

strongly marked features and nervous and delicate expression, which, in their constant changeableness, show the activity of mind and the emotions of the soul which are at work. Even the material aspect of the city changes with its pontiffs. Each Pope gives to Rome the print of his weakness or of his strength. Under Paul IV. Rome, for the first time, reflected the great religious change. Under his pontificate began the reform of the morals of the clergy. 'Rome,' says Mocenigo, 'then resembled an honest monastery, wherein whoever wanted to commit a sin had to do so as secretly as possible.' In the higher spheres of the ecclesiastical world scandal had totally disappeared. The floating population had considerably diminished. The Pope's severity acted powerfully upon the idle in making them leave a town which was shorn of its former attractions, and those bishops who preferred life at Court to life in their dioceses were sent back to the latter without delay. Rome had then not more than 50,000 inhabitants. Under the pontificate of Pius IV., who was less severe than his predecessor, the population rose to 70,000. But the old splendour, the riches and luxury of former times, had disappeared. One of the most salutary decisions of the Council of Trent was one prohibiting the bishops and other incumbents to abandon their residence. Another decision put an end to plurality in bishoprics. Prelates became poorer, and foreign bishops could no longer establish themselves in Rome. The Courts of Spain and France, which formerly were so anxious to increase the number of cardinals who were their subjects, now opposed any

further promotion. The schism in England and in part of Germany had reduced the number of incumbencies of which the Holy See could formerly dispose. All these causes concurred in operating a change in the aspect of Rome. The Pontifical Court was less brilliant since the bishops and their suites had left the city.[1] There were fewer people and fewer amusements. No wonder that the men of pleasure, diplomatists, cardinals, and old-fashioned prelates deplored what they looked upon as a degeneration. But more clear-sighted or less worldly observers could see in this change one of the great symptoms of the regeneration that was being accomplished in the heart of the Church. 'One lives,' says Mocenigo,[2] 'very quietly in Rome, either because one is poor, or because one follows the example of Cardinal Borromeo. People are like those who rule them. That cardinal, who has everything in his hands, leads so religious and retired a life, that the cardinals and courtiers can hope for nothing unless they adopt in reality or in appearance his mode of existence. They therefore no longer take any part in any public amusements. Masqued cardinals are no longer seen as of yore. They do not now accompany ladies through the streets of Rome either on horseback or driving. They barely walk out alone or in closed carriages. No more feasts, no more games, no more hunting nor fine liveries, no luxury. This is all the more perceptible that there are no longer here any members of the Pope's family, nor rich and great secular noble-

[1] 'È uscita si può dire la maggior parte della corte.' Mocenigo, 1565.
[2] Rel. Ven. 1565

men, of which there were so many at the Court of Rome in former days. The priests all wear their clerical dress, and the aspect of the men clearly shows the effects of reform.' Carriages—the usage of which had become general since the middle of the century—had become less in vogue since Pius IV. had enjoined his cardinals to come to the Vatican on horseback according to the old custom, which, he said, Charles V., when in Rome,[1] had so much admired. Under Pius V. Rome preserved that austere aspect. That holy Pope took pleasure in erecting monuments to the memory of his departed friends. It was his only distraction.[2] 'Gregory XIII.,' says Tiepolo (1576), 'though less severe than Pius V., does as well. He takes great care of the churches, builds and restores several, and promotes, with the help of the clergy, the great work of reform. It is fortunate that two pontiffs of such irreproachable lives should have succeeded one another, for by their example everyone has become, or appears to have become, better. The cardinals and prelates of the Court often say mass, live quietly, their household likewise, and the whole town leads a better and incomparably more Christian existence, so that the affairs of Rome in a religious point of view are in a good con-

[1] 1534.

[2] 'Circa le fabbriche non si sa ancora quello sia per fare Pio V; ben è vero che sinora non si veggono molti principj, se non fosse un convento di padri dominicani, oltre un sepolcro famosissimo nella chiesa della Minerva per onorar la memoria di Paolo IV suo benefattore e nella chiesa della Trinità de' Monti un altra cappella per il cardinal Carpi, suo vecchio amico e benefattore, e nel duomo di Napoli un altra per il cardinal Caraffa nipote di Paolo IV, ed infine piglia tutto il suo piacere fabricar tumuli per quello e per questo.' (Tiepolo, 1569.)

dition, and not far short of that state of perfection which human weakness allows of our attaining. The throng in the churches on the occasion of this holy year, not only composed of Roman inhabitants but of people belonging to all parts of Italy and of various foreign nationalities, was immense. Whole populations from the villages and even towns of the Pontifical States came to the holy city. Three and four thousand were seen travelling together.[1] One hospital, that of the Trinità dei Monti, where poor pilgrims were harboured for three days, lodged and fed 250,000 people with an admirable order, and without ever wanting more than what money had been collected by the alms for this purpose.' Towards the end of the pontificate, and notwithstanding the troubled state of Europe, the terror which brigandage inspired in Italy, and the weak government of Gregory XIII., Rome regained a little of her old gaiety. 'The Pope is disposed to set the good example,' says Giovanni Cornaro (1581), 'and to exhort the cardinals to live modestly, but without enquiring into their conduct.' And he artlessly adds: 'Rome occupies now a middle place between licentiousness and strict morality, and everyone is all the better for it.'

[1] This usage has been maintained up to the present day. The rural populations of the neighbourhood of Rome always come in groups to assist at the religious ceremonies.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CITY OF ROME.

AT the time of which we are speaking, Rome was no longer what it had been previously to the Protestant reformation which had invaded the North, and the Catholic reform which was being accomplished in the Church. It had not, however, ceased to be the great centre of Europe which from all countries attracted a crowd of foreigners. People went there to embrace orders, or to make a fortune either by placing capital at high interest in the 'monti,' or by buying some lucrative employment. Others went there for the benefit of their souls, and visited the seven Basilicas or prayed at the Tombs of the Apostles. Politics, arts, and sciences equally attracted a number of foreigners. It was the assemblage of every human interest in one city that caused the roads that led to it to be ever thronged with travellers from the month of October until the hot season. Barring the students, these travellers were therefore of three categories,—the ambitious, the capitalists, and the pilgrims. There were no tourists. To travel for the sake of travelling then was much more a labour than a pleasure. Tourism was born in the seventeenth century, and Englishmen were the first to practise it. At the end of the sixteenth century people travelled on business, and perhaps

occasionally for health, to go and take the waters. These were more numerous at that time in Italy and more renowned than those in the North, where, however, Karlsbad, Spa, Baden, Vichy, Plombières, already enjoyed a European reputation, and, with the exception of Lucca, were better organised than the Italian bathing places for the reception of travellers. No one travelled for pleasure, and those who might have had so eccentric a taste would not have ventured to acknowledge it. A pleasure trip supposes that which did not exist in the Middle Ages nor even at the epoch of transition into modern times of which we are speaking. There was no security on the roads, no facility of locomotion, no safety in the transmission of letters and money, no good inns. An important and serious motive alone could induce a man to leave his home. The suspicions of the authorities and of the people would have been awakened by an attempt to encounter without motive the perils and fatigue of a long journey. Those who have travelled in countries which are little visited, such as Spain, Portugal, and the East, must remember how incredulous were those among whom they arrived as tourists, and to what ridiculous and sometimes serious embarrassments this incredulity frequently gave rise. Foreigners on arriving at Rome were wont at once to make known the object of their journey thither, to place themselves under the protection of some court personage, and to avoid all appearance of being merely curious men—in other words, adventurers—on whom the awkward vigilance of the police would at once be directed. It may readily be believed that people

thus travelling for a definite purpose paid less attention to the charms of nature than do the tourists of the present day, and visited with less attention the monuments and curiosities of the several countries through which they travelled. Hence most deplorable gaps in the rare letters and descriptions of travels of that epoch. The appreciation of nature, and still more the love of art, existed no doubt, but both sentiments are less apparent in the writings of the period because they were only secondary preoccupations in the mind of a traveller, just as in an historical painting the landscape is but of secondary importance. The habit of describing inanimate nature in writing dates from the seventeenth century only. It coincides with the origin of landscape-painting. They both begin at the same time. It is true that Brill was in vogue at the end of the sixteenth century, but Claude Lorraine and the great Dutch painters began their *chefs-d'œuvre*, in which, for the first time, figures are but accessories, at the same time that the English, tired of their Whitehall festivities, their country-house comforts, their Bath and Tunbridge Wells monotonous existence, began to visit France, Germany, and Italy, calling it 'the great tour.' The tourist proper, the man of means, the idle man who holds so important a position in modern society, the man of the world and of pleasure, did not exist in the sixteenth century. The upper classes in Italy were much more mixed up in business of all kinds then than they are now. Elder sons, unless they took part in the business of the municipality of their native towns, went into the army or into the Church. They served

their government, the Pope, the Emperor, Spain and France, sometimes Venice. To this activity some of the greatest names in Italy are indebted to the renewal of a celebrity which is lost in ages gone by. Those Roman barons who lived in their fortified castles outside Rome, and preferred their independence, found the means of practising war on a small scale in the constant opportunities which offered of their quelling rebellion. Many of them became prelates, cardinals, or entered the chivalrous orders of St. John and St. Stephen. In Venice, at Pisa, and at Genoa, it was not derogatory in a nobleman to give himself up to commerce as an ordinary occupation. In Genoa the best families owed their fortune to commercial speculation. Everyone was busy. The idle constituted the exception. The old motto that '*noblesse oblige*' (noble birth obliges) not only to live in great style, but also to distinguish oneself, was then fully put into practice. By taking a part in active life, a fresh bloom was given to the faded laurels, a new colour to the old family escutcheon. The inherited dignity which with birth and large landed property forms the essence of nobility, and without which no aristocracy could long maintain itself, was thus perpetuated. Work constituted one of the great elements in the life of each at that time, whereas pleasure and idleness are too often now-a-days the much-to-be-regretted privilege of the higher classes.

If, with the help of documentary evidence of that epoch, we look into the daily life of public men, we cannot but wonder at the activity which was apparent everywhere—in the palaces, in the streets, on the high roads,

—and which extended to the numerous followers of the cardinals, envoys, and great lords of the period. The latter took great interest in the arts, less so in the sciences, wrote verses, kept up communications with the chief towns of Italy and principal courts of Europe. Generally speaking, there were constant relations kept up, and a great community of interests existing between the different classes of society. Distinct though these were, they became closely allied by their constant and familiar contact with one another. Of all these centres of activity, Rome was the most important and also the most agitated. Here every nationality congregated: the French, who, following the difficult, and in winter dangerous, passage of Mont Cenis, were fortunate on their way to meet at Susa with a good inn which reminded them for the last time of the habits of their country; the Germans, who came by Trent and the valley of the Adigio; people from Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Silesia; the Hungarians, and the Poles, who travelled by the Ponteba passes or by Ampezzo and Serravalle. That road is now abandoned, but was followed in ancient times by the Romans on their way to Carinthia and the waters of Gastein.

The impressions received by our forefathers were very different from those which we now experience when for the first time we perceive from the last summits of the Alps the clear sky of the South, the bright horizon, the fertile and golden plains of that classical soil of Italy which has been the dream of our youth Our enthusiasm is intense, and no material preoccupation arrests its progress, certain as we feel that at night

we shall find either at Turin or at Milan, at Verona or at Venice, both shelter and food. Such was not the case in the sixteenth century. Tired out, and excited by perils undergone during several days' ride on the brink of Alpine precipices, a traveller reached the gates of an Italian city only to find many more difficulties to arrest his progress. Passports did not exist except as safe-conducts in time of war. But no sooner had a rumour of a contagious illness been spread than from town to town bills of health were asked for, and the town agents made it a pretext to ransom foreigners. Above the doors of each room in the inns were written the words, 'Remember the ticket;' and before being granted admittance, a permit of stay was to be obtained from the magistrates of the town to whom the traveller gave his name and that of his followers. Admittance being obtained, the wearied traveller passed the drawbridge, and under the vault of a battled gate into the town. Horses could with difficulty get along the slippery and bad pavements. At each step the traveller saw churches, magnificent and neglected palaces, solidly built stone houses, with dark and deserted appearances. Fire and water seemed alike wanting. No one bade them enter and partake of any hospitality. The few and large windows, without panes of glass in them, had shutters or coarse blinds. With few exceptions, all the hotels (*locande*) were detestable. Northern men, accustomed to strong drinks and to copious repasts, deplored an inforced sobriety. Their eyes were not sufficiently accustomed to works of art to appreciate their beauty, nor the lofty

grandeur of the monuments before which they passed. Italy, owing to the rich inheritance bequeathed to her by antiquity, and the still richer conquests which in modern times she has reaped, the living image of the evolutions of the human mind, the cradle of civilisation, and as such our common fatherland, seldom fails to exercise over those who visit her shores, though perhaps not at once, yet after a short stay, a magic and indefinable spell. Travellers then had not reached this point. What a contrast, they exclaimed, with Burgundy, Switzerland, Upper Germany, the countries they had just left. There they felt themselves in a joyous and rich land. What a difference from Bâle and its innumerable fountains; from Augsburg, the pleasant residence of the Fuggers, the princes of commerce; or from all those cheerful cities of Suabia, watered by brooks of running clear water, and adorned by pretty gabled houses, coquettishly decorated with escutcheons and painted devices, and perforated with innumerable little windows, which, through bright panes of glass and half-drawn white curtains, gave a glimpse into the interior—at each window a head; the old grandmother nursing the last-born among her grandchildren; the patriarch of the family with his fur cap, young girls with smiles on their lips and a spindle in the hand. Their freshness and their colour, their carefully netted hair, their engaging appearance, were pleasanter to remember than to look at the classic profile, the dull complexion of the Italian women, and to mark their reserved manners towards foreigners. On approaching the door of those hospitable houses, a grateful smell

ever engaged the appetite, for the prosperous people of Suabia devoted at least three or four hours to the smallest of their repasts. The newly invented spring-spit,[1] which according to Montaigne had but one fault, that of drying meat too much, was seldom at rest in every hall before an enormous fire. With such reminiscences the traveller entered the first Italian town he arrived at and which, as Montaigne says, was 'not very pleasant and had lost all the charms of Germany.'[2]

But these regrets were not always reasonable. If we except certain material enjoyments for which the people of the South have ever shown a noble contempt, and the fashions which came from Spain, Italy was still at the head of civilisation. With respect to the commodities of life, rapid communications, good roads, luxury of habits, and refinement of manners, no nation equalled her. In proof of this assertion we need only read what the Italian travellers say who visited Germany, France, Spain, and Poland. The Venetian envoys at the court of Henry III. of France, glory in having for the love of their country undergone the perils and difficulties of so long a journey. Those who travelled through Spain literally ran the risk of dying of hunger in the uninhabitable plains of old Castile, or of dying of cold in the snows of the Sierras. Chevalier Guarini, who was alternately a courtier, a poet, and secretary to the Dukes of Ferrara, Urbino, and Ferdinand

[1] In Italy towards the middle of the century.

'*Cappa.* O taverna miracolosa,
Miracolosa per li spedoni
Che si voltano per se stessi.'

PIETRO ARETINO, *La Cortigiana*, act ii. sc. 1.

[2] *Voyage de Montaigne.*

of Tuscany, and is the somewhat too much praised author of the 'Pastor Fido,' on being sent to Poland by Alphonso II. to congratulate Henry III., took the way of Ampezzo and Kreuzberg, and gave, in a letter to his family, a most sorrowful account 'of the rudeness of men and things, of the dearness of horses, of the want of food and objects of primary necessity;' from Vienna to Warsaw he was not 'carried, but dragged, jolted, murdered, in carts which defy description.'

Of the several routes which led to Rome from the north of Italy, those of Bologna, Florence, Sienna, Viterbo, and of the Adriatic coast were most frequented. Towards the end of the fifteenth century and at the commencement of the sixteenth, the court of Urbino, called the Athens of Italy (*Itala Atena*), which was then one of the centres of fashion and a school of arts and sciences, attracted many foreigners of note. To enjoy the liberal hospitality of Duke Frederick, of his wife, the celebrated Battista Sforza, who was always surrounded by a crowd of youthful beauties, of Guidobaldo I., and of Francesco Maria della Rovere, the friend and patron of Raphael, people left the shores of the Adriatic at Pesaro, where in winter the ducal family resided, and got to Urbino across the mountain. Urbino is situated on one of the projecting cliffs of the Apennines, and possessed the most gorgeous palatial residence, the finest structure not of a religious character which the Renaissance had produced. It was finished in 1476. Its fine proportions, its long suites of rooms, the richness and finish of the sculptured doors and windows, had at the time of its building excited universal admiration. Since that time the Court of Urbino had lost much of its

splendour, and the road which led to it was abandoned as it is now.[1] Thus the most cheerful, picturesque, and in point of art one of the richest spots in Italy became, comparatively speaking, a *terra incognita*. Its poetical landscapes can be traced in the backgrounds of the works of Raphael, Perugino, and all the old masters of Umbria.

The 'maremme,' that part of the Mediterranean which washes the shores of Italy between Cecina and Corneto, which has been rendered healthy and habitable in our times only, thanks to the great works ordered by the Grand-Duke Leopold, was then but one immense and continuous marsh, covered with impenetrable copses,[2] the refuge of the wild boars, which, as in Dante's time, 'detest cultivated spots.' Cultivation was and is still scarce there. A mean-looking population inhabited some miserable huts perched in the interior of the land on the ridge of mountains. Fever carried them off, and made havoc among the troops who on the borders of the sea garrisoned Orbitello and other presidencies for the King of Spain. Travellers fled from such deserted and pestilential places.

The pilgrims, who since the Catholic reaction had become very numerous, generally took the route by Florence and Sienna, returning from Rome by Loretto, where the sanctuary erected to Our Lady more than ever attracted a crowd of pious people, and, unfortunately, as many pickpockets, mendicants, and robbers.

[1] 'Tutti concorrono che sotto Angubbio le strade sieno molto più cattive e pericolose.' (Gritti to the Doge, 1587. Arch. Ven. Disp. Rome.)

[2] Copse. The author has made apparently a French word of the Italian 'macchia' a spot, and, as applied in the present case, an impenetrable small wood or copse. (Note of the translator.)

The roads were generally good in Upper and Central Italy, and might be used by carriages during most of the year, with the exception of the Apennine Pass. In winter the progress of a vehicle was often stopped by torrents from the mountain, over which no bridge had as yet been thrown. Gregory XIII., the Grand-Duke of Como, and Emmanuel Philibert had understood the importance of easy and rapid communications. To them Italy is indebted for stone bridges, and roads (wide enough for carriages) planned according to scientific rules, and properly kept. The draining of the marsh at Ravenna, the construction of the road from Rome to Loretto and Ancona, which inscriptions on marble slabs called the 'Via Buoncompagna;' the bridge of Centino on the road to Florence, and other similar works, are due to Gregory XIII. Tuscany began to be covered with roads, and strangers admired the solidity and graceful structure of the bridges which were being erected everywhere. The Milanese were already masters of the art of drainage and of cutting canals. Naples and Sicily, and perhaps also, but to a less degree, the ever-neglected continental portion of the Venetian Republic, constituted the least advanced provinces in Italy.

The custom of travelling in carriages had not yet been adopted. It became general only towards the latter years of the sixteenth century. That luxury, which became exaggerated in the seventeenth century, was only just then beginning. The Duke of Ferrara first set the example; and when, in 1581, he went to Padua with four hundred carriages to meet the Empress,

widow of Maximilian, the State of Venice was not the only one to be scandalised. Twenty or thirty years after, however, every prince, and, following their example, all those who belonged to the higher classes, did nearly the same, and then it was that to indulge in the luxury of horses, carriages, houses, and furniture became the common rule.

In the time of Gregory XIII. people travelled generally on horseback. The drivers, for they were already so called, furnished horses at prices which varied according to circumstances, but which, considering the comparative value of money then, seem to have been much what they were during the first half of the present century.[1]

[1] A traveller's ordinary daily expenses were reckoned at 5 pence for one meal, 10 pence for board and lodging, 15 pence for the hire of a horse, all expenses included: in all 25 pence, or 50 French sous, which were equal to six Spanish reales or as many juliuses. A julius or paul, Roman coin, so called after Popes Julius II. and Paul III. were then worth 5 sous of French money. A journey from Rome to Naples usually cost 5½ ducats a head, the driver having to see to everything, and find lodgings and food. In posting the traveller had often reason to complain of the exactions of the postmasters, who sometimes required 4 reales or 10 pence per horse and per post, which was considered to be an exorbitant price. People travelled forty and forty-five miles a day (a mile being the $\frac{1}{15}$ of a degree). Drivers also took charge of luggage for Rome. This they transported in carts, which took twenty days to reach from either Milan or Venice, at a price of two baiocchi a league; ten days from Florence or Ancona. Calling to mind what the means of communication were forty years ago, that is before the institution of 'diligences,' which existed only in the Austrian provinces (the mail or courrier-chaise only took one passenger), we find that, until the very recent introduction of railways, and the immense changes thus effected, no noticeable progress had taken place in the facilities for travelling in Italy since the days of Gregory XIII. With respect to treatment and prices in towns there existed great irregularities. It was very inferior to the treatment of Southern Germany and Switzerland, but food was cheaper by one-third of the price, and the prices were nearly those asked in France. The best hotels

Postal communications were slow but regular. An 'ordinary' postman left Rome once a week for Lyons and Paris, passing through Florence and Milan. Letters reached Lyons in ten and Paris in fifteen days. Another ordinary service was established between Milan, Coire, and the west of Germany. The Venetian post, of which that State had the control, left the Venetian Palace in Rome once a week, and arrived in Venice on the fourth day. A postal service was kept up with the Marches by the Pontifical Government. Letters for Ascoli and Fermo reached their destination on the tenth and eleventh days. The communications with Madrid by means of the Lyons courier were often interrupted by the military events of which the south of France was the theatre. The Genoese, and hence the Barcelona route was preferred.

Besides the letter-post, there were also the post horses, which could be used only with a special

were at Rome and in Venice, the two most frequented towns. In the latter city there was besides no need for horses or servants. Gondoliers did the business of the house. A gondola with one man cost 17 French sous, 8½ pence a day of twenty-four hours, and Venetian prices resembled those of Paris. Padua was celebrated for its cheap living. Many foreigners, and especially French noblemen, resided there. The latter attended the fencing and dancing and tennis classes, which were very celebrated at that time. There were excellent boarding-houses for foreigners, the price for which came to 7 scudi for a gentleman and 5 for his valet a month, everything included, except fire and lighting. Travellers complained much of the want of comfort and cleanliness, as well as of the dearness of the Florence inns, which was all the more felt as there were no boarding-houses. At the 'Angel,' which was the best hotel in the town, a gentleman had to pay 7 reales, or 35 sous, for himself, and 4 reales (20 sous) for his valet and the forage for his horse, which was a much higher price a day (25½ pence) than what was asked in Paris or even in Venice. In the other cities of Tuscany, living was very cheap. At Lucca the hotels were small, but well furnished.

permission from the various Governments to which they belonged, and on condition of going full tilt. By this means the Archduke of Austria, Ferdinand of Tyrol, was able to reach Rome from Inspruck in six days, when summoned to the Conclave after the death of Gregory XIII.

If both postal services were deficient, that of the diplomatic correspondence was perfectly organised. The envoy's couriers were important personages. Armed to the teeth, and known by the arms of their country, which they wore on the breast, they often had encounters with the 'sbirri' of the towns through which they passed; with the 'banditti,' who plundered in accordance with all the rules of the art; with the 'assassini,' who were common brigands but not in a band; with the 'malandrini,' who were peasants at one time and robbers at another, digging the ground at one moment and seizing what they could at the next. The archives of the Venetian embassy in Rome are full of reports giving accounts of acts of brigandage out of which these couriers came either as heroes or as victims, and in which the 'faccia a terra' already played its traditional part. The Venetian couriers, passing through Gualdo and Nocera, took forty-five hours from Rome to Venice. The direct train takes twenty-four hours. The French got to Paris in nine days. The Emperor's couriers reached Prague in nine or ten. One of the latter bet he could go the distance in seven days. The Grand-Dukes of Tuscany, Cosmo and Francis, spared no expense to let the Emperor have by the swiftest couriers the latest news from Rome. The

commercial travellers belonging to the firm of Fugger were ever to be met on the road, like those of the Rothschilds now-a-days. The Courts of Germany and Spain sometimes turned them to account. Messengers generally took twenty days to get over, at full speed, the distance between the capital of Bohemia and Spain. The ambassadors of Philip II. in Rome could not hold periodical intercourse with their Government in Madrid, owing to the political state of France and the irregularity of water communications, the seas being infested with corsairs. They never expected an answer before three months. Measuring distances, therefore, by the time which it then took to get over them, Madrid was as far from Rome as Calcutta and Madras are from it now-a-days; and Paris and Prague were about as distant then as Washington is now, and Warsaw as is Rio Janeiro. We have taken no account of the electric communications which in a measure have triumphed over time and space. If we make so trite an observation, it is only in order to be able to judge better of the merits of diplomacy at that time. We should bear in mind how the possessions of each great rival Power, not so well defined as now, could be encroached upon in every direction, thus multiplying the causes of quarrel, whilst the seats of government were divided by enormous distances. Cabinets were thus obliged, in the instructions which they sent, to foresee all possible issues, and their ministers or agents abroad were often under the necessity of assuming a great and heavy responsibility; while both were obliged to practise the difficult but important art of

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waiting until matters had ripened. Foresight, courage, and patience had to compensate for the absence of rapid communications; but fate and accidents naturally played a greater part then than they do now. On the other hand, statesmen were not, as now, compelled to act upon the impulse of the moment, and to undertake serious responsibilities on the mere summary and incomplete indications of the telegraph. Although this mode of accelerated correspondence did not exist at that time, yet, at the time of the Conclave the agents of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany contrived, by means of signals prepared to that effect, to transmit the name of the new Pope most rapidly to their master. Since the landing of the Turks at Otranto in 1480, numberless isolated towers had been built along the coast of the Adriatic, the ruins of which are still visible. Their use was to watch the movements of the corsairs. These were signalled from tower to tower by means of fires, and so well was this service organised that a warning given at the other end of the Peninsula, at Brindisi, or at Cape Leucate, reached Venice in the space of an hour.

Travellers, whom we suppose to be Germans or French (for Spaniards generally came by sea, and Englishmen as yet seldom travelled), generally avoided meeting with pilgrims. The latter journeyed on foot, and in more or less numerous bands, holding a long stick, wearing a hat with a large brim and shells on the shoulder, singing their prayers and asking for alms; some of them (and the author of 'The Following of Christ' says that few are sanctified by long pilgrim-

ages) marauding on the way. Travellers dreaded still more the foreign mercenaries in the pay of Italian princes—men belonging to all nations, and having the reputation of being very bad characters: the Germans, said to be shocking Lutherans, waging war against holy pictures and laughing at the mass; the Gascons, only to be dreaded by the weaker sex; the Italians, bad soldiers but excellent thieves; the Swiss, drunkards;[1] the Spaniards, proverbially cruel.

Mendicants and vagabonds exposed their disgusting infirmities, and persecuted the passers-by in the streets of a town with their importunities. Each town had its court of miracles, which was a centre of misery and crime. There were the 'bianti' (the devout), who sold false dispensations; the 'bordoni' (false pilgrims), who pretended that they were going to Rome, to Loretto, or to St. James of Compostello; and the 'allacrimanti' (false penitents); the 'reliquari,' who sold spurious relics; the 'vergognosi' (the poor who were ashamed to beg); the 'attremanti,' the 'cocchini,' the 'admirati,' the 'affarfanti,' and many other specialities of that vagrant life which was already so thoroughly organised. The sharpers of that day were not behind those of the present time. What was wanted was a good police administration. Sometimes, in consequence of a razzia, summary and prompt

[1] We borrow this characteristic picture from the report of Navagero (Coll. Alberi), who begs to be excused for speaking so ill of his compatriots. The impression dates from the sack of Rome and the war waged by Paul IV., and has been preserved as regards foreigners among the rural population of certain districts of the Peninsula which are little visited. The author has traced the tradition in Apulia and elsewhere.

punishment was inflicted by order of the municipality; but in general the swindlers enjoyed great impunity. The next evil to be avoided was falling in with banditti, the curse of the Peninsula, but especially of the Roman States. These were far more obnoxious to the natives than to travellers, for, with timely notice, the latter could avoid the threatened locality. The reader will soon see what an important part brigandage played, and what efforts Sixtus V. had to make in order to deliver Italy from this scourge.

Let us suppose that our travellers have journeyed through Savoy—which is not thickly peopled, and is studded with small villages often composed of nothing but the lord's manor and his servant's hut—and have passed through Turin, without stopping there. Disregarded on account of its dull and cold climate, Turin then presented no attractions. Of all the Italian towns it is in its present form the most modern, and has most changed for the better. Montaigne speaks with contempt of that small town, 'situated in a space much surrounded by water; neither well built, nor agreeable, though a river crosses it and carries away its filth.' What a difference, according to him, from Milan, the most populous town of Italy, a big city full of workmen and merchants! It resembles Paris, and has some likeness to French towns. It has not the fine palaces of Rome, Naples, Genoa, and Florence, but surpasses them in point of grandeur; and the number of foreigners who visit Milan is not less great than that of those who go to Venice. Notwithstanding the wealth of its inhabitants and of its nobility, Milan

had a provincial appearance. Its political existence had ceased. People copied the fashions of Madrid. Seven hundred Spaniards constituted the garrison, and the fort was well mounted with guns.

Verona, which had fallen into decay, and was little peopled since it passed under the domination of Venice, called the attention of the traveller to its amphitheatre. The State had ordered it to be repaired, and tournaments were held there. Sixty men, whose mission was to keep the peace among a population for which the Government cared little, occupied the castle. Next to the 'Bear' in Rome, the inns of Venice, and the 'Post' Hotel at Piacenza, the 'Little Horse' Inn at Verona was considered the best hotel in Italy.

Vicenza owed its reputation to the beauty of its position and to its palaces, the most recent of which were the work of Palladio, who died there in 1580, and who, next to Vignola, was the most celebrated architect of the day. A visit also to the Convent of the Gesuates,[1] to make a provision of 'naffe' water, was indispensable.

Padua was already what it continues to be—a dull, monotonous, and deserted city. Its university attracted many students, but they were all Italians. The ultramontanes, who were so numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had long ceased to go there. Its fencing masters were much in renown.

Following the Brenta, which was adorned on both banks for a distance of twenty miles with gardens,

[1] This order was suppressed in 1668, at the request of the Republic, but enjoyed at that time great popularity in Venice, where the Church of Gesuati perpetuates its memory.

terraces, and villas, which are mostly the same that we now see, but were then properly kept, richly furnished, and filled with pictures and works of art of all kinds, travellers got to the lagunes. Aquatic birds mingling their cries with the measured beating of the oar, together with the chime, tempered by distance, of the thousand indefatigable bells of Venice, alone interrupted the solemn and profound silence which reigned over this extensive sheet of water. Its surface, on which played a thousand colours, and which oscillated in its own immoveableness, reflected a whole archipelago of little islands, covered with habitations, convents, and churches, with slightly inclined spires—the result of the action of centuries. In the background a clear line, with a row of red arrows rising above it, and the basilica of St. Mark crowning the whole, presented itself to view; and on the horizon, while leaving the spectator to guess what curve the Adriatic would take, the disappearing ridges of the Alps could be traced. In another hour or so the traveller reached the city of wonders, situated in the centre of that august republic, which, though already politically fallen from the rank among the first Powers which it had occupied at the outset of the century, was materially and socially at the zenith of its grandeur. Nations and States are like individuals. Rest comes after work, a halt after the march which had constituted progress, and down the hill after going up. Then only do peoples, like individuals, fully enjoy the fruits of past labours. In the eyes of the multitude those nations seem most powerful which have already passed the meridian of their strength. Such was the

case with Venice, then entering that phase in which a man lives upon his past reputation. No one in the Republic could guess that the fall was at hand. The Venetians were satisfied, and foreigners coming to visit their town were 'struck with admiration.'[1] The statesmen of the Republic alone, because they were more clear-sighted, betrayed in their intimate conversations with one another the fear that the fall was near.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to form a correct idea of Venice as it existed then. Can a picture painted after death, by an artist who had never seen the original, be a true likeness? Does not such a task imply an effort of imagination which surpasses all human power, since it involves the re-investment of an inanimate body with that life which has gone, and the hiding from the view the greatest of contrasts, that which exists between life and death? During the last two centuries the Republic of St. Mark has died out gradually and naturally. It was dead before it was killed, dead for ever, since in politics there is no resurrection. The Venice that we know, and which recalls by her physiognomy the sweets and bitters of her past history, attractive though she still is, notwithstanding the deadly paleness which hangs over her noble features, is no longer anything but a corpse. We will not try, by galvanic processes, to make her appear under a false semblance of life before the eyes of the reader. Let us, however, hear what some contemporary writers have said of her.

[1] 'Con infinita soddisfazione degli abitanti e stupore de' forestieri,' says Francesco Sansovino (1580).

Montaigne looks upon her police organisation, her situation, her arsenal, the Piazza of St. Mark, and the number of foreigners within her walls, as the most remarkable points about her. Nothing could better characterise Venice than the order in which these points are noted. The police, which had already gained the chief position in the administration, shows clearly a falling off, not in the people so much as in those who governed them. It had its hand in everything, suspected everyone, watched everybody and over everything, but could shut its eyes provided no one touched upon politics—that privilege of a few, which belonged to certain classes which an artificial but insurmountable barrier separated from the rest of the citizens. As to situation, Venice lay in the midst of inaccessible lagunes. Her arsenal ever guaranteed to the Republic its position as a great maritime Power, and, a hundred years later, was to furnish it with the means of ending gloriously, by a second conquest of the Morea, the long series of brilliant exploits that had illustrated her history. The Piazza di San Marco was the heart of the city, which was the heart of the Republic. The number of foreigners gave Venice the character of a cosmopolitan centre, of a link between the West and the East, of the rendezvous of the idle and the busy, in search the one of pleasures and the other of gain. Pleasures! They were easily found, and numerous in character, under a rule the severity of which now appeared only in its decrees against luxury, which no one obeyed. The gondola alone was obedient. Daily did this gently-rocked coffin become

more and more the symbol of the destinies of the Republic. The women of the aristocracy condescended to wear a very transparent black veil over their rich coloured gowns, but merely, as Sansovino gives us to understand, to enhance the beauty of their complexion, and by no means in obedience to the edicts of the Patres Conscripti. 'One cannot say,' writes the same author, 'which to admire most, the richness of the stuffs or the fineness of the embroidered linen, which is prepared and braided with infinite art. One sees nothing but silk or cloth of gold and silver, not to speak of lace, that wonder of the needle, which is unequalled by anything in other countries.' The patrician women were conspicuous also by the necklaces of pearls of unsurpassed size which they wore, the results of a long-standing connexion with the East, with Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, and all those fabulous countries with which for centuries Venice alone could trade, and where, alas! she now came in contact with the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The ladies used and abused their fans. They knew by chemical preparations, of which the secret is apparently lost, how to give to their hair that golden hue which is so much admired in the women of Titian, of Palma Vecchio, and of all those Venetian masters who could paint with golden rays. Shoes were of an exaggerated height. To this custom, which prevented the fashionable ladies from walking without help, the '*cavalieri servanti*,' who were entitled by right to the honour of offering them the hand on feast-days and out walking, owed the origin of their

fortune and their social position. The type survived the red heel and the Republic.[1] Contrary to the usages of Germany, of France, and of the rest of Italy, the men who did not inhabit the continent of Venice never wore swords at their sides. They dressed as foreigners, that is, as Spaniards, and only put on the Venetian long robes on public occasions.

The official feasts, the Doge's processions, the solemn rejoicings in which the corporations of art and trade, as well as the common people, took a part, and to which the German colony never failed to contribute fireworks and the illumination of its 'fondaco,' or warehouse, still continued, but the fashionable world no longer attended them. The aristocratic families saw more and more of each other. Small circles were formed, and they were wont to meet (*si riducono*) in private houses, or in small apartments let for the purpose. Hence the name of *ridotti*, which has erroneously been translated by redoubt. Married women alone could attend these meetings. Young girls were condemned to absolute retirement, and could never appear at them. Betrothed persons could see each other only when about to be married. Foreigners of distinction were invited to these *ridottis*, but never the ambassadors. For fear of being suspected, every Venetian gentleman shunned the contact of a diplomatist. At official feasts the Doge received the diplomatic body and the aristocracy of the land in the great Council

[1] 'Ciascuna aveva al lato un giovane nobile pomposamente vestito alla forastiere che le dava mano affine che esse schifassero il pericolo di cader in terra che è loro molto facile al presente per l'altezza troppo grande de' zoccoli che usano a questi tempi.' (*Venetia città nobilissima e singolare*, per Francesco Sansovino, 1581.)

Hall, which was lighted by sixty torches, applied to the walls or planted in the ceiling. The Doge's wife was seated on a platform, having on her right the wives of the ambassadors and on her left the ladies of her family. The other ladies were seated on small benches. The men walked about. Dancing went on before and after supper, and until daybreak. At an appointed hour the buffet, which consisted of a variety of sugary substances made to imitate statues, or animals, or old temples, was brought in procession to the Piazza di San Marco by the apprentices of the different trades, and was thus exposed to the admiration or criticism of the people. The great canal was the theatre of other amusements which were no less brilliant. When the 'Bucentaur,' with the Doge on board, appeared, the gondolas, the 'palischermi,' and the numberless skiffs that followed, got into inextricable confusion. At other times large rafts were wont to convey a ball-room painted by Paul Veronese or by Jacopo Sansovino. Across the open arches the fashionable world appeared, and often more than a hundred young women, richly adorned, were seen dancing to the sounds of the music which followed them in gondolas. Lines from Ariosto or from Tasso, whose poem, barely published, had already become popular, were sung, and certainly the 'freschi' and choruses of the 'pillori' of now-a-days give but a faint idea of these past splendours.

The aristocracy had maintained the old custom of open-air conversations. Every morning they met near the ducal palace or at the Rialto. After exchanging polite salutations, they used to spend several hours in discussing the events of the day, with all due

caution, however, and, says Sansovino, 'to the satisfaction of those who have business with the nobles, since they can easily see them at fixed times, and to the astonishment of foreigners, who often avail themselves of this opportunity to see the aristocracy.' 'In winter they did the same in the evening, before going to the private reunions. These conversaziones were looked upon as a superior school for the sons of noblemen who were to be called some day to fill high positions in the State.

No other capital in Europe had the rich appearance, the vivacity, and animation peculiar to Venice. The churches, the palaces were admired; so were the shops, which were spread throughout the city, even in lanes and under the porticoes as well as at the furthest parts of the town. Each street had thus the appearance of a separate city. Strangers wondered at the brilliant whiteness of the window-panes, that came from the manufacture of Murano. Sansovino notices with pride that not only the palaces and houses belonging to the rich, but every house, even the smallest and humblest, had glass windows, and that the oil-skin cloths of other towns were unknown in Venice. Every Italian prince had a palace there. The Duke of Ferrara had his at San Jacopo d'Orio, the Duke of Urbino on the great canal, close to the Vendramino Palace; the Duke of Milan at San Michele, and this property subsequently became that of the Mocenigo family. The most admired among the new palaces were those of Correr de la Ca Grande, Balbi, Stürmer, and the Post Office, which were almost

all designed by Jacopo Sansovino and Scamozzi. The first among the old palaces built in the Tudesque or Gothic style was the Foscari Palace, filled with the works of Titian. The beautiful view which may be enjoyed from its windows had caused it to be selected as a residence for Henry III. The richest and most renowned on account of its splendid furniture was the Loredano Palace, which dates from the Crusades, but has fallen now-a-days to the rank of an inn. Many houses had frescoes, some by Paul Veronese, others by Pordenone, all now effaced; a great many also by Tintoretto. The interior of these palaces was like a museum. The glories of a family were preserved for succeeding generations by the pencils of the greatest masters. The Morosini Palace is the only one which, by immortal works, can now give an idea of that intimate and living connexion which existed between politics and the arts, between the civil and the military elements.

Manners at this time showed a strange mixture of austerity and licentiousness, which recalled the Middle Ages, and foreboded the Regency. The State seemed to enlist with equal ardour in its service both the virtues and the follies of its citizens. Not only did the courtesans, who were all registered at the Police of the Council of Ten, enjoy a European reputation for beauty and luxurious tastes; but sage magistrates could, without giving scandal, indulge their passions in the face of the whole world.[1] The supposed mysteries of Venice are an invention which served as a conventional veil complacently thrown over the sometimes irregular pro-

[1] Montaigne, *Travels in Italy.*

ceedings of a neighbour. The mask and Venetian mantle hid nothing, but gave a right to be looked upon as incognito. Nowhere was life more open or yet so easy, for attention could be as easily diverted as the people of Venice can cross their narrow streets without elbowing each other. It is, however, time for our supposed travellers to tear themselves away from the seductive attractions of the Queen of the Adriatic, and to resume their road to Rome.

No French gentleman failed at Ferrara to pay his respects to Duke Alphonso. Court carriages drove him to the palace, where a chamberlain introduced him to the Duke, who received him standing and uncovered. He never failed to say that he was the much obliged servant of the 'very Christian' king. Ferrara lacked animation. There were many palaces, but few shops. Life altogether departed when the Court left, and grass soon began to grow in her large and straight-lined streets when she ceased to be the residence of the Dukes of Este.

Bologna was larger and more peopled than Ferrara, but more agitated and anxious in appearance, for the old factions had not died away. The Pepoli faction was the strongest, the most turbulent, and the one which least obeyed the authority of the Pope's legate, until, a little later, the head of that house was punished by the intrepid Sixtus V. The town was famous for its inclined tower, its huge statue of Neptune by John of Bologna, its porticoes, and its cheapness, which equalled that of Padua. But the statue of Neptune then commanded in Italy the greatest and perhaps

somewhat exaggerated admiration. Foreigners were amazed on seeing it.[1] Nothing is more curious than to collect the various criticisms made at different epochs in regard to works of art. The history of taste, had it ever been attempted, would have shown that those generations which create works are almost always unjust towards the preceding generations, are much taken with themselves, very exclusive, and ingenuously convinced that they have realised the ideal in the beautiful. Those, on the contrary, that reproduce, imitate, and supply by eclecticism their deficiency in creative power, are far more liberal in spirit and enlightened in mind. Their judgment is impartial and generally just. Such is, it cannot be doubted, the case with our own times. But the more productive generations of former times succeeded one another, each condemning its immediate predecessor; and taste, going constantly from one extreme to another, was necessarily periodically changed. At the end of the sixteenth century, the works of the Renaissance were little appreciated, and the Giraud Palace in Rome, one of the finest works of Bramante, was then considered (who would believe it?) as ordinary and dull-looking. Montaigne and his contemporaries see 'nothing very remarkable either inside or outside' of the once justly celebrated ducal Palace of Urbino. A hundred years ago the Church of St. Ignatius was looked upon as the finest in Rome,

[1] A traveller of that time thus describes the statue:—'It is a handsome large fountain, on the top of which there is a monster bronze Neptune, that treads upon four children, twelve dragons, and four syrens, which throw out water from 56 spouts.'—Paris Bibl. Imp. 5562, fo. 80.

and the portal of the Sciarra Palace on the Corso as the eighth wonder of the world. It was put on a par with the Vatican and the Obelisk. The people believed it to be of one stone. Travellers, on arrival, at once let their friends know that they had seen and admired it. It should also be noticed that the Neptune at Bologna was finished in 1564, under the patronage of Charles Borromeo, then the Pope's legate there. Though a priest, a prince of the Church, and a saint, he did not scruple nor show any dislike to promote the erection of a colossal statue representing a divinity of antiquity, and destined to be, notwithstanding its nudity, exposed to the public gaze.[1] What would now-a-days be thought of a bishop who would ornament the enclosure before his cathedral with a statue of Neptune? Fashion was still faithful to mythology, and the Catholic movement of which the cardinal was one of the heroes, though already victorious on the religious side, and fighting strenuously against the science of the Renaissance, had not yet attacked the arts, which were still impregnated with the spirit of modern paganism bequeathed to it by the preceding century. One generation more, and the reaction had reached the artistic sphere, and had enlisted on its side the Dominicans, and such great masters of a new school as Guido Reni, Guercino, and Ribera.

Having crossed the Apennines, our travellers entered Tuscany, and approached Florence with a certain degree

[1] In the instructions, preparatory to the canonisation of St. Charles, this fact was brought up against him by the 'Advocatus Diaboli' (1610). But the reaction had already then reached the arts.

of emotion, from which no one can refrain on seeing for the first time that privileged land, where the language spoken by the people reminds one of the classical diction of those who created the Italian language, where the progress of centuries is marked at each step by some masterpiece, where everything breathes refinement, elegance, polish, taste, and the pleasures of the intellect, and where the beauties of nature enhance the greatness of the works of man.

Florence was always considered the most beautiful town in Italy, but political life had left it. Instead of exhibiting all the luxury of former times, or spending enormous sums in building, the great families lived quietly either in their palaces or in those country villas which crown the surrounding heights. To escape the notice of the Government, whose avarice and arbitrary proceedings they knew too well, they hid their wealth. The terrorism introduced by Cosmo de' Medici was continued, though in a modified degree, and without being acknowledged even by those who were the victims of it, under Francis. His foreign policy was deceit, his home government brutal force. The only moral tie which existed between the Duke and his late republican subjects was bodily fear. The middle and lower classes suffered less by the new state of things, but they were burdened with taxes. These were levied on marriage contracts, sales, purchases, objects of primary necessity, upon meat, exchange, the produce of the land, imported goods—in fact, upon everything. A visible torpor had succeeded to the old animation. The luxury of horses, for which

Florence had been noted, no longer existed. The arts and the sciences were in a similar state of dulness. The two fashionable artists, Bartolomeo Ammanati and Giovanni, said to be of Bologna, but a native in reality of Douai, worked for the Court. The one was completing the Uffizi of Vasari, and the courtyard of the Pitti Palace, intending to continue the style of Brunelleschi, but unable to obtain the simple elegance displayed in the 'facade' of the same palace. The statue of Cosmo, worked by Giovanni, already adorned the ducal piazza. Of the various branches of industry, that of silk manufacture was alone advancing. The fine stuffs known as 'rascia' were exported all over Europe and even to the West Indies.[1]

Strangers hastened to admire the 'Night' of Michael Angelo, who had died only a few years before, but whose name had already acquired the prestige which must outlive all the changes of fashion. After San Lorenzo, the next visit was to the Cathedral, which called for no special attention; then to the celebrated fountains of the pleasure-grounds of Pratolino and Castello, which, with the artificial water-falls and fountains of the Villa d'Este, near Tivoli, and of Bataglia, near Padua, were the delight of the people of that day.

The higher classes having, from motives of prudence, secluded themselves from the world, the Court absorbed all attention, and replaced, or endeavoured to replace, by its animation, that of which it had deprived the country. Strangers were taken to see the Grand-Duke's two palaces, his stables, and his extensive menagerie.

[1] In 1576 more than two million scudi's worth of these stuffs was exported.

Following the practice of almost every Court at that time, the public was allowed to be a spectator of the sovereign's repast. In the dining hall and at the upper end of the table could be seen the celebrated Bianca Capello,[1] whose full and great beauty, as well as her proud demeanour, called forth the admiration of the looker-on, having on her left Duke Francis, a swarthy, stumpy-looking man, rather below the middle height, with thick limbs, no distinction of manner, but exceedingly polite, his hat in his hand and the smile ever on his lip whenever he passed along the crowd of courtiers that thronged his paths. The picture of health, he seemed to be forty years of age. Opposite the Duchess, whenever he was in Florence, for he generally lived in Rome, sat a handsome man, with a noble though harsh and unprepossessing countenance, tall and graceful, and wearing the purple gown rather with military ease than ecclesiastical becomingness. This was Cardinal Ferdinand of Medici, the brother and presumptive heir of Francis, variously the friend, the confidant, and the adversary of the Duchess. When at Rome, Bianca often used to write to him, to open her heart to him, and give him the minutest details respecting her life and her health.[2] The lookers-on noted every phase of the repast, admired the Duke's sobriety, noticed how much water he mixed with his wine, nor did they fail to remark that the

[1] 'The Duchess is handsome, according to Italian taste. Her face is agreeable and her countenance haughty; her waist is large, and her breasts likewise. She seems to delight in the knowledge that she has bewitched that prince, and that she will long have him in her power.'—*Travels of Montaigne.*

[2] The original correspondence exists in the state archives at Florence.

Duchess did not follow his example. To this subject the gravest men of the day seldom failed to allude, even in their official correspondence. The Pope's repasts are mentioned and described in the diplomatic reports. Cardinal d'Este, when writing to Paris, in a moment of spite, most unfairly taxes Sixtus V. with being more lively and expansive after than before supper; and Pasquier praises Henry III.'s ambassador in Rome, M. de Pisany, for being 'one of the wisest gentlemen he knew, since he drank neither water nor wine nor any other beverage.'[1]

The time to visit Florence was on the day of St. John. Strangers and peasants, led by their curates, crowded to the capital; peasant women and numerous monks, with large-brimmed straw hats, such as were made in Florence then. For several days the town wore an appearance of gala. Processions took place, when St. Francis was exhibited, showing his stigmata; and St. George was paraded, fighting the dragon that sends fire from his mouth. These were held alternately with races of 'barberi' and empty chariots.' Bianca and the Grand-Duke appeared on a balcony. At one of these races, Strozzi's chariot seemed to have the advantage over that of the sovereign, whereupon everyone applauded, and, though the victory was undecided, the people insisted on the prize being given to Strozzi. This significant demonstration alarmed the nobles, who were always the first to feel the rigour of their master's hand. The fêtes ended on the eve of St. John, by the homage ceremony of the Sienna people and the grand

[1] Letters of Stephen Pasquier, 1723, vol. ii. p. 468.

illumination of the cupola of the Cathedral. That day, the only one during the year, the young girls of the nobility and the middle classes could go into the streets and appear in public. Towards night, the Grand-Duke ascended a platform erected against the walls of his palace, which were hung with rich stuffs. The Pope's Nuncio sat on his left. The envoy from Ferrara stood at a respectful distance.[1] Then began the marching past. Young men, representing Sienna and its dependencies, and carrying the colours of its respective towns and villages, badly mounted on small horses or mules, passed one by one before the grand-ducal tribune, and as each was announced by a herald, he offered to the Grand-Duke, in the midst of general hilarity, either a silver goblet or a flag. Such proceedings were wanting in dignity, and far more resembled a masquerade than a state ceremony. A pyramid raised upon a huge car followed the cavalcade. Children, representing angels, sat on the steps, and a man fixed to the summit with an iron bar was intended to represent St. John. The listlessness of the performers and the irreverent behaviour of the spectators showed the feeling of the people, who cared little for the Medici.

If the capital, however, still trembled under the hold of its new masters, the country was quiet and prosperous. Those who journeyed through it, found the towns well paved, the roads well kept, and everywhere stone bridges solidly constructed. At measured distances, various inscriptions showed what share each com-

[1] The Emperor and the great Powers had agents, but no ambassadors, in Florence, Tuscany being considered a fief of the Empire.

mune had to take in the making of and cost of keeping up these roads. The fields were like gardens; the hills, cut into terraces, were crowded with vineyards, chestnut, olive, and mulberry trees. The mountains were in most cases cultivated up to their very summits, and everywhere men were seen hard at work. On Sundays and on feast-days, these labourers showed themselves playing the lute, the shepherdesses sang lines from Ariosto, while the cut corn lay on the ground for many days, there being no apprehension of robbery. Everywhere activity reigned; the mind was cultivated, and property was respected. Foreigners were much struck by this.

At Pistoja, the Rospigliosi, who in the following century were to see one of their descendants ascend the throne of St. Peter, held the first position among the noble families of the land. Taddeo Rospigliosi was known for his liberal hospitality. Montaigne, who was honoured by it, found 'the palace much adorned; the service somewhat badly done, considering the splendour of the repast; few servants; wine served after meals, as in Germany.'

Lucca was still a free State, at least apparently so. Thanks to the Emperor's protection, she had hitherto escaped the fate of Sienna and Pisa. All her noblemen were engaged in commerce. The Buonvisi were the first family of the place. Nothing could be livelier than the aspect which the town wore, or pleasanter than the life led there. Many palaces, somewhat small but of good architectural merit, allowed both light and air to penetrate through high windows into spacious and

vaulted rooms. In summer the meals were served in the doorway, and the passer-by joined in conversation with those who sat at dinner. There were few horses and no carriages. When any lady of rank went out, it was usually on a mule, and followed by a servant. The town resembled one large family, somewhat isolated from the rest of the world. The manners of the people, their turn of mind, and even their amusements reminded the visitor of the good old times, the great epoch of free cities in the Middle Ages. Few foreigners went there. When they did, it was mostly on their way to the baths of Lucca or of La Villa, which were both much in vogue at that time and much praised as regards comfort. Living was cheap: a pound of veal cost 1½*d.*, and all other things were in proportion.

The bathing season lasted during the three summer months, but the Lucca nobility were wont to congregate there in May and in October, not for the sake of health, but in pursuit of pleasure, country dances, flirtations, and an intimacy untrammelled by etiquette. Sometimes a good troop of comedians, even that of the Disiosi, the most renowned in Italy, gave a series of representations, but dancing was the favourite amusement. The most influential people gave dances in turns. The people of the neighbouring villages were invited, by notice that on such a day such a person would give a dance. No one was backward in availing themselves of the invitation. The peasant girls who were known for their beauty arrived dressed as ladies. All wore white shoes, fine stockings, and a silk apron, and a rose over the right or left ear, as they

belonged to the French or Spanish side. They curtsied in French fashion, by bending the knees—a usage followed in Tuscany and in the Duchy of Urbino—and danced with much grace and style the various national dances, and especially the 'caprioles and moulinets' (a skip and a twist). The fashionable people all mixed in the dance, if only not to appear 'too reserved.' The ball generally began on the piazza, and, when the heat became too great, it was continued in the Buonvisi Palace. A supper always terminated the feast. The prettiest peasant girls were chosen to sit at the principal table. A similar distinction was always conferred upon the celebrated Divizia, a peasant woman who was neither young nor pretty, and who neither knew how to read nor to write, but who knew how to improvise pretty lines upon mythological or other subjects, and could recite Ariosto from beginning to end, merely from having often heard it recited to her. Sometimes at the end of a ball prizes were given to the guests. It was a true and genuine gaiety, altogether without false pride on the one hand, or shyness on the other, wholly in conformity with the customs of a people the various classes of which did not look upon one another as enemies, but were, on the contrary, accustomed to live in harmony, and knew how to meet without mingling.

Besides travelling from north to south, or from south to north, that is, between Rome and Upper Italy, or the countries beyond the Alps, the road from Rome to Naples was not less frequented. It followed the old Via Appia, and passed through Marino and Velletri.

Well-mounted horsemen could ride to Naples in four days. But, as the country was overrun by bands of robbers, travellers preferred waiting for the slower but safer journey with the 'procaccio,' a kind of caravan which had been organised for the conveyance of goods, and which was escorted by papal and vice-regal guards. Upon this road, which was badly famed for its dirty and crowded inns, might be seen, whenever a procaccio went by, a crowd of monks, priests, bishops and their suites, tradespeople and men of business, Spaniards in great numbers, but few other foreigners, and scarcely any French, for they seldom visited a land the sovereign of which was so often at war with their own. 'Naples, however,' writes a Frenchman who was there at the end of the sixteenth century, 'is not a bad place for Frenchmen, provided they can bear patiently with a little chaff; but that accounts for there only being one Frenchman there now-a-days, and he is there only because of Orazio, who they say is the best horseman in Italy.' A Latin inscription, written on a monumental post erected on the confines of the Neapolitan territory, promised to those who arrived as friends a peaceful stay, the absence of immorality, and the protection which good laws afford :—'Hospes, hic sunt fines regni Neapolitani. Si amicus advenis, omnia pacata invenies et, malis moribus pulsis, bonas leges.' The first result of these good laws was the exaction of the guardians of the public safety, and of the customs officers, who were most severe against people leaving the country. The exportation of horses and of bullion was strictly prohibited. No man was allowed

to take more than 25 scudi with him. From Fondi downwards the road was paved. Foreigners marvelled at the beauty of the various sites they came across. Terracina, Fondi, Mola di Gaeta struck them as very 'graceful' places, but they complained of the ignorance of the inhabitants, who were unable to satisfy their curiosity with respect to the numerous antiquities which they met on their way.

The Venetian senator Girolamo Lippomano, who was sent shortly after the battle of Lepanto as an ordinary ambassador to the Court of Don Juan of Austria, then residing at Naples, gives of that city the following description[1]:—

'The antiquity of Naples, the beauty of her position, her numerous aristocracy (there are 13 dukes, 30 marquises, and 54 counts, who almost all inhabit their own palaces, and some of whom, though in debt, in consequence of the great expenses in which they indulge, have from 50,000 to 100,000 ducats a year), the abundance of everything, her large population, which is reckoned at 200,000 inhabitants, and her number of hospitals and richly endowed monasteries, make her a truly royal city, and give her rank as one of the principal towns of Europe. Among the pious institutions of the place there is a "Mont de Piété" (pawnbroker's) which lends money without interest to those in want. The Jews are no more allowed to reside in Naples than in any other of His Catholic Majesty's dominions. Thanks to its advantageous position on the sea, to its palaces, gardens, and public monuments, which cover the plains and the surrounding hills; thanks to its commercial

[1] 1575. Rel. Ven. Coll. Alberi.

relations abroad and to the extreme facility with which tradespeople can from day to day acquire houses and trade stocks in the country for many hundred thousand scudi's worth, Naples has become one of the richest towns of Italy and of Europe. Though she has long had this reputation, her population has nevertheless greatly increased during the last thirty years, and indeed to such a degree that the area of the town, which formerly covered four miles, now covers six. The two miles thus added are almost already built up, for the people like to live in Naples, owing to the franchise which the town enjoys, to the work, of which poor people are never in want, and because they are not, as in the provinces, tyrannised over by the Government agents. There are 100,000 fires in Naples, and by fire I mean a house, be it a palace or a cottage. Upwards of three thousand "tomuli" of grain are consumed every day, irrespectively of that which the convents and other congregations absorb. Many people think that this aggrandisement of Naples is not in the King's interest, because those who leave the provinces, where they would have continued to pay taxes, are exempted in Naples, and, what is worse, because in time of war the natives, numerous, excitable, and unruly as they are, besides disliking the Spaniards, might attempt a revolution. It is therefore believed that the Government would do well to strengthen and enlarge Fort St. Elmo, which commands the greater portion of the new quarters. The Neapolitans are very religious and zealous in the service of God, but will not hear of any tribunal of the Inquisition. The mere mention the word would cause them to rise, as

indeed they have already done. The inhabitants of this noble country are clever and prompt in their undertakings. They cultivate letters and the arts, they devote themselves to commerce and to agriculture, to all the occupations of peace and war, but are wanting in stability, and ever anxious to possess something new. This fault, which we read of as peculiar to the nation at all times, is the cause of those seditions, wars, ruins, and other calamities which are the consequence of the ambition and natural venom of such people. The prudence, however, of the Spaniards, or rather the want of native chiefs and protectors of the country, accounts for their being now in peace and incredibly submissive, thus greatly helping the Government properly to organize itself.'

Such a peaceful state was, however, never of very long duration. As a smouldering fire for ever works in the interior of Vesuvius, so discontent was ever breeding secretly, and periodically broke out in rebellions which were repressed at once with excessive severity. Numerous imprisonments and a few executions were the consequence of such revolts, and those who were compromised sought to escape into the Pontifical territory, where the hand of the Viceroy could not reach them. Some years after Lippomano's embassy, a repressed rebellion caused Rome to be filled with some 10,000 or 12,000 Neapolitan emigrants, among whom was Prince Ventograno, who had contrived to escape in the disguise of a gray friar.[1]

[1] Cardinal d'Este to M. de Villeroy, Sept. 4, 1585.—Bibl. Imp. Paris, Coll. Harlay, 288.

The *sosiego* (an untranslatable Spanish word, inasmuch as no other language can exactly render that feeling peculiar to the Spanish nation, which results from pride and indifference, from an exaggerated idea of one's own dignity, and from a natural tendency to idleness), the luxury, and magnificence of the representatives of Charles V. and of Philip II. had become proverbial. 'I thought I was going to visit a viceroy,' writes one, 'and I found the King of Spain.' Complaints were also loud against the manner in which the public money was lavished, for which some viceroys, and, still more, their agents, were culpably responsible, as well as against the numerous abuses and inconveniences resulting especially from frequent changes. There were, however, among the viceroys several statesmen of merit, men of note, well-behaved towards their subjects, and better than the reputation they left behind them. Constantly exposed as they were to the intrigues of rivals in Madrid, to the suspicious humour of their sovereign, to the hatred of the nobility, and to the turbulent character of the Neapolitan people, the position of these high functionaries was not an enviable one, and cannot be compared with the most difficult and complex positions of a similar nature in our times.

Such was the aspect which Italy bore towards the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.

The travellers, whom we have accompanied from the Alps, have at last almost reached their journey's end. Fifteen miles ahead they see in the horizon two culminating points: Monte Mario and St. Peter without its cupola, but already throwing up that lofty gallery

which was to bear it. The children of that rude generation, little accustomed to hide their feelings, give way to the emotions which the sight creates. They dismount, bow their heads to the ground, and wash it with their tears; then, lifting their hands to heaven, bless God that He should have spared them to see the Holy City.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE.

At the time that our narrative begins, Gregory XIII. had entered his eighty-fourth year, and was approaching the end of the thirteenth year of his pontificate. Nothing, however, showed that his end was near. The Pope, whose constitution was equally robust and sanguine, enjoyed apparently perfect health. As before, he said mass three times a week, and often appeared in public, took exercise by walking up and down the long galleries of the Vatican, which he had mostly built himself, attended his chapels and his consistories, and, on certain fixed days, received the ambassadors of the great Powers. He had the talent, which, in the opinion of his contemporaries, was a guarantee of longevity, of putting easily aside all disagreeable or painful thoughts. His friends hoped therefore to see him, like his father and other members of his family, reach the last limits of the human age. Those, however, who frequented the Vatican, and the Venetian envoys who were for

ever seeking for Court intelligence, believed that they had perceived some unsatisfactory symptoms.[1] Gregory XIII., who habitually treated himself with so much severity, and was so little given to the pleasures and amusements of the world, was beginning to modify his tastes. He called musicians to the palace, was present at the games and dances of a son of Signor Giacomo, and shut himself up for hours with a jeweller who enjoyed his friendship, and examined jewellery. These very innocent distractions were, however, so novel in him that they could not escape the notice of those who surrounded him. From that time, belief in a coming change became rife.

In the early days of November 1584,[2] it so happened that the Papal standard on Fort St. Angelo was struck down by lightning. The Romans saw in this a supernatural warning of the approaching death of their Pontiff. The Venetian envoy believed the incident to be of sufficient importance for him to report it to the Doge, adding however 'that such prophecies were not to be relied upon; that men's lives could not depend upon such accidents, but rather on the will of God; and that the strong and robust constitution of Gregory warranted the hope that he had still a few years to live.' On March 13,[3] Cardinal de Sens wrote to the Duke of Nevers that the Pope enjoyed excellent health. The event, however, proved the superstitious to be in the right.

[1] Leonardo Donato to the Doge.—Arch. Ven. Disp. Rome, fil. 16.
[2] Leopoldo Priuli to the Doge.—Arch. Ven. Disp. Rome, fil. 18.
[3] Bib. Imp. Paris, French, 3363.

Notwithstanding the doctor's entreaties, Gregory had fasted severely during Lent. On April 5, a fever seized him, which did not, however, prevent his being present in the chapel on the following Sunday, or presiding at the consistory on the Monday, after receiving the Spanish ambassador. On the following day he took to his bed, never again to rise from it. His illness (bronchitis) made such rapid progress that he could neither confess nor receive communion, and on April 10, as his nephew, Cardinal San Sisto, administered the last sacraments to him, he gave up the ghost.[1]

Gregory[2] was born at Bologna on January 7, 1502. His father was a tradesman of ordinary means, who belonged to that 'mezzo ceto' which in Italy, at that time, far surpassed the middle classes of other countries in their way of living, their education and comforts, but which an almost insurmountable barrier separated from the nobility of the land. Gregory's father had had the good fortune of marrying a Marescalchi, and of thus being admitted into the ranks of the Bologna aristocracy and seeing his son become a successor of St. Peter. He thus became the founder of the illustrious family of the Buoncompagni, which later was merged into another Papal family, the Ludovisi (Gregory XV.), both of which are now represented by the family of Prince Piombino. Hugh, his

[1] Maffei, Ann. Greg. XIII.

[2] Rel. Ven. Coll. Alberi, t. x. The Ambassadors Paolo Tiepolo, Antonio Tiepolo, Giovanni Corraro, and Lorenzo Priuli. Rel. Chevalier Suguidi. Arch. Med. Flor. fil. 3605.

son, had studied law, and filled with honour, for three years, at the University of Bologna, the office of lecturer. Among his numerous audience were men destined to play a great part in the world and even to wear the tiara. Among these were Reginald Pole, Charles Borromeo, Alexander Farnese, Otto Truchsess. He was thirty-six years of age when he left the university and his country to go to Rome and become a priest. The rapid career which he made was due to his great reputation as a lawyer, to his proverbial honesty, and a little also perhaps to the good graces of Paul IV. and of the Caraffas. He was specially esteemed as a lawyer, and as such made himself useful and was equal to the increased duties imposed upon him. Having been remarked at the Council of Trent, as apostolic auditor entrusted with the drawing up of decrees, he was promoted by Pius IV. to be a cardinal, and was sent soon after to Spain, with the delicate mission of revising the case of the unfortunate Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo. From that time he was looked upon as 'papable'—eligible to the papacy. His election was a settled thing in the minds of the cardinals before even they met in conclave, and on the third day he was elected Pope by 'adoration,' that is without ballot, and by the fact of the spontaneous and unanimous consent of all the members of the Sacred College.

We have already examined the merits of Gregory XIII. As head of the Church, he was certainly a great man and an intelligent Pontiff, zealously pursuing the work of reform, though with more prudence than his over strict predecessor, entering into the just

appreciation of the high mission which he had to fulfil, and fulfilling it in accordance with the spirit of the age and in conformity with the wants of the period. This estimate of the man is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all his contemporaries, even of his detractors, and has been ratified by history. No one has ever tried to contest it. Parsimonious with respect to himself, he was singularly liberal, and even magnificent, in everything connected with the performance of public offices. He was prodigal perhaps of his finances when it was a question of endowing churches, or of founding a college, or of propagating the faith in distant countries, or of erecting monuments, rather rich than tasteful—a fault, by the way, not so much his own as that of the times in which he lived.

As temporal sovereign, Gregory by no means realized the hopes conceived of him on his accession. The position of Italy, as that of Europe, required a statesman of the highest order at Rome. Gregory was only a lawyer. He delighted in nothing so much as to preside at the 'segnatura,' or any other tribunal. He looked at everything from an exclusively legal point of view. His opinion once formed, he gave it without ever rescinding his judgment, unless by dint of logical reasonings he was made to see that he was in the wrong. No considerations of opportunity or political requirements could exercise any influence over his mind. He was a judge devoted to justice, but who sought justice only where right existed. When he thought he had cleared that point which to him was the only essential one to clear, his decrees were

given, and he believed that he had fulfilled the duties of a sovereign. As for the carrying out of his decrees, he troubled himself little about it, so that his ordinances and decisions were always looked upon as dead letters. With regard to political matters, he understood them little, took no interest in them, had no sequence in his views, and, what is worse, showed at times some wish to initiate plans likely to animate foreign Courts with the hope that he would carry out that which he neither had the means nor the earnest will to realize.[1] He left the care of his state affairs to Cardinal Galli, better known as Cardinal of Como, who had already under Pius IV. been entrusted with the reins of government. Como was narrow-minded, but honest, a man who liked and attracted men of little worth, and who tried to keep himself in power by a simple process (much followed at Courts), which consists in following the tastes rather than adopting the ideas of one's master. He studiously avoided speaking to the Pope oftener than was necessary upon political matters, represented things to him in their most favourable light, spared him all mental labour, postponed matters difficult to resolve or prolonged indefinitely questions of an intricate nature (which, by the way, is often a detestable solution of such questions). The Pope, who was a determined partisan of peace, nevertheless irritated sovereigns by his want of proper attention to them or their cause, when

[1] 'Quanto alle cose di stato, il Papa ne è pochissimo intelligente, e in nissun modo ad esse inclinato, onde non si diletta d'intenderle nè di trattarle molto profondamente, e abborrisce i pensieri e travagli necessari a chi ne ha da aver cura.'—Paolo Tiepolo, *Rel.* 1576.

once he believed himself to be in the right. The lawyer always had the whip-hand of the politician. The Cardinal acted in the same manner, and his master enjoyed the accounts which he gave of his interviews with the various ambassadors. No one knew better than Como how to put in a disagreeable word without in the least departing from his exquisite politeness of manner.

Members of the diplomatic body, however, gave him credit for being accommodating so soon as a decision had been come to by the Pope, and, generally speaking, to be a man of his word. Como had formerly been the retainer of a Roman prelate. When Monsignor Garimberto rode out on horseback, young Galli followed him on foot. Now matters had changed, and the same prelate could be seen in the ante-room of the splendid Bramante[1] Palace on the Piazza Scossa Cavalli which was then the property of the powerful cardinal, happy and honoured by the recognition of his former servant. The Romans found it natural enough. Each would have done as much, for everyone was accustomed to these sudden changes and vicissitudes of fortune. The Venetian ambassador, however, mentions the fact as a proof of what fortune can do for a man at the Pontifical Court.

The Pope's nephews, Cardinal San Sisto, son of Gregory's brother[2] an excellent man, whose tendencies

[1] Known as the Giraud Palace, one of the masterpieces of Bramante. It passed from the hands of the Cardinal of Como at the same time as Mondragone to the Delmontes, and from them to the Borghese, whence it passed into many other hands. It now belongs to Duke Torlonia.

[2] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, June 17, 1586. Paris, Coll. Harlay, 288.

were French, and Cardinal Guastavillani, a son of his sister, and rather a man of the world than a statesman,[1] whose agreeable ways were much liked, had each good fortunes but no share of power.

It was said of Gregory, that, little liked by his subjects, and caring less for popularity, except at times, he was sincerely attached to none but to Giacomo, Duke of Sora, his natural son, the offspring of an attachment with a Bologna lady while he was still a professor of law, and long before he had entered holy orders.[2] This son constituted the happiness and torment of the Pope. Gregory had centred all his affections in him; but scruples of conscience, the duties of his office, the pious exhortations of Padre Toledo and of Charles Borromeo, made him decide on removing him from his person. The ties of blood always ended by bringing him back. Gregory's home existence was spent in these constant secret struggles, which were apparent by the occasional disgrace and returns to favour of which the young Giacomo was alternately the object, by his sudden banishments from the capital and subsequent recalls. Sora was a young man of elegant ways, of a gentle and agreeable character, very thoughtless, but generally liked. Ever in debt, he led a splendid existence at the Palazzo Colonna, which he occupied with his wife, Donna Costanza Sforza, a sister of the Count di Santa Fiora.[3] A bitter enemy of the Farnese, he was an instrument in

[1] Rel. Ven. Paolo Tiepolo.

[2] Litta, Famiglia Buoncompagni, tav. ii.

[3] Cardinal de' Medici to the Grand-Duke Francis, his brother, 1565. Sora's debts were reckoned at 150,000 scudi.

the hands of the adversaries of that family. Cardinal de' Medici had also an eye upon him, for the use which he could make of him in the coming Conclave. Gregory's changeable humour towards him affected him deeply. He confided his grief to everyone, complained bitterly of the fate that made him son of a Pope; but no sooner did the rays of fortune shine upon him, than his careless nature got the better of him. At the commencement and also in the latter years of the pontificate he held the important and lucrative post of Governor of Holy Church—that is, of commander-in-chief of the Pontifical forces, and military governor of Rome. With Cardinal Como, then, as State Minister, and his son Giacomo as guardian of his personal security, as well as of that of his subjects, Pope Gregory XIII. governed his States. High legal attainments, honesty, goodness, almost good-nature, characterised the Pope, mediocrity his cabinet minister, and carelessness his military superintendent. Though the treasury and the country were gradually getting poorer, life was easy in Rome, where money poured in with the strangers that came, and where the action of the Government was scarcely felt—'where both good and bad were equally at their ease;' but brigandage and penury were rife in the provinces, and impotence and impunity reigned everywhere.

Gregory was a fine man; he was tall and majestic, his forehead low, but broad and little wrinkled. His look, which was kind,[1] showed the honesty which was

[1] This description is taken from a picture of that day in the Villa Ludovisi, and from a more recent statue.

his principal characteristic. Nevertheless he was not prepossessing at first. He affected, as is so often the case, that which he had least, viz. severity, and took pleasure in making life disagreeable to those who had to treat with him, as, for instance, to ambassadors. Through this borrowed mask, however, men soon saw how good he was at heart. His kindness was too general to allow of his attaching himself strongly to any individual, and was therefore powerless in attaching others to him. Such a failing in a sovereign is undoubtedly a great one, since it deprives him of solid and devoted attachments, while it creates around him a vacuum which will only appear to him in the day of evil, and when it is too late to fill the gap.

Gregory XIII. loved the country, and spent regularly part of the summer at a villa which Vignola had built for Cardinal Altemps, above Frascati, on the slope of the Latin Hills, in a magnificent country the picturesque charms of which have often been described. Mondragone—the magnificent result not of genius but of perfect intuition of proportions, and enjoying the pure air and broad view which with Rome includes a great portion of the Papal dominions—was dear to Gregory, He spent there his happiest moments. Beneath the hospitable roof of the illustrious Altemps, he could, better than at the Vatican or at the Quirinal, throw off all preoccupations and avoid the *ennuis* of official life, but especially that of receiving ambassadors, who, however, using their privilege, sometimes came to disturb him in his retreat. At Mondragone took place, in the spring of the year 1573, the tragi-comical scene

of the expulsion of the ambassador Paolo Tiepolo, who had brought the Pope the news of the signing of peace between Venice and the Turks. Hearing of this defection, which he had so little expected after the victory of Lepanto, Gregory got up from his chair in a passion, flew upon the unfortunate ambassador, who at once took to his heels, and pursued him through the house. The ambassador, finding himself abandoned by his followers, was obliged to return alone to Rome, without even an escort, and in danger of being robbed by the mercenaries who, on their way to Naples, were then infesting the Campagna. This strange proceeding made a great noise at the time, but did not bring on a rupture of diplomatic relations between Venice and Rome.

Cardinal Altemps had built Mondragone to be agreeable to the Pope, but the latter, while accepting his offers of hospitality, never spared his host. He had ordered that the titles of the holders of Church fiefs should be revised, and, to everyone's astonishment, Altemps was not exempted. In Gregory's time the laws were made for everyone, but were obeyed by nobody, as occurred in the present case. The work of the revision, which had resulted from a conception of right, and was a measure corresponding to a want felt by the Administration, caused great alarm among the nobility, but nothing came of it. The Romans were wont to say, 'Habemus Papam negativum.'

Such was the Pontiff who had just died. Notwithstanding the alarming rumours which foreboded his

death, and which had filled Rome during the winter, no one was prepared for it, not even the members of his own family, nor those most intimate at Court, and best informed on all that took place.[1] People found that the Pope lasted too long. 'The Roman courtiers,' says a Venetian envoy, 'like the wheel to turn often, because each man hopes to win in the lottery. They give each Pope five years to live, and are displeased when the lease is renewed.' This time, however, even the impatient were surprised. The fears and consternation of the public on hearing of the Pope's death were but too well justified.

Happily, the almost official disturbers of peace, the banditti and their chiefs, were as much surprised as the Government and the Sacred College. No one was disposed to disturb order, or to maintain it. Cardinal Guastavillani, as camerlingo, assumed as a right the direction of the State during the interregnum. With him the cardinals hastened to organise a defence against the attacks of the banditti, and of some suspected Roman noblemen, and to take promptly the most indispensable measures. The Cardinals of Medici, Colonna, and Guastavillani, were specially entrusted with the care of watching over the public safety. They resolved that not a single bandit should be tolerated in Rome, that letters should be sent to the feudatory barons, exhorting them to keep peace in the provinces, and to expel the outlaws to whom they gave protection. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany and the Viceroy of

[1] Cardinal de' Medici to the Grand-Duke Francis, April 14, 1585. Arch. Flor. 5119.

Naples were advised of these steps, and requested to take measures against the evil.

By motives of prudence as well as of propriety, but especially because each pretender to the Papacy did not care to alienate from him the good-will of the preceding Pope's creatures[1]—the Sacred College confirmed, on the motion of Cardinal de' Medici, the appointments held by Giacomo, as General of Holy Church, and Mario Sforza as his lieutenant, and appointed a *protégé* of San Sisto to the vacant post of the Borgo. The Savelli, according to custom, were to guard the Conclave. The Sforzas collected men who were specially told off to police duties. Some agitation, but no disturbances, reigned in Rome. At one time a conflict was feared between Sora and Prosper Colonna, brother of the cardinal, who arrived before Rome with his 'slayers,' as the regular troops under his command were called by the people. A formal injunction to remain away stopped his progress. There were a few isolated cases of assassination, and several false alarms; but with these exceptions—thanks to the active and energetic intelligence of Cardinal de' Medici, who, a mediocrity as a churchman, was born to command—peace was maintained during the interregnum, against all expectation.

The usual ceremonies took place, therefore, without being disturbed by any untoward incident. The body of Gregory, which had first been carried to St. Peter

[1] The Pope's creatures are the cardinals he has made; and out of gratitude for the Pope who had made them cardinals, they generally voted with the cardinal nephew of the deceased Pope.

and placed in the chapel of Sixtus IV., was afterwards exposed for three days in the Gregorian chapel. The obsequies took place in the Sistine Chapel on the three following days, and ended by high mass at St. Peter's, where a catafalque was raised in the centre of the church. Immediately after these funeral ceremonies, which were minutely prescribed by the ritual and tradition, the cardinals entrusted with the government business met in the sacristy, where they received in succession, for the purpose of praising the defunct Pope, Count Olivarès, the Spanish ambassador, Baron Frederic Madruccio, brother of Cardinal Madruccio, the Emperor's ambassador, and Cardinal d'Este, Protector of France, as representative of the French ambassador. Marquis de Pisany, the ambassador of the very Christian King, only arrived on April 18, as the cardinals were about to meet in conclave. It was not without some difficulty that, notwithstanding an attempt of his Spanish colleague to postpone his audience until after the Conclave,[1] he succeeded in being received by the cardinals, 'who,' said he with humour, 'were only thinking what Pope they could elect who would be the best Spaniard at heart.' At the outset the rivalry between the Courts of Paris and Madrid appears in the relations between the two representatives.[2] This antagonism was brought about by force of circumstances, but was likely to create in the future a number of inconveniences, of embarrassments, and of dangers to

[1] Pisany to Henry III. April 22, 1585. Paris, Coll. Harlay, 288.

[2] We must, on account of abundant other matters, pass over the quarrels of etiquette between the two ambassadors.

the Pope who might be elected by the Conclave, at the doors of which the ambassadors of France and Spain were fighting, the one with all the energy and 'furia' common to his country, and the other with all the Castilian reserve and 'sosiego.'

The news of the death of Gregory was received with regret in Madrid, with indifference at Prague, and with ill-dissembled satisfaction in Paris and in Venice.[1]

[1] Arch. Ven. Deliberazioni, April 1585. The senate expresses in very mild terms the regret which it experiences on hearing of the death of a Pope, who was 'a zealous pastor of God's glory.' Not a word on its political relations with him. The praise was fair, but the laconic style was significant.

CHAPTER II.

PRELIMINARIES.

IF the sudden death of Gregory caused universal astonishment, the event was foreseen by those who had most interest in not being taken by surprise. Such were the members of the Sacred College, the great Catholic States, and the Italian princes.

The cardinals, some of whom were looked upon as eligible for the Papacy, and of whom several, being the creatures of Gregory XIII., had gathered, as was the custom, around his nephew, but who all, owing to the fervent spirit which characterised the epoch, sincerely wished to make a good choice, appeared desirous to give their votes to the worthiest among them, to him who could best defend the faith against the encroachments of heresy, and continue in the Church the work of reform. In this respect matters had greatly changed since the beginning of the century.

If religion, however, had acquired a much larger share than formerly in the electoral canvassing of the members of the Conclave, political considerations and personal merits were not on that account excluded. Candidates for the Papacy had to look to the parties of various cardinals, and especially to those of the nephew of the last Pope, which were always more

or less influential according to the duration of that Pope's pontificate. They had to consider the popularity which some competitors enjoyed, and still more the fears with which others inspired them. The memory of the unheard-of severity exercised by Pius IV.[1] at his accession, against a Caraffa, a nephew of his predecessor, was still present to all, though a quarter of a century had elapsed, and soared like a shadow over the electoral urn, making all concerned look from motives of fear, much less to a good Pope—that is, one favourable to the interests of each—than to the exclusion of those colleagues whom they considered hostile to them.

Princes likewise took their precautions, settled in their own minds which candidate they would wish to see successful, and instructed accordingly their ambassadors and cardinal-protectors. Candidates had therefore carefully to examine what were the secret wishes of the sovereigns of Germany, of Spain, and of France, armed as these already were, in fact, though not yet as a right, with the terrible privilege of exclusion. Could they only have contented themselves with the exercise of such a privilege! But donations, benefices, every species of favour, and even intimidation, were means not unfrequently used to procure friends at Rome. Notwithstanding all this, even here the effects

[1] Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, nephew of Paul IV. was condemned to death by a tribunal composed of eight cardinals, and strangled in Fort St. Angelo. Duke Palliano, who in a moment of jealousy had killed his wife, had been beheaded within the gates of the prisons of Tordinone. His accomplices, Count Olifa, his brother-in-law, and Lionardo de Cardiera, his cousin, met with a similar fate. This case was revised and the decree reversed under the succeeding pontificate of Pius V.

of reform were visible. Charles V. had vied with Francis I. for influence by profuse liberalities, but soon discovered how useless were his efforts. Though the cardinals were children of those unscrupulous times, and accepted the favours bestowed upon them, were accommodating in business, and endeavoured by their good offices to promote the requests and claims of foreign princes, they knew on great occasions, and in a conclave especially, how to preserve their independence. Sovereigns were thus deceived in their expectations. It was especially after the election of Pope Caraffa that Charles V., who had requested his exclusion, became somewhat cold [1] in his relations with the Sacred College. His son followed his example. For ten years he suppressed the pensions which had been granted to cardinals. The kings of France did the same, so that the fountain of princely pensions had become singularly dry. Later, it is true, Philip reverted to the old ways; but the fact that the great majority of foreign cardinals were his own subjects, and dependent upon him, sufficiently explains his power, which was immense [2] in the Sacred College.

[1] In 1565 Giacomo Soranzo writes: 'One may say that there no longer exists any difference between cardinals of the Emperor, of France, or of Spain, for with the cessation of the donations, which were the secret of these cardinals' dependence, has also ceased the dependence of the latter. Many of them, no doubt, being indebted to these foreign princes for bishoprics or other ecclesiastical donations, must have some consideration for them, but this is much less the case now-a-days than formerly. Princes have found out besides how small is the political influence of which the Popes now dispose, and therefore care less for the result of the elections, and still less to give money for the sake of attaching cardinals to their cause.'

[2] Paolo Tiepolo, who as a Venetian is not impartial in regard to Philip II., complains of the means employed by that sovereign to influence the Sacred

If Olivarés abused that influence on many occasions, the King, instead of sanctioning the zeal of his ambassador, hesitated to press too heavily upon his purpled vassals; not, however, because he had become indifferent to what took place at the Vatican, for until the last hour of his life he took the liveliest interest in all matters concerning the Holy See, of which he believed himself to be the supreme and most powerful protector on earth. In his opinion the Church and the crown of Spain had become one.[1] To influence the election of the Popes seemed to Philip a natural consequence of his holy mission, and a duty rather than a right. But how and within what limits was he to accomplish this end? Such was the question which he often put to himself. Doubts and scruples, even remorse, sometimes troubled his soul, and made him on several occasions seek for enlightenment in the advice of theologians whom he had assembled together for the purpose.

Henry III. also could influence the coming Conclave, but the French party was not numerous, and it was politically divided. Some of its members, under Cardinal d'Este, were royalists; others, under the fiery Cardinal of Sens, were followers of the League. It was doubtful whether they would arrive in time, notwithstanding the

College, rel. 1576. Olivarès, on the contrary, in a memorable despatch to Philip II., exclaims against the ingratitude of Spanish and other cardinals, who are in receipt of the King's favours and pensions. He suggests some means of punishment, and of bringing them back to a due deference to the wishes of the Spanish crown.—Arch. Simancas, April 19, 1590, leg. 956.

[1] An Austrian writer, M. Guidely, has published on this matter some information picked up in the archives of Simancas. See *Rudolf und seine Zeit* (Prague, 1863); also his report to the Imperial Academy at Vienna, 1861.

pressing recommendations of Cardinal d'Este to Henry III. 'to make them get upon a horse, and arrive in as much haste as possible, as the Spaniards were making great efforts to elect the Pope before the arrival of the French cardinals.'[1]

The Emperor Rodolph, as we have pointed out, paid little attention to Roman affairs. With regard to all matters connected with the Peninsula, he had abandoned, not without a certain amount of secret jealousy, to the Spanish branch of his house the direction of affairs, and with it the influence and profit to be derived from his intervention.

Next to the high diplomatic element came one, which, though less powerful, was not less active, and could in the stead of more material means supply a thorough knowledge of men and things at Rome, with the additional advantage of the proximity of their courts to that of Rome. This element was that of the official and unofficial agents of the several Italian princes, excepting, as regards the election of a sovereign pontiff, those of the most powerful State of the peninsula, the Republic of Venice,[2] which did not pretend to interfere in electoral proceedings. During an interregnum its ambassadors, who were always very well informed, continued to observe and report upon what they heard, but were on their guard; and its cardinals, though not ceasing to be animated in the Conclave with those patriotic feelings which characterised

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Henry III., 1585.

[2] This important and curious fact, inasmuch as it behoves us to examine the Venetian politics of that day, is confirmed by the diplomatic correspondence of the Republican envoys.

every Venetian, behaved as princes of the Church and not as political agents of their country. The exquisite instinct, the perfect acquaintance with affairs, the practical good sense of the Venetians, added to the material impossibility of getting up a sufficiently numerous Venetian faction—in short, the proverbial wisdom which presided over the acts of the Republic, explained her abstention.

Of the other Italian princes, each endeavoured to protect his small local interests in the Conclave, and these were of vital importance to them. Even the Duke of Urbino kept up intimate relations with one or two cardinals, gave pensions to some Roman prelates, to servants of the Vatican, to obliging subalterns, whose influence, though invisible, was not the less real everywhere, and nowhere so much as in Rome.

Next to Venice, the Prince of Savoy was the one in Italy to occupy himself least with the pontifical elections. Young Charles Emmanuel was about to marry the Infanta, daughter of Philip II., thus to become the vassal of Spain for some time, and to find in Madrid the support which he wanted in Rome. His affairs were, however, well protected by Cardinal Alessandrino, a nephew of Pius V., who, notwithstanding his mediocrity, was justly looked upon as one of the most influential members of the Sacred College.

This was not the case with the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, for whom the Vatican constituted the centre of the world. Befriended by the Pope, he felt himself protected against the rancour of Spain, whose designs upon Sienna, which he had once possessed, he always dreaded. In Henry III. he found a help against

not only the Duke of Savoy, but especially against that terrible rival, the Duke of Parma, whom he suspected of aspiring to a future kingdom of Lombardy.[1] The Emperor's protection was likewise of some importance to him; but without the efficacious friendship of the Pope, whose territory touched his own from Orbitello to Ferrara, or with a Pope hostile to him, he could exercise no influence whatever. The Dukes of Savoy and Parma, aided by Spain, and the Duke of Ferrara, intimately allied with France, would become the most important sovereigns in the north and in the west of Italy, according to the preponderance of one or other of these great Powers, and he, the Grand-Duke, would find even his territory threatened with invasion.

These considerations influenced the policy of the Court of Florence, justified the particular attention bestowed by it upon the affairs of Rome, and explained, without justifying them, the intrigues which it incessantly carried on there, and at no time so much as during the sittings of a Conclave. The result was that no one was so well informed as Francis of Tuscany of all the intimate details of the Vatican, into which his agents penetrated by a thousand ways, the echoes of which reached him by the daily correspondence of his cardinal brother, or of the Abbé Babbi, his brother's private secretary, or of Monsignor Alberti, his envoy, or of Monsignor Gerini, and, during the pontificate of Sixtus V., of Monsignor Sangaletto, secret chamberlain to that Pope. Into the higher spheres of Roman politics, however, the Venetian ambassadors had a better in-

[1] Card. de' Medici to the Grand-Duke Francis. Rome, April 13, 1585.

sight than he. His most useful associate in obtaining information, as well as in things to be done, was his brother Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici.[1] Thirty-two years of age, and full of zeal for the welfare of his house, the cardinal was politically devoted to the Grand-Duke (for whom, however, he cared little), was exceedingly gifted, uncommonly active and ingenious, but unscrupulous, preferring the interests of his family to his own, and his own to those of the Church. He was looked upon as a prince, as a liberal in the sense then attributed to that word, as magnificent in his ways, and a protector of the arts, like all the Medici. Amiable with his subordinates out of policy, he liked to form a contrast with Francis, who, during the latter years of his reign, made himself daily more detested by his subjects. A first-class politician of a second-rate Power, while he kept his country within its narrow limits, notwithstanding his numerous relations, and the correspondence he exchanged with the most influential people of his day, he could dispose of a thousand means, because he could employ them without hesitation or scruple, provided they were useful to his purpose. Forgetful of his ecclesiastical position, but never of his princely dignity, he was more at home later as Governor of Tuscany, than at Rome in the Sacred College. At the Papal Court he enjoyed a great reputation, lived in great style at the Palazzo Fiorentino,[2] and

[1] Lorenzo Priuli, 1585. Sesa, 1590. Pisany, 1585. Urbani, 1586.

[2] 'Nobilissimamente anzi regalmente adobbato.' G. Grittito the Doge, 1587. This palace, situated in the Via dei Prefetti, was the property of the Cardinal. It afterwards went to the Del Montes, and later was bought by the Court of Tuscany, which in 1866 ceded it to the kingdom of Italy.

sometimes at the Villa Medici on the Monte Pincio. Rather respected than liked by his colleagues, he had but one rival, Cardinal Farnese, whom he hated and feared equally, and for whom, while he outwardly preserved the forms of politeness, he never wholly disguised publicly his real aversion. As a proof of what he could do, it was said at Prague that even Cardinal Andrew of Austria owed to him the good reception he met with in Rome. Ferdinand's features were regular, but his forehead was rather high. His cold look contrasted with his apparent good temper, and revealed his character, which was naturally harsh and proud. He was tall, and exceedingly stout. His doubtful health inspired a good deal of anxiety, but never interfered with his devouring activity.

By those interested in his decease, we have said that the death of Gregory XIII. had long been foreseen, even from the day of his accession; for, as Cardinal d'Este wrote, 'no sooner is one Pope elected than his successor is thought of.'[1] But however much they may have foreseen it, the task of the various factions was not the less difficult. How could they anticipate all the accidents and incidents which start up and play such a part in the events of this world? How could they be sure beforehand, on so slippery a soil, of the last results of an operation in which friendship and spite, the fears of each, the remembrances of all, the hopes of some, the

The Grand-Duke Francis possessed in Rome the beautiful Lante Palace, near St. Eustache, which was let to M. de Pisany. When that ambassador left, Cardinal de' Medici, who had become Grand-Duke himself, established his own ambassador there.

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, 1585.

wish of one to keep a word given, the faltering of another, and petty treasons, never fail to take up so much room; where Fate, or rather Providence, getting the best of our weaknesses, of those miserable trifles inherent to our natures, can baffle the cleverest reckonings, and at any moment reduce to nothing the largest conceptions, while justifying those who ingenuously believe and proclaim[1] that God alone can, in the uncertainties of a Conclave, as in the struggles of a battle-field, decide who shall or shall not be the winner?

The former division of the Conclave into Imperial, French, and Spanish factions was almost extinct. During the long pontificate of Gregory XIII., certain coteries had been formed, at the head of which were the nephews of the last Popes: Farnese at the head of the creatures of Paul III., Borromeo and Altemps of those of Pius IV., and Alessandrino of the cardinals created by his uncle, Pius V.

Such a classification was rather the result of gratitude professed apparently or in reality by certain cardinals for the Pope who had promoted them, than of any common interests. Another still deeper line of demarcation divided the Sacred College into two camps. Farnese and Medici were the heads of it. Almost all

[1] The Venetian Ambassadors were of the number. Luigi Mocenigo speaking of Pius IV.'s conclave, and giving an account of the machinations of Vergas, adds: 'But God willed that nothing of what he sought should happen; from which it must be supposed that in reality it is God that makes the Popes.' 1560. He makes a similar remark a little further on: 'I do not understand how in these elections the result can be foreseen, since a thousand incidents can upset man's designs, so that we must believe that in His Vicar's affairs, as in those of princes, God alone can manage an election.'

the cardinals and even the holy and wise Charles Borromeo, who died shortly before Gregory, sided with one or the other. The foreign representatives joined issue, and during the whole of that reign the two factions disputed, not the actual power which was in the hands of the Pope and of the Cardinal of Como, but the future power, which, considering the great age of the Holy Father, was likely soon to be the present, and which each faction was as sure of grasping as its adversary was sanguine of success, both being equally active, strong, and prepared for a deadly fight.

The death of Gregory caused a great change in the constitution of both parties. Cardinal San Sisto, a nephew of Gregory, became the head of his uncle's creatures, and disposed naturally of a good many votes which, added to the scales of either one or the other of the two parties, must determine the victory. Unable to hope himself to become Pope (for the nephews and prime ministers of a defunct Pope were then *ipso facto* excluded),[1] San Sisto was master of the position. The issue of the Conclave depended upon him. He could elect the Pope if his followers adhered to him, that is if their gratitude was real, and not overpowered by foreign influences, by seductions, by intimidations, or the thousand and one artifices to which recourse is had to shake a devotion based rather, as we have said, on motives of propriety than upon a real fidelity to the memory of the dead—a slight defence, it must be confessed, in moments of a supreme crisis.

To gain San Sisto and all his followers, or to isolate

[1] Bibl. Imp. Paris, 5562. No law limited in this respect the rights of the electors.

him from them if he himself could not be gained over, was the chief object to be attained. The next thing to do was to insure the veto which the foreign princes could pronounce against the most formidable adversaries, to proceed first negatively, that is by 'exclusion,' then by 'inclusion,' that is by making a list of those to be favoured in various degrees, then to concentrate the votes of the majority upon the man most wished for, or, according to circumstances, least feared.

To this task Medici gave himself up with extreme ardour.[1] His inveterate hatred against Farnese, and, still more, political considerations, such as the prospect of a territorial aggrandisement of the duchy of Parma, or the re-establishment of the kingdom of Lombardy under the sceptre of the Farnese, explain the feverish activity of which he gave proof during those critical days in order to insure the exclusion of Paul III.'s nephew.

The death of Charles Borromeo[2] who was much devoted to the Medici, had left a vacant place in that faction which was insufficiently filled by Cardinal Altemps, a man of a sombre and vain character, and who at that time was much pressed by his friends to join the Farnese faction. These manœuvres alarmed the cardinal, who had also to fear a reconciliation between his great adversary and the King of Spain. The latter, forgetting old grievances, was about to restore the fortress of Piacenza to the Duke of Parma. Would he not likewise forget the hatred of Farnese and the exclusion with which he had visited him in the last

[1] Cardinal de' Medici, April 11, 1585—April 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, and 24, which contains the account of the election of Sixtus V.

[2] November 3, 1584.

Conclave? An alliance between Parma and Savoy was already preparing under the auspices of the Court of Spain. That formidable prospect, which was to be realised as soon as Cardinal Farnese, with the aid of Philip, had become Pope, appeared before the mind of Ferdinand, alarmed him, fired him with anger, and became the rule of his future conduct.[1] On the very day after the Pope's death, he made overtures to San Sisto, who showed himself reserved, full of honeyed words, but not apparently inclined to favour either one or other of the contending parties. Medici set Simoncello to watch him, and instructed the former to put forward the candidature of Cesi, and to propose secretly to San Sisto a marriage between the duke his brother and a Cesi. The other Gregorians whom Medici had sounded all appeared to be determined to vote as their chief San Sisto would. But Gregory's other nephew, Cardinal Guastavillani, showed favourable dispositions, and if he could be gained over, his acquisition would prove useful. Towards the evening, the position of affairs had already changed. Alessandrino and Altemps gave promises to vote with Medici against Farnese. Spinola, who was entirely devoted to the Emperor, inclined the same way. Some of the Gregorians, who in the morning were so united with San Sisto, showed already some hesitation. In all these preliminaries no question other than the exclusion of the senior member of the Sacred College was mooted; and on this ground the coalition between Medici and Alessandrino was an

[1] Card. de' Medici to the Cardinal of Florence. December 28, 1584. Arch. Flor. fil. 3879.

accomplished fact, since both shared the same aversion to Farnese, but they did not as yet agree on the subject of the 'inclusion,' that is, as to the names of the candidates whom they should bring forward.

Medici, who was rejoicing in this early success, went no further for the present. He spoke of Cesi occasionally, without insisting on his name, and even without appearing to attach any great importance to his being chosen, so afraid was he lest he should offend the susceptibilities of his new allies. These were a precious acquisition to him in the pursuit of the object he had in view, and which he flattered himself he had almost gained, when an accident upset every combination, and turned the scales in favour of his rival.

Philip II. resolved on not excluding Farnese. Whether scrupulous motives induced him to remain neutral in the matter, or whether regard for the ever-victorious Prince Alexander of Parma, the commander of his army in Flanders, or perhaps both incentives, certain it is that he forgot his old dislike for the senior cardinal, and let it be known by his ambassador everywhere that he had resolved to leave to the Holy Ghost the task of enlightening the electors, and intended therefore to allow the Conclave to enjoy the fullest freedom of action. This news came down as a thunderbolt upon Medici. Spread by Spanish partisans, the news unsettled all the cardinals that had been gained over to Medici's cause on the ground that they had been made to believe that Philip would declare against Farnese.[1] In order that any further doubt on

[1] Cardinal de' Medici to the Grand-Duke, 1585. Urbani to the Grand-Duke, 1585.

the subject might be at once dispelled, Olivarés went himself to Medici, and informed him of the neutral position taken up by his master.

To this political disappointment was added a personal mortification. As 'Protector' of Spain he could depend on being intrusted with the King's instructions to the council, as was usual. These were called 'the Prince's secrets;' and were most important, especially in the hands of Medici, who had fully made up his mind to profit by them as much in his own as in the King's interest. Olivarès informed him that on this occasion Philip had intrusted this mission to Cardinal Madruccio, who, though absent, was hourly expected from Trent, of which see he was bishop. Medici endeavoured in vain to hide his mortification, and told the ambassador hat, if His Majesty had made his intentions known sooner, he and his brother would have followed a different course; that they were themselves able, through the means at their disposal, to have Farnese elected Pope, and that they would not have gone so far in another direction had they been able to foresee the neutrality of Spain; in fact, that this neutrality was in reality an indirect support given by Spain to the senior cardinal. Such was also the general impression.

For a long time past, Cardinal Medici had conceived the idea of reviving the ill feeling of Philip against his antagonist, and had, with this object, intrigued first at Prague, where the Medici were in great favour, and next through the Emperor's ambassador in Madrid where they had little influence, in order to bring it

about that Olivarès should receive a formal order to exclude Farnese. After some hesitation, which lost precious time, the Grand-Duke Francis came over to his brother's views. Pressing instructions were sent in consequence to the Tuscan agent at Prague. The messenger who carried these instructions, together with the news of the death of Gregory, reached Prague twenty-four hours before Madruccio's messenger, and the intelligent and active Urbani at once set to work. Notwithstanding the ceremonies of Holy Week, and the difficulty of getting Rodolph to receive an ambassador, Urbani contrived to obtain an audience. The Emperor listened to him with attention and even with kindness, and also with that reflective calmness under the mask of which he knew so well how to hide his want of resolution. He gave no promise either one way or the other. Knowing, however, that the Emperor never took a step without consulting his ministers, Urbani went to the Vice-Chancellor, who was then ill and in bed, endeavoured to gain him over to the cause, exhausted his eloquence, but extracted no positive promise. That high functionary, however, appeared to agree with him, and even got angry with his master for being so irresolute, but all these fine words ended in nothing. Urbani was not more successful with Trautson and Dr. Curtius, the two leading members of the cabinet. King Philip's views were not known, and there was no desire to annoy him in ignorance as might thus be done, or to give them cause for displeasure at Madrid, simply to gratify Florence, and to make an enemy of the Prince of

Parma. The Spanish ambassador was in the same position. Formerly in the army, and hoping some day to be made a commander in Flanders under Alexander Farnese, he declined having anything to do with such an intrigue. In fact it had been badly managed from the outset, and could not bring about any result, even if events had not marched on more rapidly than the deliberations of the Imperial Court. To please Urbani, however, were it only for appearance' sake, it was decided that the brothers Madruccio should be furnished with instructions for the Conclave. These were still being prepared when the news arrived that the Pope had been elected, and was already installed in the Vatican.

The diplomatic campaign could not bring about any result, and in Rome Medici's plans, which had been long prepared in silence, had likewise failed. What made matters worse was that Cardinal Sisto, after silently listening to the proposals of marriage for his brother, had indignantly rejected such an offer, had mentioned it to his friends, and rallied to his views, together with them, the cardinal himself who had been instructed to make the proposal, which was to gain him over to the Medici cause. Other attempts at corruption of which Medici had been guilty got wind among his colleagues. It was known that he had given money to Sforza; that he furnished at his own expense the rooms of the Cardinal of Florence; in fact, that he stopped at nothing to insure the exclusion of his formidable rival. It was to this end that he exhorted his brother to return to Florence from the country, there

to watch the coming through of the cardinals of Austria and Madruccio, but especially the French cardinals who were then on their way to Rome, and were obliged to travel through Tuscany,—to conciliate them by means of offers, promises, presents if necessary—in short, at any cost and by every possible means. Time was pressing, however, and he had lost ground. The neutrality of the Spanish Crown and San Sisto's hostility appeared to offer insurmountable obstacles to his designs. He was either to look upon himself as beaten, or to change his tactics. He took the latter course. It was no longer a question of rallying San Sisto and the Gregorians, but of separating the latter from their chief, who had just declared for Farnese, and eventually for Savello, should Farnese be impossible. These two cardinals, and especially Farnese, were open enemies of the Duke of Sora (Giacomo Buoncompagni), who naturally was anxious as to his fate, on remembering that of Caraffa, and particularly interested therefore in the coming elections. This similarity of fears brought him naturally into closer contact with Medici, whose most devoted agent he became during the few days that preceded the Conclave. Active, impetuous, obedient, he worked upon his cousin Guastavillani, and subsequently shook the faith of several Gregorians whom he afterwards gained over, but who soon left him again, following in this the example of Guastavillani, who, naturally irresolute and impressionable, wavered between the two factions without pronouncing for either. Such was the state of things eight days after the death of Gregory XIII. With the exception

of Cesi's name, which had been incidentally thrown out, exclusions alone had been spoken of. A candidate had, however, to be chosen, and Medici, at once favouring his own interests and his spite, decided on proposing in earnest Cardinal Cesi, as devoted to the Grand-Duke's family, and because he was hostile to Philip II.[1] He intended, if he could not secure Cesi's election, to vote for Albani or for Montalto. This latter cardinal was very much more eligible in the eyes of the public (who appreciated him justly, though they liked him not) than in the opinion of the members of the Sacred College. With the exception of Alessandrino and Rusticucci, both creatures of Pius V. and friends of Montalto, no cardinal seemed disposed to elect a monk as their Pope. Even Medici held him in reserve only as a last resource, and because he depended upon the gratitude of the 'poor cardinal,' who was the obliged of the Grand-Duke, from whom now and then he received some small offerings.

Cesi was therefore, for the present, the only man thought of. He had formerly held important posts, and now lived a retired existence in his dull palace of the Borgo. He was remarkable for solid rather than brilliant qualities, and enjoyed universal esteem. In the opposite camp, Savello and Farnese had most fol-

[1] On leaving the Conclave, Medici wrote to his brother that he had always had his eye on Montalto. This assertion, evidently inspired by the hope of appearing before the Grand-Duke as being the cause of the election of Sixtus V., is belied by all the letters which he daily addressed to that same brother during the interregnum, and which show that he seriously proposed Cesi, failing whom he might fall back as a last resource upon Albani or Montalto. This is an important fact, which I notice in the interest of historical truth.

lowers. The latter was evidently favoured, if not by the King of Spain, at least by his ambassador, who was at all events quite able to act of his own accord. He, however, sought every occasion of meeting Medici, and even one morning came to breakfast with him at the Vatican, and by his reserved politeness, his half words, the sense of which was scarcely comprehensible, increased the doubts and perplexities of the cardinal. At last the Grand-Duke made known his intentions to his brother. Preferring the safer mode of verbal explanations to written instructions, he sent to him his secretary, the State Councillor Vinta, who was enjoined to recommend prudence and to disavow, from motives of caution and fear of being compromised, rather than from any scruples of conscience, the attempts at corruption so warmly recommended to him by Ferdinand.[1]

One of the most eminent members of the Sacred College, celebrated equally for his noble birth, his fine character, his cultivated mind, the largeness of his views, and all those other advantages which the management of great affairs alone can give to those only who are born to manage such affairs, Cardinal d'Este,[2] while much disposed to follow in the wake of Cardinals de' Medici and Alessandrino, had up to that time kept an almost absolute silence and impenetrable reserve in the midst of all the intrigues that were being carried on.

Louis d'Este, brother of Alphonso II., Duke of

[1] Cardinal de' Medici to his brother, April 17, 1585.

[2] The voluminous correspondence between Cardinal d'Este and Henry III. and Villeroy is in Paris at the Imperial Library.

Ferrara, was allied through his mother, Madame Renée, to the royal house of Valois. An admirer of France, where he had twice resided as a legate, and devoted to Henry III., he never refused him his advice, nor even his intervention, which ever was an active, and sometimes an ardent and useful one.[1] To him Cardinal d'Este was a precious auxiliary, especially in those fatal times when the prestige of the very Christian King, which was much shaken in France, was completely gone at the Court of the Vatican, which under the last Pope had been entirely devoted to the King of Spain, and had strongly sympathised with the League.

M. de Pisany, who was Henry III.'s ambassador, was justified in writing to his master that, 'were it not for Cardinal d'Este, the affairs of your Majesty would be of no consequence here.' D'Este lived in Rome at the Monte Giordano,[2] one of the Orsini forts, and in the summer at his beautiful villa near Tivoli, which had been constructed by Ligorio Pirro for Cardinal Hippolytus d'Este. It is one of the numerous monuments which still prove what art could do for the princes of the Church.[3] The large revenues of Cardinal d'Este, which were only less great than those of Farnese, were entirely spent in works of charity or in encouraging the arts, and in the noblest hospitality. His palace was always full of guests. On one occasion, when the Duke of Nevers visited him, he found, already established there,

[1] M. de Villeroy, who saw to what a hopeless state of helplessness his royal master was reduced, recommends gentleness to the Cardinal, and begs of him 'not to indulge in anger or altercations.' June 24, 1586.

[2] Now the Gabrielli Palace.

[3] Farnese had 120,000 and D'Este 90,000 scudi as income.

two cardinals and a score of French bishops and their suites, besides the Pepoli family. At the time that the Conclave met, D'Este was only forty-seven years of age; but his weak health made people fear, what he himself felt, that his end might be near. De Thou called him the poor man's treasure and the ornament of the Sacred College.

That influential cardinal at last showed what the intentions of Henry III. were, and that they were in favour of Savello and for the exclusion of Cesi. He gave out, however, that these views were not insurmountable, provided he had time enough to write to Paris and receive an answer. In point of fact, the French Government dreaded only Cardinal Madruccio, who was intrusted with the wishes of both branches of the house of Austria, Philip's vassals, and, in short, Spain.[1] M. de Pisany, who had arrived that very day (April 18), made no secret of it; and the protector of France confided it to Medici, adding that, as neither Farnese nor his friends had asked for his aid, he intended at present to remain silent with regard to Cesi. Little by little, however, he abandoned this reserve, and as the Spanish ambassador appeared to favour Farnese, so D'Este became a closer ally of Medici. From that moment the chances of the senior cardinal went down, and the election of his friend Savello appeared no longer to be in doubt. This was, short of the tiara, placing the supreme power in the hands of Farnese. Medici was beaten. Reduced to this cruel extremity, he conceived another plan.

[1] Villeroy to Cardinal d'Este, June 25, 1585.

It had been previously agreed upon with D'Este, who could dispose of the French cardinals, with Altemps, who was the head of the creatures of Pius IV., and with Alessandrino, head of the creatures of Pius V., that the two latter cardinals should form an 'inclusion,' that is, that they should draw up a list of candidates selected among the creatures of their respective Popes, Pius IV. and V., and that the four united chiefs should agree to one name chosen from the list. Thus Medici hoped to paralyse the action of San Sisto and the Gregorians, who were in favour of Farnese, but especially of Savello. He was mistaken. The last faction showed itself stronger than his own coalition, and it was necessary then to find other means of neutralising the Gregorians.

Altemps had not ceased his negotiations with San Sisto. By the help and at the instigation of Medici, he managed to make an arrangement with Gregory's two nephews, by which the three cardinals, himself, San Sisto, and Guastavillani, should be at liberty to choose their candidates among the creatures of Pius IV. and Gregory XIII., but could not give their votes to any other competitors, except upon an understanding between the three. As Farnese and Savello had been promoted by Paul III., and Altemps had engaged himself to Medici, D'Este, and Alessandrino (which fact he kept back from the other two cardinals, San Sisto and Guastavillani) to vote for creatures only of Pius IV. and Pius V., the senior cardinal and his friend Savello were indirectly but positively put aside.

In all human conflicts, whether it be on the battle-field, in a siege, at the bedside of the sick, where death

and life are struggling for supremacy, or in diplomatic contests, which are not less angry because they take place at the corner of a window or round a green table, there is always one point, the important point, which the multitude cannot see, but which the man of genius seizes at once, never loses sight of, and upon which he concentrates his whole defensive or attacking forces, whilst he varies the means according to the requirements of the moment. This clearsightedness, which we might call the gift of diagnostics, constitutes the great politician, the great commander, the great doctor, and constituted Medici a great intriguer. Neither willing nor able to be brought forward as a candidate for the tiara, he pursued but one object—to make those fail who were hostile to his country and to himself, and among these Farnese and Savello, both being the most hostile of the number, and the latter because he would leave the power to Farnese. The scene changed daily, in fact hourly, but, thanks to his extraordinary perspicacity, he soon perceived the weak point in his adversary. As he had centred all his hatred on two heads, and subsequently admitted several candidatures, his action as regards exclusion became hostile and peremptory, and, as regards inclusion, both uncertain and hesitating. He did not lavish his means to favour one competitor more than another. He aimed at the most important object, which was the immediate fall of Farnese. He endeavoured to hit him first by excluding the princes and the house of Austria, and by waiting for the answer from Prague, excluding the cardinals. To obtain this end he tried to get the

co-operation of the two nephews of the late Pope, and through them of the Gregorians. But since San Sisto was not to be gained over, Medici at once modified his plan of attack in the very face of the enemy, and tried to separate the creatures of Gregory from their chief, which was only possible by spreading disunion in the Pope's family, by separating Guastavillani and Giacomo from San Sisto, the one the most popular of the two, the other the most resolute, inasmuch as his existence was in danger, the most active and most disposed to commit violent acts, as well as best able to commit them if necessary, since he held in his hands the reins of the army, of which he was the head.

This first campaign was not very successful. Most of the Gregorians remained faithful to San Sisto. The Farnesians, whether in the person of their chief, or, as is more probable, in that of Savello, were about to win the day. Again Medici, aided by his marvellous clearsightedness, perceived the weak point of the enemy, appreciated what an important acquisition Altemps would be, persuaded him to place himself between San Sisto and the Farnesians, and succeeded by the ingenious contrivance we have described in striking Farnese and Savello from the list of competitors.

It is true that the victory was not a decisive one. To become so, the double exclusion should be maintained in the Conclave, and San Sisto must vote only for one candidate approved of by Cardinal Altemps, while the author of the trap into which San Sisto had fallen was full of hopes and proud 'to have deceived his adversaries, as was the will of God.'[1] Ferdinand de' Medici

[1] April 24.

would undoubtedly deserve our admiration had he applied his ability to the service of a better cause, if an object could justify the means to obtain it, and if the cardinal had remembered that he was a prince of the Church rather than a prince of Tuscany.

Farnese, on the other hand, had not been inactive. He frankly came forward as a candidate, and did not make a secret of his hopes, without, however, appearing confident. He sought to increase the number of his partisans, among whom were already San Sisto, Caraffa, Lancellotto. He recalled to the memory of M. de Pisany,[1] who, believing him to be protected by Spain, was lukewarm as regards his candidature, certain engagements entered into by Henry III. in the event of his success. He told everyone he had no time to wait, and exchanged with Medici, who in these critical times approached him only once, polite phrases, and believed himself safe on hearing from Olivarès[2] that Philip's suspicions, which were so terrible an obstacle to the fulfilment of his wishes, had disappeared and made room for a friendly neutrality. Is it astonishing, then, that the heart of the ambitious old man should be buoyed with hope? As the senior cardinal and vice-chancellor, he held the first post in the Sacred College; as a Farnese one of the first positions in Italy. Authority, riches, the rare qualities which were his characteristics, entitled him to be the born candidate of every Conclave. Since the death of his own Pope, he had

[1] Pisany to Henry III, April 22, 1585.

[2] The rumours spread by Medici and Babbi respecting a marriage proposed by Farnese to San Sisto's brother are groundless. No trace of them can be found in any correspondence but that of the Tuscan Cardinal and his secretary.

successively seen on the throne and in the vaults of St. Peter, Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., Pius IV., Pius V., and Gregory XIII. In many Conclaves he was on the eve of becoming Pope without ever succeeding absolutely, and he had been called the Pope-maker. The new religious world issued from the reactionary Catholic movement, with the Jesuits at their head, the great names in literature and in the arts of which he was the Mæcenas, the Roman public with whom he was an object of adoration, all claimed for him the honour of becoming Pope. Religion, sciences, arts, popular favour, pleaded on his behalf. The Sacred College, wherein he had numerous friends, would, it was hoped, be influenced by that public opinion which is so powerful though so changeable (it was not so with respect to him), against which one should only go when one's convictions are strong, and which those who have not any, and who constitute the majority, invariably follow—this being the secret of the strength of public opinion. No candidate was ever more justified in believing that success would attend his appearance before the electors.

The life of Cardinal Farnese, son of Duke Pietro Luigi di Parma, brother of the reigning duke, and uncle of the illustrious soldier then in command of Philip's army of Flanders, embraces the whole of that long epoch which was so remarkable for its numberless events, for having seen Charles V., Francis I., and all those great religious and political transformations of which England, Germany, and Europe constituted the field. At the age of fourteen he first appeared

upon the stage of life. At twenty he was for the first time in Flanders, living in the intimacy[1] of the great Emperor, afterwards with Francis I., and began to treat of the weightiest state matters, and between the most illustrious personages of that epoch. He treated of peace between Charles and Francis, of the state of England, which it was always hoped would be made to return to her allegiance to the Church, and of all the interests that then affected the world. Back again in Rome, he witnessed his own political growth, and became the centre of intellectual life, as well as the patron of the arts, which were still led, until the second half of the century, by the last survivor of the golden age, Michael Angelo, of whom he was the friend and the protector. After a not faultless youth, he felt the effects of the reaction, was influenced by it, sought the friendship of Ignatius Loyola, Francis Borgia,[2] Philip Neri, and became transformed with the times he lived in, and the atmosphere which he breathed. The masterpieces inspired by him, and brought out through his princely liberality, as well as the monuments which have called for the admiration of posterity, and have immortalised, together with the name of Alexander Farnese, those of their authors—Michael Angelo, Baldassare Peruzzi, Pierino del Vaga, Sebastiano del Piombo, the brothers Della Porta, Vignola—mark every phase in the intimate and public existence of this great cardinal during his long life, from the end of the dying Renaissance to the great Catholic re-

[1] Charles V. had said of him, 'Si collegium cardinalium talibus viris constet, profecto senatus similis nusquam gentium reperietur.'

[2] It was Francis Borgia who first inspired him with the idea of erecting the Church of Jesus.

action, the beginning of which he had witnessed as a boy, the progress of which he had watched as a man, and the success of which he had seen at the time when he was preparing to ascend a throne thence to descend into the tomb.

Arts follow, but never precede, the revolutions of the human mind. They preserved in Rome the print of the Pagan genius which had inspired them in the preceding century long after the Church and the State had entered a new line. The decoration of the palace belonging to the cardinal[1] in Rome is a striking proof of this. The tomb of Paul III., a masterpiece of William della Porta, displeased the reformed generations of the ollowing century, and had to be veiled. It is only now tolerated inside St. Peter's because of its classical beauty, the charms of which the Church does not disdain.[2] Other compositions, which date from the first portions of the life of Farnese, contrast with those of a more advanced age, with the time of pious foundations, colleges, hospitals, with the style and ornamentation of the churches he built, and especially with the last and grandest of all, the magnificent temple which, during the two next centuries, became the prototype of sacred architecture—the Church of Jesus.

He never lived in his own palace, where workmen

[1] The Farnese Palace is now the property of the King of Naples. We do not speak here of the famous Carraccia frescoes which were only painted in 1600, twelve years after the death of Cardinal Alexander.

[2] Dante shows up the sympathetic tolerance of the Church for the glories of the pagan world:—

. . . . L'onrata nominanza,
Che di lor suona sù nella tua vita,
Grazia acquista nel ciel che si li avanza.—*Inferno*, c. iv.

and artists were ever at work, but in the Chancellor's palace in Rome. In the spring he inhabited the Casino Palatino, which he had transformed into a museum, on the very spot and in the midst of the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars; in the summer, his country house of Palo, at the sea-side; and during the Ottobrate or October holidays, Grotta Ferrata or Caprarola, another masterpiece of his favourite architect, Vignola, and very dear to the Romans. In each of these places he kept open house, and received with proverbial kindness all the most important personages of Rome or abroad.[1] It was his pleasure to be surrounded by artists and learned men, who hastened to enjoy that magnificent and refined hospitality, the charms of which were still more enhanced by the personal amiability of him who bestowed it.

Though mixed up, especially in his youth, in some of the most important transactions of the day, Farnese has left no trace of his political activity. His name has not been attached to any of the events of the day. He was a prince rather than a great man, and certainly a great cardinal, possessing, with many rare qualities, one of the most precious gifts in a man, that of perfect amiability. Though often the object of envy, of spite, and subjected to small and even great persecutions, as those are who have risen from the people, he knew not what rancour was; and it is said of him that he never

[1] 'Yesterday arrived here the old Duke of Massa, of the house of Cibo, followed by thirty-seven carriages sent to meet him. He alighted at the Farnese Palace, where the Cardinal gave him that reception and hospitality for which he is celebrated.'—*Avvisi*, Rome, April 1, 1589.

revenged himself. Pietro Maffei, a contemporary writer says of him, 'Nullas unquam ultus inimicorum injurias.'

He was tall, and, like every member of his family, particularly handsome. His features were noble, and his majestic demeanour when taking part in church ceremonies could not fail to strike one. In ordinary life, his grace, his somewhat worldly elegance of manner, reminded the spectator of old courts—of those already remote times of Julius II. and Leo X. which he had not seen, but a ray from which still shone while he was a youth upon the habits of the inmates of the Palace San Marco [1] the favourite residence of Paul III.

Gregory's obsequies were at an end. During the first days of the interregnum, public order had not been disturbed, but symptoms of uneasiness warned the illustrious electors (they were not styled Eminences until the following century) that there was danger abroad. One morning,[2] notwithstanding the formal order of the three cardinals regent which prohibited his coming to Rome, Prosper Colonna was seen in the streets of the capital with a troup of thirty men, which increased to two thousand during the short journey from the Colonna Palace to where Cardinal de' Medici lived. Alarmed by this excess of popularity, and afraid lest he should be stopped by Signor Giacomo, Prosper thought it prudent to go home in a shut carriage, and the next day to leave for Zagarola. Matters were on the stretch. Everyone felt it was time that this uncertainty should

[1] Venetian Palace, now the Austrian Palace.
[2] Babbi to the Grand-Duke, April 21, 1585.

cease, yet the electoral proceedings had not commenced. There was therefore a great haste to begin the Conclave. Supposing that all the agreements entered into were kept, the following would have been the results of the election. Farnese and Savello were excluded, Cesi had little chance, and Sirletto was altogether abandoned. The votes were to be spread among numerous candidates, none of whom mustered a sufficient quantity to become a serious candidate, one alone excepted, and he one who had been least thought of, whom no cardinal, excepting perhaps Alessandrino and Rusticucci, favoured, but whom no one absolutely rejected; who, with the exception of a few timid steps taken with Farnese, had completely kept in the dark; whom circumstances and the difficulty of agreeing to another name, whom the force of events and not the will of the electors, put forward at the last moment, and whose chances are summed up in two words by the French ambassador[1] in writing to his sovereign: 'There is a Cordelier monk who has a very good chance; but the Spanish faction will like to have a Pope who shall be partial to them, not to the universal good.' That monk was Montalto.

[1] Pisany to Henry III., April 22, 1585.

CHAPTER III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONCLAVE.[1]

THE Church of St. Peter, the Vatican, and the piazza which extends at the foot of these celebrated monuments, were not then what they are now-a-days. To the north-east, and towards the Porta Angelica, two little archways and a group of houses of mean appearance, in one of which Raphael died, occupied the ground upon which was built, in the succeeding century, one of the two splendid colonnades of Bernini, and where already the Palace of Rusticucci (Accoramboni) was being built, just at the end of the Borgo Nuovo. The Obelisk of Heliopolis, which was then called the Needle, still standing, to the right of the Basilica, but partly buried in the ruins of Nero's Circus, was waiting the call of Sixtus V. to throw off the dust which had covered it for fifteen centuries, and to take up its place in the centre of the piazza. Broad steps, at each extremity of which[2] were statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, led to a building of the fourth century, which had three gates of old 'Roman' style, and in its upper part three double-arched windows. It still bore traces of mosaics, and on the side of the Vatican was next to a fine building of

[1] From the correspondence of those who took part in its deliberations, and whose authority cannot on that account be questioned.

[2] Near the sacristy of Pius VI.

Paul II. called the Paradise Garden, because in its inclosure, which was full of trees, pilgrims were wont to find what they most appreciated—water and shade. The front of this delightful Paradise was formed of three superposed colonnades, which exactly imitated the Venetian Palace built under the same Pope and by the same architect, Giulano da Majano. Towards the south-west, a small two-storied palace with three windows on each story, united the southern front of the building to a fine Florentine monument of Pius II., which consisted of two superposed arches at right angles with the old Saxon quarter, a little before the spot where now-a-days the south side of the Bernini Colonnade is joined to the church. On entering the court through one of the three gates of the central edifice, the visitor found himself before the golden basilica, which struck him by its simple magnificence, and by its character, which still bore all the marks of the early Christian ages. An archway, as broad as the church itself, led up to it. The front was ornamented with five windows on the first story and three on the upper one, each one arched and trefoiled together with a 'rosace' in the centre. Behind and above this venerable edifice, which had seen Christianity ascend the throne and take official possession of the world, rose other wonders, in fulfilment of Michael Angelo's promise, which constituted the triumph of art in the service of faith. These wonders were the gallery, which remind us of the Pantheon, and which, built at a prodigious height above the Tombs of the Apostles, still awaited the gigantic cupola which was to crown it, and which

it was to receive from Sixtus V. In the court-yard, a dais, supported by antique columns, overhung the well of the holy Pope Symmachus. A massive construction of Paul II., with guelf windows, also a copy of the façade of the Venetian Palace, encircled the yard on the north-east side. The house opposite, which was of the same architectural build, was the habitation of the cardinal archpriest of St. Peter.

In the interior of the basilica, much progress had been made in its transformation, first under the personal direction of Michael Angelo, and after his death from his drawings, which were faithfully copied. Paul V., struck by a witty rather than a wise saying,[1] was the first to give up the plans of the great master, and to substitute Carlo Maderno, who was rather a great mason than a great architect. He was also the first to replace the Greek by the Latin Cross, and in order to effect this, to pull down, with the Well of Symmachus, the front and Archway of Constantine, and altogether to do away with these buildings, which history and the piety of centuries had made sacred. Upon this now spare ground were to be built the new arcade, the first half of the great nave, and the façade which we now see.

Though the works had almost never been interrupted, since their commencement under Julius II. up to the time when Alexander VII. consecrated the new church, divine service was always performed; but no generation, during these hundred and twenty years, ever saw the church otherwise than divided into compartments by immense curtains, and filled with workmen and

[1] 'The head of the Latin Church cannot countenance a Greek cross.'

scaffolding. Proud to become some day the possessor of the great marvel of modern art and of the Christian world, Rome, with her religious, sarcastic, patient character—patient indeed because she could measure the future by her past which is lost in immensity—watched with sympathising curiosity these works which were ever progressing without coming to an end, controlled them by her always clever and sometimes sarcastic criticisms, and became little by little accustomed to appreciate each pontificate according to the progress which St. Peter's had made in its construction during their respective reigns.

The Vatican is composed of two palaces. The old, called the Belvedere, had since the middle of the century, that is since the death of Julius III., ceased to be the habitation of the Popes. On their return from Avignon they had restored it. Innocent VIII. especially had done a great deal to it. The apartment which he occupied preserved his name till the end of the last century, when it was converted into the Pio-Clementino Museum. It consisted of a big room, now called the Animals' Room, and of a series of passage-rooms or antechambers, in which sat the people of distinction. These rooms, knocked into one long gallery, are now called Cleopatra's Corridors. The next room, that of the statues, is the old bed-room of the Popes; and the last room was the confidential servant's room. The chapel wherein the Popes used to say mass is now the 'Sala del Torso.' That celebrated antique occupies the centre of the room, and Scipio's sarcophagus the spot whereon the altar stood. The arms of the Cibo, which are still visible in the centre of the ceiling, and a few

frescoes of the reign of Pope Julius III., recall the primitive destination of the room. The wonderful view of the Eternal City from the balcony of the old chapel has caused that part of the Vatican to be justly called the Belvedere. The small and pretty court which was rebuilt by Bramante, and, with very few changes, has been preserved as it was, contained in the reign of Julius II. a number of valuable statues. He had conceived the idea of collecting and saving the masterpieces of antiquity, and thus laid the foundation, to which not much was added during three centuries, of that which became afterwards absolutely the richest and most valuable collection of antiquities in the world.

These were almost suddenly collected under Clement XIV. and Pius VI. through the intelligence, activity, and good luck of a remarkable man. The Genoese Giovanni Battista Visconti was the founder of that family of archæologists who have been so well known and appreciated by all who have visited Rome for the last hundred years. A friend of Winkelmann, he had offered to get up in Rome a finer museum of antiques than anything of the kind in other capitals, even in Naples, which was then, since the recent discovery of the ruins of Pompeii, the rendezvous of all the artists and learned of Europe. With the aid of the munificence of Popes Ganganelli and Braschi, Visconti formed the Pio Clementino Museum. He turned the old palace into a gallery, and caused, alas! the frescoes of Pinturichio, Mantegna, and Giovanni Udine to be removed. Arts, sciences, and humanity, which all gain by the contemplation of the beautiful, are deeply indebted to

both Pontiffs and to Visconti, but it is somewhat characteristic of the exaggerated love of antiquity which was peculiar to the eighteenth century, that, without shocking the public, all the divinities of Olympus were allowed to be deposited in places hallowed by such pious reminiscences, and to invade even the habitation and chapel of the Popes. So true is it that in times of peace and security, the pleasures of taste and of the mind prevail, until affliction and danger re-establish a proper equilibrium and set matters to rights. Trials were not long coming; and if the succeeding Popes continued to be the first Mæcenases of their day, they no longer located their antiques in the apartments which their predecessors had occupied, or in chapels.

A long flight of badly paved stairs, a portion of which still remains, began at the south-west angle of the Piazza St. Peter, and, winding round the church, left the tower of the Observatory [1] to the right, and terminated at the old Palace of the Belvedere, near the new buildings added by Visconti to the apartments of Innocent VIII. It was along this alley that the processions of the Popes could be seen, followed by the cardinals and their equipages, the priests and the more or less numerous retainers of Roman nobles, according to the degree of popularity of the sovereign.

The new palace was contiguous to the Borgia apartment on the side of the basilica, and to a cluster of dull houses of the Middle Ages and the fifteenth century. It was composed of the buildings of Julius II. together with the stanze and loggie of Raphael, of the Sistine

[1] Later called Galileo's Tower. The secret archives are still there.

Chapel of Sixtus IV., of the Sala Regia, of the Pauline Chapel built under Paul III.—who also caused the great staircase to be built, which was afterwards replaced by that of Bernini—and of the ducal and 'adorning' chambers.

To place the old and new palaces in communication with each other, Julius II. had had two long galleries, with open arches (now walled up), built by Bramante. Between these two galleries and the two palaces, there existed an oblong court of considerable length, arranged as an amphitheatre and ornamented by the great niche of the Belvedere. The wonderful effect produced by such a position, decorated with all the taste of Michael Angelo, has been done away by the two transversal buildings which were erected: the one, the library, by Sixtus V.; the other, the 'braccio nuovo' of the museum, by Pius VII.

The great ceremonies took place in the 'stanze,' and the throne-room was the room of Constantine. There it was, and since Paul III. in the Sala Regia it is, that all the magnificence of the temporal power has been displayed, that sovereigns have been received by the Pope, that ambassadors on their arrival presented their credentials, after previously spending the night at the Villa Giulia, outside the People's Gate, and after crossing Rome with an immense retinue.

The 'loggie' were a kind of cloak-rooms and lobbies. Gregory XIII. built and lived in the apartment called Mathilda[1] in the new palace.

[1] Opposite Pius IX.'s staircase, towards the north, on the second floor, it extends from the hall of the consistory to the stanza of Constantine,

The east wing, now inhabited by the Pope and Secretary of State, did not then exist. Sixtus V. built it, and Clement VIII. was the first to inhabit it.

The apartments were hung with pieces of Arazzi tapestry, many of which to this day adorn the great staircase and lobby of the palace on the occasion of the Feast of Corpus Christi. The furniture was exceedingly simple. There were small wooden chairs, such as are now to be seen in the entrance halls of the Vatican and of some princely residences. The Pope's cabinet contained nothing but what remains there now—the Pope's arm-chair and table, placed under a canopy of red damask, and a stool, upon which the cardinals and ambassadors who came to see him sat. The bed-room furniture agreed with the austere tastes of Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V. It is only under the Popes that succeeded these, under Clement VIII. and Paul V., that the splendour of the sovereign pervaded the habitation of the pontiff.[1]

The Sistine Chapel, where already might be seen the 'Last Judgment' of Michael Angelo, the Pauline, and the Sala Regia, which is contiguous to each, and for which a room decorated with frescoes by Fiesole was sacrificed,

and consists of a chapel, two large rooms and three small ones, opening on to the loggie of Gregory XIII., and on the north side upon the Campagna.

[1] 'The Pope's stanze,' says a French writer who visited Rome in the time of Paul V., 'look to the south on the gardens, and in these stanze there are many beautiful cabinets, clocks, paintings on alabaster, and an agate surrounded by lapis lazuli.' The Pope's bed was then covered over with red damask cloth, with broad gold fringes. In the room there was a low chimney-piece, an ivory crucifix of excellent French workmanship, which had cost the Pope only 180 scudi. It was a Cristo moribondo. The stanze were mostly hung with red damask and silver trimmings.' —Bibl. Imp. Paris, 19,013.

formed, in all their splendour and freshness, the centre of the official scene where the conclaves were held. These, however, in later times were held at the Quirinal.

The ducal room, so called because the ambassadors of reigning dukes had their first audience in it, and where the consistories were held, the loggie, and small adjoining apartments, were divided into cells by means of wooden partitions. These were the habitations of the cardinal-electors. The door leading into the Sala Regia from the grand staircase was called the door of the Conclave, and while the Conclave lasted it was never opened. In other places, revolving boxes, called holes, served the purpose of passing to each cardinal his food, which was brought to him from his own palace. Here, on an express request, and only in very urgent cases, were the ambassadors admitted and allowed to confer with the cardinals of their respective countries. It is needless to add that curiosity found means, although in a very limited degree, to peep through these holes, and to gather for the information of Rome intelligence probably furnished by some indiscreet conclavists.[1] It was, however, and is still the custom that a summary absolution given by the newly-elected Pope quiets all consciences with respect to slight infractions of the very severe laws on this subject which may have been committed.

The ten days which, according to the prescriptions

[1] The correspondence of the second-class diplomatic agents proves how difficult it was to follow the proceedings of the Conclave. The ambassadors of great Powers were alone well informed. Thus the correspondence of the cardinals, even that of Medici, ceases when the Conclave begins, and is resumed only when it is at an end.

of Gregory IX. and of Pius IV. should pass between the death of the Pope and the meeting of the Conclave, had elapsed. The invitations to absent cardinals had duly been sent. The Vatican was ready to receive its hosts. According to law, apartments are drawn by lots. As the senior cardinal, Farnese had asked for that which Innocent VIII. had occupied; but on the proposal of Cardinal de' Medici, who feared lest this distant cell might favour the intrigues of his rival, it was given to the cardinal of Austria.

On April 21, Easter Sunday, the cardinals met at St. Peter's, heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, listened to a speech 'de Eligendo Pontifice,' delivered by Marcantonio Moretto, one of the preachers then in renown, and subsequently proceeded in procession to the Vatican. Classified into bishops, priests, and deacons, preceded by the Cross, they paraded through the Basilica, which was crowded to excess, ascended, between a double line of privileged sight-seers, the steep grand staircase of San Gallo, entered the Sala Regia, and thence into the various cells which each had caused to be furnished for him and hung in violet at a cost, it was said, of 300 scudi, with the wish, if not the hope, of seeing it pillaged at the end of the Conclave by the servants of the Vatican, to whom belonged by right the furniture of the elected Pope.

Thirty-nine electors were brought together. Cardinals Andrew of Austria, Madruccio, and Vercelli had arrived on the following days, and increased the number to 42. Farnese, D'Este, Alessandrino, Altemps, Medici, and San Sisto were, as Popes' nephews, their

natural leaders. San Sisto disposed of most votes. Farnese, Savello, Sirletto, Paleotto, Santa Croce, Cesi, Santorio, Torres, Altemps, Mondovi, Castagna, and Montalto were the candidates of public opinion—were the eligible ones in fact.

Savello, the only cardinal for whom the late Pope had shown some sympathy, though respectable, had few friends in the Sacred College. His annoying ways, his loquacious spirit, made him unpopular. In high repute at Madrid, he aimed at the tiara, and was confident of success. Belonging to one of the four principal noble families of Rome, he was one among the great cardinals, lived in his palace at the Borgo, and in summer in his magnificent villa of Castel Gandolfo, which became later the residence of other Popes.

Sirletto, a holy man in the strictest sense of that word, was much loved. He was compared to Charles Borromeo. He spent in charities two-thirds of his modest means, while his piety and his goodness were not less proverbial than his charity. His too strongly marked leaning to Spain, and the fear lest he should allow the direction of affairs to fall again into the hands of Como, who was generally detested, had greater weight, in the opinion of the electors, than his moral qualities, which made of him a model prince of the Church, but might probably have turned him into an indifferent head.[1]

Paleotto, a native of Bologna, a professor of law, a celebrated lawyer, had shone at the Council of Trent,

[1] Medici—Balbi.

and was later, at the conclave of Gregory XIV., to fail in obtaining the tiara by one vote. He was considered one of the most noted ecclesiastics in the promotion of reform, and in the eyes of the public as one of the most eligible. His name was not even mentioned in the Conclave, so great was the general horror for Bologna men, who had been too much favoured during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.

Finally there was the 'frate,' the monk as he was called, 'a grey friar called Montalto,' as the French ambassador said, the son of a gardener, once one of the itinerant preachers most in renown, and later a cardinal not much liked by Gregory. He lived a retired existence, taking care of his vineyards, and obsequious towards his colleagues, many of whom affected to take no notice of him; he was the object of public attention though he tried to escape it, and was much considered, notwithstanding the envious, the wicked, and the indifferent who constitute the great number, but happily not always the majority, when the decisive moment has come.

Besides the 'eligible' ones, the Sacred College had many candidates among its members who were celebrated. Madruccio, Archbishop of Trent, charged with the interests of the Emperor and the King of Spain in the Conclave, protector of German ecclesiastical affairs, was looked upon as sharing with D'Este and the old and infirm Granvella, soon after prime minister of Philip II., the reputation of being a great statesman.

After the death of his brother Frederic, he for some years carried on the duties of ambassador in his palace

of the Borgo.[1] He himself inhabited the Massa Palace, Piazza Navone, where all the political celebrities and foreigners of distinction were wont to congregate. The palace stood on the spot where the Doria Pamphili Palace, built by Innocent X., now stands. He was known for his amiability, his elevated sentiments, his affable ways, his charities. Besides these moral qualities, he had physical advantages[1]—a high stature, a noble deportment, and an intelligent countenance. His body rests not far from that of Tano in the Church of San Onofrio, of which he was the diocesan, and where an inscription still preserves his remembrance. His eldest brother, Fortunato, the head of that illustrious family, now extinct, continued, as Lord of Ala, the manners and ways of the Middle Ages in the mountains of Southern Tyrol and on the Lake of Garda. He gave protection to banditti, and thus created great difficulties for his brothers the cardinal and the ambassador, who were ever obliged to protect him against the wrath of the Republic of Venice, the complaints of the Pope, and the powerless threats of the Holy Empire.[2]

Gesualdo, a Neapolitan nobleman, was one of the most ardent reformers, the founder of St. Andrea della Valle, which the grand-nephew of Sixtus V. completed, and one of the ornaments of the Sacred College. Magnificent in his ways, he lived a most austere life, and

[1] Now the Apostolic Penitentiary, Piazza Scorsa Cavalli, opposite the Bramante-Torlonia Palace (Giraud), built in 1471 by Cardinal de la Rovere. There are some charming frescoes in it, and it is one of the most valuable relics of the Renaissance.

[2] The papers of Cardinal Madruccio, only a few of which are to be found in the imperial archives at Vienna and at Simancas, appear to have been lost, and every inquiry has been fruitless.

was most careful of his person. His colleagues, who were less so perhaps, were wont to 'chaff' him on the subject of his excessive love of cleanliness in the presence of Gregory himself.

Besides Montalto, three future Popes, Castagna, Sfondrati, Facchinetti, took part in the Conclave. The reigning families were represented by Andrew of Austria, whose modesty, hereditary[1] affability, and kindness made him very popular, by Medici and by Farnese. The Roman aristocracy were represented by Colonna, Savello, Cesi, Lancelloti, and Santa Croce. The Holy Empire had for its representatives the cardinals of Austria, Madruccio, and Altemps (Hohenembs): France, Rambouillet and Pelvé, Cardinal of Sens, the confidential ambassador of the League at the Holy See, the clever, active, and implacable enemy of the King of Navarre. He was destined not to survive the triumph of 'the Bearnais,' and died of disgust in his beautiful hotel of Sens, in the Marais, while the bells were ringing in honour of the entry of Henry IV. into Paris. Spain was represented by Seza, who belonged to one of the great families of the country, and was allied to the royal house of Portugal, a true type of the old Castilian, and a bigoted enemy of France. He had built and lived in the beautiful palace which became afterwards the property and residence of the Borghese,

[1] Novaes, in his history of the Roman pontiffs, styles him the natural son of the Archduke of Tyrol. That is not exact. Philippine Wetzler was the legitimate wife of Ferdinand, but her children were not allowed to enjoy the titles, privileges, and honours of archdukes. It was a morganatic marriage. Amazdeni, his page, used to say that he repeated his lessons with him so as to avoid the severe punishments of his tutor.

and was wont at times to amuse himself, and as a mark of his (in this case very inoffensive) antipathy for France, by violently knocking Spanish and French coins together, crying out 'Guerra! guerra!' until he was exhausted, and separated the combatants by calling out, 'Paz! paz!' He was an eccentric man, who had his value, and whom it was not well to despise, especially in a Conclave.[1]

Como, Altemps, Alessandrino, Rusticucci, are known by the influence which they possessed under the pontificates of Pius IV. and Pius V.

Como's star was on its decline, and about to disappear altogether. Altemps, owing to his being a lord of the Holy Empire, was still to be before the public. Alessandrino[2] had begun by being a tailor's apprentice, had become a Dominican to avoid the ill-treatment of his master, and was made a cardinal by his uncle Pius V., who likewise appointed him Secretary of State, without, however, altogether abandoning to him the management of state affairs. He lived on the Piazza of the Apostles, in the Palazzo Valentini, one of the fine palaces of Rome, which is still unfinished, and which was to occupy a portion of Trajan's forum. His amiability and gentleness, combined with a certain knowledge of the world, had gained for him the friendship of several cardinals. His uncle's creatures gathered around him, and made of him one of the most important members of the Conclave.

Rusticucci, a former secretary of Pius V. when that

[1] Amazdeni, 1644–1655. Lib. of Prince Corsini, in Rome.
[2] Tiepolo, 1569.

Pope was still a cardinal, belonged, as did Alessandrino, and all the cardinals created by Pius V., to the zealous faction. He was very intimate with D'Este, and reappeared for awhile in the political world under Sixtus V. His palace, which he built himself, was situated at the entrance of the Piazza of St. Peter, and was in the new style, that is, in the baroque style.

In the opinion of contemporaries, generally so severe with regard to the Sacred College, that venerable body was well composed. It shone by the Christian virtues, prevalent piety, knowledge, and good feeling of all its members. The great cardinals spent their large revenues well. It was, however, said, with some tincture of reproach, that among the learned cardinals there were more lawyers than theologians. If Medici, blinded by his hatred of Farnese, had given some scandal during the last days to those who knew his intrigues, their reprobation, as well as the blame put upon him by his brother, out of prudence, is in praise of the Sacred College, which was evidently looked upon as inaccessible to corruption by those best able to appreciate it.

It was still daylight when the cardinals entered their respective cells. They might therefore have gone back to their palaces, and have returned in the evening. But the coalition which had been formed two days before between the Medici-Alessandrino and Altemps-San Sisto factions kept everyone on the alert. The fear of some unexpected combination, or of some sudden proposal made at the last moment, kept the electors riveted to their posts.

The evening was spent in paying visits, in exchanging

commonplace observations, in paying the usual compliments, and in receiving ambassadors come to present their respects and give their last instructions to the cardinals belonging to their respective countries. A long talk between Count Olivarés and Cardinal de Sens was much noticed. There took place likewise an *a parte* conversation between the Marquis Pisany and Cardinal Farnese. As the French ambassador was wishing him good-bye, the Cardinal, by way of justifying his intimacy with the Spanish partisans, whispered into Pisany's ear that he 'must know under what obligation he was to the Spanish crown, which had in its hands the restitution of the fortress of Parma, and an infinite number of other matters which were as important as the maintenance of his house.'[1]

Warned by the three bells that the time for entering the cells had come, the ambassadors at last retired. At four o'clock of the night (ten or eleven P.M. now-a-days) the Conclave was shut. D'Este, Medici, and Alessandrino, who had resolved to act in concert, but were not yet agreed as to how to do it, endeavoured to secure the co-operation of Altemps. The latter, in return for the aid which Alessandrino had given him on the occasion of Gregory's election, had engaged himself to meet his wishes in the next Conclave; but at this critical moment, he was found, on inquiry, to be little disposed to remember his promise. It required all the eloquence of Medici to recall it to his memory. On the other hand, Alessandrino had reasons to suspect the latter, and it was only by threatening to join Farnese that he got

[1] Pisany to Henry III., April 22, 1585.

some reassuring words from Medici. These conversations were prolonged, and naturally attracted the attention of the other electors and of the conclavists, who were even more curious than their masters, so that everybody remained awake, and the cardinals spent a bad night.

With the public, however, Montalto was the favourite; but the initiated, or rather those who believed themselves to be such, prelates and courtiers, believed that Medici would oppose him on account of his brother-in-law, Paolo Giordano Orsini,[1] the lover of Vittoria Accoramboni, and the supposed assassin of that lady's husband, who was no other than the nephew of the cardinal-monk, Francesco Peretti.

The following morning (the 22nd) the cardinals assembled in the Pauline Chapel, and received communion at the hands of the senior cardinal, Farnese. Thence they went to the Sistine Chapel, to proceed to the ballot, which produced no result. Each prelate then retired to his cell. The event of the day was the arrival of the cardinal of Austria. Notwithstanding his stoutness, he had travelled in six days the whole way from Innspruck to Rome. As soon as he arrived he went to the Vatican and asked admittance into the Conclave, which Farnese and San Sisto were disposed to refuse him, on the ground that he had not yet taken orders. But Medici, having smoothed these difficulties over, he entered, was complimented by everyone, and was at

[1] Married first to the sister of the Grand-Duke Francis of Tuscany and of the Cardinal de' Medici, Donna Isabella, whose tragic end, attributed to her husband, is well known.

once, without his perceiving it, made use of by Medici, as will be seen, for the purpose of denying the candidature of Montalto and thus of lulling the vigilance of the Farnesians. Active but useless parleys took up the afternoon. The coalition cardinals concerted in favour of Cesi, and commissioned the Tuscan cardinal to gain D'Este over to his cause. This attempt having broken down, Sirletto was selected. But, while recognising the qualities and merits of this cardinal, D'Este opposed an energetic refusal, on the plea that he would not hear of a Spanish chaplain, who besides would let himself be guided by Como. Sirletto's candidature was therefore abandoned. Towards evening, alarming rumours spread throughout the Conclave. Another surprise was feared, and the first hours of night passed away before the cardinals could get any rest. At last these rumours were proved to be without foundation, and everyone went to bed.

In Rome itself the most contradictory rumours had been current during the day. Towards evening Farnese was said to be Pope, and to mark their pleasure the people ran through the streets shouting, 'Long live the Holy Father!' and, as if they were to extend to the Farnese Palace the right granted of pillaging the newly-elected Pope's cell, they at one time showed an intention to invade it. These hopes were soon dispelled, and made room for bitter disappointment. In the betting, odds had gone down as regards Montalto and Farnese, but risen in favour of Sirletto, while Savello was stationary.

On the 23rd, the Wednesday, the electors were more

embarrassed, more puzzled than before, and afraid lest the Conclave should last for ever. Finding in the morning that his two candidates, Cesi and Sirletto, were definitively abandoned, Medici proposed Albani and Montalto to D'Este, leaving him the choice of either. D'Este felt that it was time to come to a decision; that it would be imprudent to increase the number of his enemies by fresh exclusions; that he could not depend on the co-operation of the French cardinals, who were still on the road, and might even be prevented by the League from coming. He therefore subscribed to the double candidature of Albani and Montalto, on condition, however, that Madruccio, head of the Spanish party, who was expected from one moment to another should consent to it. The Spaniards and Farnesians opposed this course violently. To counteract this, Medici, who now saw no means of salvation except in the election of Montalto, and in this election the only way to prevent that of Farnese or of Savello, had recourse to a stratagem. He made Cardinals Andrew of Austria, Deza, and others believe, and spread through them the belief, that, warned by the objections which existed against Montalto, he and his followers had resolved no longer to second the candidature of the latter.

Thus reassured, the adverse party took no more notice of him, and Medici thus attained his double end, which was to deceive the Farnesians and prevent a demonstration against Montalto, which might produce an effect upon the timid and undecided, cause them perhaps to join the enemy, and at that critical moment sink all the monk's chances. Time, however, was

pressing, and Medici, who dreaded nothing so much as the arrival of Cardinals Madruccio and Vercelli, succeeded, not without some difficulty and with the help of Gesualdo, in intimidating Altemps, the head of the creatures of Pius IV., by making him believe that his adversary Ceneda might be elected; in bringing him and them to look favourably upon the creatures of Pius V., which was contrary to the engagement under which they were to San Sisto; and, finally, in leading him insensibly to declare himself in favour of Montalto. 'I see,' said Altemps, 'that you want the monk.' He urged in objection the enmity of Paolo Giordano Orsini, and was surprised that Medici should consent to expose his brother-in-law to the vengeance of Francesco's uncle; but these objections were of no avail, and ultimately Altemps was gained over, and made even to promise to speak of it to Madruccio.

That cardinal, who had that very day arrived in Rome at the twenty third hour (one hour before sunset), and had been visited by the ambassadors of Spain and of the Emperor, who besought of him to go at once to the Conclave, stopped but a few moments at his palace, 'just time enough to say a credo,' and was carried to the Vatican. A statesman, and still more a churchman, he felt that an exclusively Spanish Pope would be as little worthy of the high duties to be performed towards the whole of the Christian world as would an exclusively French Pope. He was resolved therefore to come to an understanding with D'Este, who, as we have seen, had, probably owing to similar

considerations, made the assent of Madruccio a condition of his upholding the candidature of Montalto. Both these men, though belonging to the adverse political parties which then divided the Christian world, were above the petty intrigues, interested reservations, and pusillanimous fears that characterised many of those around them. They both shared the same view, that of giving to the Church a head able to govern it well, and therefore likely to be as impartial as possible, both with regard to France and to Spain. Opposed at first to Montalto, and preferring Sirletto, he gave up the latter when he learnt D'Este's opposition, and ended by declaring himself against Albani, and in favour of Montalto. Altemps, faithful to his promise, had been the first to speak to Madruccio in favour of the monk. Medici and Gesualdo next endeavoured to persuade him, and when convinced that he must bear with it, Madruccio felt that he must do so with grace. He found no difficulty in making Montalto the accepted candidate of the Spanish party, of Andrew of Austria, of Colonna, Seza, Spinola, Sfondrati, Gonzaga, and others. This great conquest once achieved, D'Este and Medici estimated the votes, and found that four were wanting to make up the required majority of two-thirds. These could only be looked for among the Gregorians, several of whom still held to Farnese. Meanwhile it was decided that on the following day, at 20 hours, the cardinals should meet in the Sala Regia, that thence they should all proceed to the Sistine Chapel, and endeavour to carry the election by 'adoration.' Thus ended that important day, which foreboded the end of the Conclave on the morrow. At

midnight, Cardinal Alessandrino, with Rusticucci, the only cardinal who was sincerely devoted to Montalto, having put on the clothes of one of his conclavists, hoping thus, but in error, to escape the vigilance of his adversaries, went along the corridors, from cell to cell, to inform his friends of the resolution which had been taken as regards Montalto, and finally crept into the latter's cell to bring him the news. Montalto, who had already been warned by Medici of the measures which were being adopted in his favour, had abstained from taking any step. Retired in his cell, he waited in silence, following the advice of his protector and the dictates of prudence as well as of the exigencies of his position. For in every station of life, and on such occasions, those must wait till they are called upon who have nothing but personal merit to recommend them, and never put themselves forward. They can only hope for success through their merit, and this is admitted only under absolute necessity, under pressure of circumstances, and when circumstances, which are often stronger than the will, are inclined to favour merit.

Few bets were made in town on that day, but Montalto was looked upon as having the best chance. A kind of apathy, not unmixed with some indefinable fear lest the Conclave should last too long, had succeeded the preceding day's agitation. The minds of all were somewhat comforted on learning, however, that the provinces, as well as Rome, were quiet and the public peace had not been disturbed.

On Wednesday, the 24th of April, Cardinal de'Medici got up before daylight, called Montalto secretly into Gesualdo's room, and renewed to him the advice he

had sent him the evening before and during the night. In fact he gave him his last instructions for the crisis which was preparing. He was surprised as well as pleased at the ignorance, security, and torpor in which the Farnesians and their chief appeared to indulge. But this was a mistake. Farnese knew all, but believed it not. He thought that Cardinal Montalto had not the remotest chance. While Medici was conferring with Montalto, the senior cardinal had an interview with D'Este, gave the latter to understand that he was aware of what was going on, and asked him what he intended doing. D'Este, somewhat disconcerted at being found out, replied that his vote would depend upon that of Altemps; that, besides, he would not dare venture on an opposition, since all the Gregorians (which was not true) had resolved to vote for the nephew of Pius IV. Unshaken by Farnese's objections, they separated, the former convinced, however, that Medici, out of consideration for his brother-in-law Orsini, would never encourage the election of the monk. On leaving Farnese, D'Este proceeded to the Sala Regia, and posted himself between the Pauline door and that which opened on the grand staircase. Altemps joined him there, under pretext of welcoming Cardinal Vercelli, who had arrived in Rome during the night. Everyone afterwards met in the Pauline Chapel, to hear mass and the reading of the bulls, in consequence of the arrival of Madruccio and Vercelli. Then it was that D'Este succeeded in gaining over to Montalto's cause Guastavillani (who, as we have said, was an important acquisition to make, owing to his being the nephew of the deceased Pope), Marcello, and

Sforza, by telling them that they could decide who the Pope was or was not to be, and that in their own interest, in the interest of Paolo Giordano, all they had to do was to give their adherence. While these decisive conversations were taking place in the Sala Regia, the greater part of the cardinals had as usual assembled in the Sistine Chapel. D'Este sent Alessandrino to call San Sisto, who came at once, and showed much surprise and still more annoyance at the overtures which were made to him. He was shaken, however, when he found that the coalesced were resolved to carry the election by 'adoration,' even if he refused his co-operation. Having given as an excuse that matters were not yet ripe, that nothing could as yet be attempted which would not give rise to painful oppositions, nay even to scandalous scenes, he suddenly gave in, as is commonly the case on great occasions when all engaged feel that the crisis has come, some appearing exacting because they feel themselves victorious, others intimidated and waiving an opposition henceforth likely to be useless. San Sisto then gave in all of a sudden, and, as he had been asked to do, called for all the Gregorians, who, as we have said, were assembled in the Sistine Chapel, for the ballot. Medici, who was there, encouraged first by signs, then by words whispered into their ears, his late acquisitions, Guastavillani, Marcello, and Sforza, whom he saw wavering at that supreme moment, to follow the Gregorians. They at last got up and went out, followed by the sarcastic remarks of Cardinal Fanchinetti. Soon after the numerous cardinals who had thus been assembled together in the Sala Regia, returned to the chapel.

Then only did Farnese understand that he was beaten. He spoke a few words of reproach to D'Este and to Medici. These exhorted him to accept with good grace what was an accomplished fact, and D'Este, seeing everybody present, exclaimed, 'It is no longer necessary to have recourse to the ballot. The Pope is elected. Let us proceed to the adoration.' These words were received with unanimous and oft-repeated cries of 'Montalto!' and all the electors, with San Sisto at their head, threw themselves at the feet of the new Pope. The act of adoration was followed by the vote, which was conducted *vivâ voce*, each cardinal being called by name, and, as may readily be believed, was unanimous.

Thus ended the Conclave, in the midst of surprise, even from those who had prepared it; for no one doubted that, if the adoration had not been precipitated, seeing the vacillating character of San Sisto, Savello would have been Pope before nightfall.[1] 'To the details which at the time I have given your Serenity,' writes the ambassador Priuli,[2] 'I must add that the election of Sixtus V. is looked upon as the work of the Holy Ghost, all the cardinals having so promptly co-operated in his exaltation, notwithstanding that the nephews of Gregory and their numerous adherents must have preferred any other candidate, knowing as they did how ill-disposed he was to Gregory, against whom, and those who governed for him or were near his person, he spoke ill, even in Gregory's lifetime. Neither the enmity of Paolo Giordano Orsini, nor his endeavours with each cardinal of the Sacred College, to obtain, on his knees,

[1] Alessandrino. [2] Rel. Ven. Lorenzo Priuli, 1586.

from them that they should not elect Montalto, nor the aversion of the whole Court, which, remembering the severities of Pius V., was against a Pope who had been a monk, could prevail. Such attempts, and even greater considerations, are of no avail against the will of our Lord God.'

M. de Pisany wrote later to Pasquier: 'The death of Gregory XIII. happened, and the two Pope-makers (Cardinals d'Este and Farnese, to whom the others had variously promised their votes, D'Este favoured by France and the other by Spain) were somewhat troubled to find that they could not ensure the victory to the objects of their devotions, *alias* of their intrigues, but were finally obliged to adopt him who was furthest from the "dish," and upon whom no one in the Conclave had up to that time cast a look.'[1]

It was on the Wednesday of Easter week, the 24th of April, at 13 hours (about 8 o'clock in the morning of our time), that Cardinal Montalto ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Sixtus the Fifth.

He owed his election to D'Este, Medici, Altemps, and also greatly to the pusillanimity and defection of San Sisto. Such did the Gregorians, in their anger against their chief, call his conduct, for, as has been seen, he had engaged simultaneously with Altemps only to uphold candidates selected from among the creatures of Pius V. and Gregory XIII., and not to give aid to any other competitor, except upon a mutual understanding between them all. Montalto had been made a cardinal by Pius V. In joining at the last moment the

[1] A literal translation of the peculiar French of the period.

D'Este-Medici faction, San Sisto had evidently broken his word. He had besides placed the Gregorians in the falsest position. They were obliged to follow him, and had to pass over to the enemy while the battle was raging.

This is exactly what they did, but they did so with shame and confusion, full of fear for the future, and discontent against their leaders, and still more against themselves—of all humiliations the worst. If a man willingly excuses a fault, it is seldom that he forgives himself a fault committed which is followed by serious and irreparable consequences.

From that moment began, in the midst of the Sacred College, a secret opposition to the new pontiff, which was based upon the rancours of the Gregorians, and which when it attracted the attention and later the suspicion of Sixtus V. brought down upon some of them the severity of the irascible Pope.

Medici, proud of having made the Pope, was already hoping to have the state affairs confided to his care. D'Este, though in a less degree, shared these illusory hopes. Sixtus looked upon himself as much more indebted to God than to man. He, however, received with smiles and kindness the congratulations, homage, and protestations of devotion which both cardinals offered him, but he knew how to act as regards them. He knew that Medici had principally adopted a negative course, that of obtaining the rejection of Farnese, rather than that of giving his support to Cesi and Sirletto. He knew that, finding how impossible it was to get one of these two cardinals named, he had proposed Albani

and himself, and had only at last stood by him because he saw that no other cardinal, except Farnese or Savello, had the remotest chance of success. He was aware that D'Este and Madruccio, for like reasons, but also for higher motives, had accepted and not proposed his candidature; that the Gregorians had been beguiled by their chief, that others had come round to him, not through sympathy, but owing to the force of the current, which had become irresistible, and because they feared being compromised if they prolonged a useless resistance. He knew well what was his worth. He knew that everyone was aware of it; but, as a thorough master of the human heart, he also knew that his reputation as an enlightened character and an iron will was but a feeble recommendation to many an elector. He was aware that worth is appreciated only by people of worth, who are always in a minority; and that it was not therefore surprising that other candidates should be preferred to him, who gave rise to less jealousy, less apprehensions, and, on the contrary, gave larger securities for individual interests, which are often taken even by virtuous but not over clear-sighted men, and by an error which is excusable, for those of the public. In fact Montalto knew that an unforeseen assemblage of circumstances, each negatively favourable, had brought about his election.

The reader is acquainted with these circumstances. Shown into the Conclave, he has been able to catch the thread of the several intrigues carried on, to establish facts, dive into the most secret thoughts, and carefully disguised incentives to action which prompted the principal actors.

He has seen at work D'Este and Madruccio,[1] the two superior men of the assembly, both desirous to please their sovereigns without displeasing their colleagues, but each sacrificing in the end their interests to those of the Church, at the risk of falling in station if they should give themselves a superior man as master. He has watched Medici, the most adroit and least scrupulous of the cardinals; Altemps, the best politician; and the greater number of the electors, who no doubt believed themselves to be led by the Holy Ghost, and said so, but who were 'led by the nose' as Cardinal Fanchinetti told them openly when he saw them leave the Sistine Chapel, to prepare, in the Sala Regia, the surprise of the adoration.

The reader has been present at all this, but he has also noted that all these various changes, the hesitation of D'Este and of Madruccio, their subsequent intervention, the machinations of Medici, the duplicity of Altemps, the irresolution, coming and going from one camp to another of Guastavillani, the rallying of San Sisto, the petty intrigues, betrayals, and bickering, ended in the exaltation of a man who, the object of everybody's attention, was the candidate of nobody, and that the tiara was placed on the head of him who, in the opinion of his contemporaries and of posterity, best deserved to wear it.

[1] In a secret memoir (a 'statuor') previous to the Conclave, which gives an account of the personal feelings of the members of the Sacred College, Cardinal d'Este had called the attention of Villeroy upon Cardinal Madruccio, as a partisan of the French king. In a subsequent letter the Cardinal said, 'Nevertheless, as he has been appointed head of the Spanish faction in the Conclave, I think we must no longer look to him' (as a future candidate for the papacy, who might be accepted by France).—D'Este to Villeroy, Rome, May 8, 1585. Paris, Coll. Harlay, 288.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FAMILY OF SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

IN one of the least frequented parts of the Marches, at about eighty kilometres south of Ancona, stands a small town, or rather burgh or 'castello,' as it is called in the country, situated on one of the crests of the Apennines. On the coast can be seen a few miserable huts, built at the end of the last century, when there was no longer any fear of the pirates. The trains on the Adriatic coast stop there a moment, but the travellers by them are in a hurry: they are on their way to Egypt, to India, or to the antipodes. Their contact is of too fugitive a character to be able to communicate to that distant corner of Italy the activity, ideas, and customs of the present day. After travelling through orange and lemon groves, and ascending some steep steps cut in the rock, the visitor comes to Grottamare, the birthplace of Sixtus V. In this old town everything reminds him of the great Pope: here the Via Peretti; there his colossal statue; in the middle the Church of St. Lucia, erected by his sister Donna Camilla, on the very spot where he was born.[1]

[1] This church, built on not a very large space, is a simple building in the form of a Latin cross, with a cupola. Duke Cesarius, as heir of the Peretti, is still the patron of it. A portrait of the Pope, a fine bronze medallion of Donna Camilla, and a silver gilt chalice bearing the inscription, F. de Montalto, Bishop of St. Agatha, can still be seen there.

A road, which has within the last few years become passable, leads, across a hilly country, to Montalto, which stands on the crest of a high mountain, and which, like Grottamare, has preserved its mediæval aspect. The progress of centuries has stopped there at the fifteenth and sixteenth.[1] At a distance of twenty minutes from this place, on an elevated spot, stands the Convent of the Cordeliers, where the young Felice Peretti took the habit of St. Francis at the age of nine years. For the second time the revolutionary torrent has dispersed all its inhabitants. When, in May 1867, I visited those spots, the old prior and another monk alone walked silently along the abandoned corridors of that decaying building. Some weeks

[1] The principal monuments, such as the unfinished cathedral, the old residence of the Legate, the seminary, are due to the munificence of Sixtus V. There are, besides, several lordly houses which bear the mark of the architectural transformation then going on.

It is beneath the roofs of the local aristocracy that those rare foreigners are received who visit the place, and these are mostly neighbours; for the tourist has not yet taken possession of these regions, still unknown to the traveller's handbook. At the Hôtel de Ville, there are portraits of the Pope, and some of Donna Camilla, of Cardinal Alexander Montalto, his grand-nephew, and Cardinal Francis Peretti, his great-grand-nephew curious letters of Frà Felice, and two letters signed by Donna Camilla, one dated 1589, the other 1602. The writing shows the character of the person who penned them. In the first letter can be traced the peasant's origin; the second proves, what history confirms—how well the gardener's daughter, the farmer's widow, could adapt herself to her new position as a Roman princess. There exists between the two writings all the difference that there is between the girl of the fields and the great lady, and yet it is no less apparent that the same person has written both.

The cathedral, built on a colossal substructure, consists of two churches, one over the other. The lower building, a simple, solid, and nobly proportioned edifice, was finished in the Pope's time. The upper church is being finished according to the designs of Domenico Fontana, the architect of Sixtus. The numerous foundations which the Pope instituted have mostly disappeared. There are, however, still a few properties, the revenues from which have preserved their original destination, and serve to endow four young girls with fifty scudi each.

had passed since the pious members of the community had left it, and already the symptoms of destruction were visible. The little garden was uncared for, wild plants were invading the alleys. Soon a desert will surround the monastery. From the convent a fine prospect opens itself to the view. First the venerable town itself, presenting a storied range of old houses, which are reddish and grey in the sun, violet and marbled in the shade; then a mass of defiles and dried-up ravines at one's feet; around, on the heights, where we breathe the fresh air of the Alps, water, shade, an exuberant vegetation; everywhere hills, covered with villages, surrounded by embattled walls; and in the far distance the sea on one side, the Apennines on the other, the highest mountains of Apulia on a third.

In this lovely country, between Grottamare and Montalto, Sixtus spent his youth. When the news of his election spread in Rome, people asked, not who he was, for that was well known, but whence he came. In town, as at Court, Cardinal Montalto was one of the best known characters. Outside Rome, though thirty or forty years ago he had so often traversed the Peninsula from beginning to end, the faithful who formerly had been electrified by his eloquence were no longer alive. The once celebrated preacher Frate Felice was almost forgotten. In Europe, beyond Italy, his name had never been mentioned, except perhaps in Madrid, whither he had gone with Cardinal Buoncompagni in the capacity of theologian, undoubtedly an important but comparatively secondary position. M. de Pisany also, in speaking of the candidates,

called him, as has been seen, 'a Cordelier of the name of Montalto.'

This Montalto had just stepped from the Sistine Chapel to St. Peter's, and from St. Peter's to the apartments of Gregory XIII., there to instal himself as Head of the Church. His past had therefore to be scrutinized—a very natural curiosity, which it was difficult, however, to satisfy, so obscure was his origin. 'He was of such low birth,' says Giovanni Gritti, on his return from Rome, where he had been Venetian envoy, 'that his parents were scarcely remembered.' Lorenzo Priuli, on the morning after the election, wrote to the Doge: 'He was born in a castello yclept Grottamare, and his father was a gardener. Against the will of the latter he went to school, from the mere desire to know how to read and write. His father, unable to pay his expenses, wished to have him at home; but the child fled, and entered the novitiate of the minor brothers of Montalto, became later a great preacher, the General of his order, Bishop of St. Agatha and then of Fermo, and finally a cardinal.'

Such was the information which could be collected during the first days. Later, a mass of particulars were got together respecting his antecedents.[1] It became known that his family, of Slavonian origin, had come to Italy towards the middle of the preceding century, chased like so many others by the Turks, who, masters of Constantinople, overran Illyria and were

[1] Tempesti has solved many mysteries respecting Sixtus V. in his biography of that Pope, and decided for Grottamare, against Montalto, as his birthplace.

threatening Dalmatia. Under the pontificates of Paul II. and Sixtus IV., from Ancona to Otranto numberless boats filled with immigrants were seen on the coast. Many arrived in the most helpless state of destitution, fell into the deepest misery, and died. Others, more fortunate, were able to acclimatise themselves. They founded in Rome, between the Corso and the Ripetta, then the Via Leonine, that miserable quarter called the 'Schiavonia.' Some of them remained on the coast of the Adriatic, mixed with the people of the country, adopted their language, and led humble existence. Zanetto was one of these. He established himself at Montalto, and had children who married into respectable families of the locality, occupied various posts in the municipality, thus took rank in the middle classes, and became, what the Italians call people of 'condizione civile.' Piergentile, the fourth descendant of the Dalmatian emigrant, was the father of the future Pope. He had seen better days before the taking and ruin of Montalto by the Duke of Urbino, in 1518. He sought refuge at Grottamare, where he farmed a few fields, gave himself up to husbandry, and became a gardener. Horticulture constitutes the principal industry of the inhabitants of that coast, protected as they are against winds, and enjoying as they do an exceptionally mild climate at the foot of the Apennines. Thus somewhat fallen in the social scale, Piergentile sent his wife out as the servant of a noble lady, Donna Diana de' Venti. One of his sisters earned her bread as a laundress. The only member of his family who did not suffer by

the reverses of fortune which visited them was his brother Frà Salvador, of the order of the conventual minors, who lived at the monastery of Montalto. Though reduced to poverty, not to beggary, and henceforth part of the common people, the Peretti were not altogether fallen. They had preserved, with the memory of a better past, some connexion with kinsfolk in good circumstances, and shared in a measure the consideration with which Frà Salvador was looked upon, owing to his reputation of a good priest, and to the influence which he exercised as a monk; for monastic orders, which are essentially democratic institutions, constitute in Catholic countries, where the fault of destroying them has not been committed, the moral link which exists between the masses and the higher ranks of society, soften the character of their relation to each other, and give the children of the poor the opportunity of rising without obliging anyone to go down in the social scale. Occupied as Piergentile was in planting and nursing his orange trees, he, however, entertained a singular ambition. He believed himself destined to be the father of a Pope. Infallible signs, he said, made him certain of the fact, and having on one occasion dreamt that the first child his wife would conceive would be a Pope, he no longer doubted the high destiny of the little boy that came into the world on the feast of St. Lucia, on Friday, December 13, 1521, at 16 hours. He called him Felice, wishing thereby to note the good fortune which was to greet his son. In the family it was an accepted belief that the young boy was to be a Pope, and when his young

sister asked a baiocco of the passer-by, which custom in Italy does not necessarily indicate beggary, she never failed to add, 'Felice will give it you back.' [1]

That the future Pope did drive pigs [2] is not in the least impossible. It was so rumoured in Rome at the time of his advent. Pigs, those useful and domestic animals, enjoy great favour in southern countries—are much cared for by people in easy circumstances; and if Piergentile was fortunate enough to possess a few, and entrusted their care to his children, he only imitated his neighbours in this respect; but this does not prove that young Peretti was a shepherd, as Leti and others have said, thus placing his family, against all truth, in the last ranks of the people.

When nine years of age, Felice entered the convent of Montalto; at twelve became a novice, astonished the monks by his vivacity, his application, and his facility in learning; made rapid progress, and having continued his studies in various monasteries, became, when scarcely nineteen, a celebrated preacher. During several years the convents of his order, first in the small, then in the large towns of the Peninsula, all sought the honour and advantage of having Frà Felice to preach during Advent or Lent, or on feast-days,

[1] Priuli, 1586. In giving these details, which Tempesti, probably wittingly, ignores, Priuli adds that they were communicated to him before the election of Sixtus V. by a compatriot of the latter, 'whose word may be believed.'

[2] Pasquier heard it said by Pisany, 'that he began by driving pigs, and that, as he was doing so, such a storm came on that two Cordeliers, who were fording a river much swollen by the rain, were obliged to have recourse to the boy, who took them over one by one on his shoulders'—a child of nine carrying monks on his shoulders!

so certain were they of the prodigious effect which his ever-flowing eloquence, his numerous and energetic quotations, which suited the times, would produce on the people. Never stopped by worldly considerations, he attacked men and things, even the mightiest, if he thought they failed in their duty. Thus it was that, preaching on one occasion in Rome, upon the text, 'Astiterunt reges terræ,' he spoke strongly against Charles V., Ferdinand I., and Henry II. There were many cardinals and some ambassadors among his audience. Those of Spain and of France complained to Julius III.; and the cardinal-protector of the Franciscans, who was attached to Frà Felice, had great difficulty in getting him out of the scrape. It was during the Lent of 1552 that for the first time his powerful voice was heard in the ecclesiastical world. He was preaching in the Church of the Apostles, before a crowded audience. Together with the Court theologians might be seen all the most distinguished members of the religious orders, rather curious than good-natured listeners, who were already jealous of his incipient reputation. Young noblemen and ladies of the highest Roman circles came, as much for fashion's sake as for piety. Cardinal Carpi was there, whose conquest Frà Felice had made some years before; Cardinal Ghislieri also (Pius V.), Ignatius Loyola, Philip Neri, who, though not yet encircled with the official glory, were already canonised in the mind of the public. Struck by the ardent spirit which moved him and was visible in his speech, in his manner, in the young monk's looks, in the exuberance of

his diction, the solid science of which he was possessed, the purity of the religion that distinguished him, the spirit of the reaction which moved him, they recognised in him the man that belonged to them by right, and promised to take him in hand, to make him, what they succeeded in doing, one of the great reformers. Hence dates his fortune. From that time Frà Felice lived in the intimacy of men of the highest rank, not in that of Julius III., who was not a zealot, but among those who represented the new Catholic opinion at the Vatican, where that opinion was soon to make its way. There was Cardinal Caraffa, who two years later was to be Pope Pius IV., Cardinal Ghislieri, the future Pope Pius V., Cardinal Carpi, one of the most eminent members of the Sacred College, the friend of Bembo, Sadolet, St. Ignatius, and Paolo Planuzio. These cardinals, to the great astonishment of the monks and inhabitants of the Piazza of the Apostles, were seen to get down from their carriages at the gates of the convent, penetrate into the cell of the young frate, and shut themselves up with him for several hours. Ignatius Loyola, Philip Neri, Bozio, literary celebrities, saintly men belonging to other orders, came to see him, sang his praises about, and paved for him the way to the papacy, while they predicted to him that he would become Pope. Even in a purely worldly sense his stays in Rome, which were always limited though often repeated, were not lost for his advancement. He made the acquaintance of young Colonna, called on him in his palace of the same name, which joined the convent, gave him lessons, and thus laid the foundation of the relations

with that family to which some day that of the poor monk was to be allied.

Frà Felice had the faults which flowed from his qualities. He was loyal but rough, quick but easily carried away by anger,[1] strict with himself, not over indulgent towards others, and sober; he slept little, worked incessantly, was zealous but often wanting in discretion and judgment, humble in estimating himself, proud when he compared himself to others, but happily clear-sighted, and always the monk in the full acceptation of the word. He despised this world's riches as long as he had not any, and was contented with the poverty of a monk, which, after all, is the most solid wealth going, since it secures independence. He was generous, but naturally parsimonious. Well regulated in all his private affairs, he took care of those of his family, whom he loved tenderly, and whom, though, in his vagrant and well-occupied existence, he saw little of, he never forgot. His greatest treasures were the few books he had been allowed by his Superior to purchase, and the names of which he used to inscribe in his journal.[2] Therein also he used to note his expenses, the common incidents of his life as a monk, which contrasted so strongly with the influence which he already exercised by his preaching, the reputation he had acquired, the connexions he had made, the high destinies which were dawning upon him.

[1] 'La collera è in lui tanto gagliarda, che alcune volte gli tremano le mani quando è preso da ella.' Priuli, 1586. He advised his nephew, Cardinal Montalto, to be patient, saying as an excuse for himself, 'Le nature risentite e libere sono piene d' amore e di gratitudine.'

[2] This MS. is entirely in his own handwriting, and is still in the possession of Prince Chigi. Tempesti and Ranke have made use of it.

After finishing his theological course at Ferrara, occupying a lecturer's chair at Rimini, receiving the order of priesthood at the age of twenty-six at Sienna, and the degree of doctor at Fermo, he attracted the attention of Cardinal Carpi, who took him under his protection, and employed him as regent of all the convents of his order, first at Sienna, then at Naples, afterwards at Venice. When he came to Venice, in 1556, he was in his thirty-sixth year, and had already then made a name for himself throughout the Peninsula as a noted preacher. Some of his sermons which he had printed were read with avidity.[1] As a rector his special mission was to reform the convents, to introduce into them a strict observance of the rules, and therefore to fight against the useless or the lukewarm. This difficult and at times painful task he fulfilled with indefatigable energy. His stern purpose, which coincided so well with his own convictions, met with the approval of his protectors in Rome; but gained for him, together with several enmities, the reputation of being cruel. He made the mistake of willingly assuming the character, thinking to influence by fear—a bad means, however, of attracting souls and converting them. His duties as a rector, which everywhere were of a delicate character, must have been doubly so in Venice, in the great convent of the Frari, where the party opposed to the reactionary Catholic movement could depend, if not upon the support of the Government, at least upon its sympathetic tolerance. As soon as the new rector

[1] There is one copy, the only one known, of that edition of his six sermons, in the collection of Prince Barberini. They are remarkable for their eloquence and brilliant style.

had arrived, he encountered everywhere a secret opposition, which resulted in his leaving of his own accord, fatigued and despairing of ever obtaining any success. The accusations of which he had been the object having been proved to be false, he was restored to his post, not only as Rector of the Frari, but as Adviser of the Holy See. He was generous enough—and the fact was noted in Rome—to propose on this occasion that his principal antagonist should be appointed Superior of the Order of the Frari, believing him to have returned to better feelings, and little knowing the ingratitude his generosity would meet with. The extended privileges with which he was invested by the new Pope, Pius IV., as an Inquisitor, and the severity with which he exercised these functions, which were particularly odious to the Venetians, caused the Republic to ask for and obtain his recall. Such a circumstance, which for the second time called for diplomatic intervention as regards him, would at other times have done him harm; but in those days of struggle, where the Church militant fought for its existence, his faults, if faults they were, only endeared him to his powerful friends.

He returned to Rome a greater man, owing to the persecutions to which he had been subjected, was appointed theologian to the Council which was about to assemble at Trent, but to which he did not proceed, Adviser to the Holy See,[1] and lecturer at the Sapienza. He continued for several years in Rome—as General Procurator and Apostolic Vicar of his order—the struggle he had begun with the ignorant, the lukewarm, the unwilling, and

[1] It was especially on account of his activity in this office that he owed his favour with Pius V., and the confidence placed in him by the heads of the great Catholic reaction.

again surprised the Holy City by a generous forgetfulness of past injuries. The same monk who was his bitterest enemy, and who had been the cause of his recall from Venice, was found guilty of various crimes, and was summoned to Rome to be punished accordingly. Thanks to the intervention of his victim, he was pardoned by the Pope. The Christian heroism of Frà Felice was much praised, and henceforth Cardinal Ghislieri, who had long been his protector, showed him signal marks of his friendship. At that time Pope Pius IV., before deciding finally against the Archbishop of Toledo, who had been condemned for heresy by the Spanish Inquisition, resolved to send a legate to the spot. Cardinal Buoncompagni, with a brilliant embassy, which besides himself counted three future Popes in its number, Monsignor Castagna, Monsignor Aldobrandini, and Frà Felice as theologian, went to Spain some months before the death of the Pope. From this time dates the long misunderstanding which, during the whole of Buoncompagni's pontificate, was to bear so painfully upon the existence of Cardinal Montalto, and make him, even when afterwards he had become Pope, unjust towards the memory of Gregory XIII. This enmity appears to have been excited by some unkind proceedings on the part of the legate, which made some noise at the time, and of which traces are to be found in the envoy's correspondence of the period. In a MS. in the library of Prince Altieri, entitled, 'Sixtus V., pontifex maximus,' it is said that, whenever there was any difficulty in finding a sufficient number of horses, Buoncompagni was wont to make the frate

mount the beasts of burden, and follow with the baggage in the company of muleteers. Strictly speaking, it was the monk's place, since, of course, he must walk after a prelate; but it was not Frà Felice's place. The latter, who could with greater ease forgive big offences than little ones, conceived towards Buoncompagni, who had nothing in common with his ardent nature, a profound and invincible aversion.

The death of Pius IV. put an end to the Legate's mission. This time Peretti had the good luck to travel alone, and still greater good fortune in finding on his return Cardinal Ghislieri upon the Papal throne. The new Pope at once appointed him to the Bishopric of St. Agatha, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Fermo, and four years later made him a cardinal, among the third batch of cardinals he had made since his accession, besides giving him the pension of 100 scudi a month, which is known as the 'poor cardinal's dish.' He likewise generously defrayed the expenses of his first installation.[1] The new cardinal held his receptions in a house belonging to the Bianchi, known as the 'Puppazzi,' on account of the grotesque statues which studded the front of the house, and which the proprietor had placed at his disposal on that occasion.[2]

As soon as he had been promoted to the important dignity of Vicar-General of his order, he had sent for his sister Camilla, whom he loved dearly and compared to St. Monica, declaring when he was Pope that

[1] Cardinal Santorio has made a note of the Pope's kindness to him and to five of his colleagues: Maffeo, Montalto, Aldobrandini, Teano, and Acquaviva. They received numerous presents as installation expenses.

[2] According to a tradition handed down in Rome to the present day.

to her he owed his having honourably gone through the many long years of his poverty, and that to her prayers he was indebted for his exaltation. Though very devout, Donna Camilla, who was very like her brother in face,[1] had a thorough acquaintance with the things of this world;[2] she directed the cardinal's house,[3] and was all her life the temporal providence of her family. The widow of a farmer, she was the mother of Francesco and Maria Mignucci, who, thanks to their uncle's position, married much above their station. A much higher destiny awaited the children of Maria, who had married a Roman gentleman of the name of Fabio Damasceni.[4] Her children were to be, the one Cardinal Alexander Montalto, the other Michel Peretti, Prince of Venafro, a third Flavia Orsini, Duchess of Bracciano, daughter-in-law of Paolo Giordano Orsini, with whom the reader will soon become acquainted, and the fourth, Ursula, wife of the Great Constable, Marco Antonio Colonna. These four grand-nephews of the Pope, whom he obliged to take the name of Peretti, as his nephews, were born while he was a cardinal, were brought to Rome, received in his

[1] See her portrait in the Villa Massimo (Peretti). [2] Priuli, 1586.

[3] Various authors say that the cardinal lived in the Via Lautari. The archivio notarile of the Apostolic Chamber contains a document concerning the sale of the house, now numbered 68, 69, and 70, in the Via Papale, Rione Parione, at the corner of a little lane, and looking on to the old Bischi Palace. The deed of sale is dated February 11, 1574, and shows that the buyer, Andrea Rubini, purchased it 'pro persona nominanda,' for 2,050 scudi. Another document, dated April 2 of the same year, declares the purchaser to have been Cardinal Felice Peretti, and many circumstances would prove that he lived there between the years 1574 and 1581, when he retired to his vineyard near Sta. Maria Maggiore.

[4] Her dowry consisted of land and of 3,000 scudi.

house, and brought up under his supervision. At this time he lived in a small and mean-looking house in the Parione quarter, and in the Via Papale. His sister, his nephew Francesco and his young wife, Fabio and Maria, together with their four children, all lived with him. The simplicity of the household and the poverty of the furniture struck the Venetian envoy when, at the close of the Conclave, he hastened to congratulate Donna Camilla, and found her in an almost unfurnished and very common room. Little Alexander wore clothes which were more than threadbare; but Priuli was right when he supposed that the child would soon exchange such tatters for purple robes.[1] The cardinal's fortune was small; it was composed of the revenues of his bishopric, which, by the economy and management of his sister, were made to suffice for their wants. These were valued at 8,000 scudi,[2] which was enough to live upon with ease, but Montalto spent most of it in buildings which he had begun at Sta. Maria Maggiore, and later on a vineyard which was situated close to that church.

Honoured with the confidence of Pius V., consulted upon every matter of importance in ecclesiastical affairs, active as an Inquisitor, he divided his time between his pastoral duties and the works which kept him in Rome during the greater portion of that pontificate. Feeling that his end was near, Pius V. called him to his bedside, and Montalto was enabled to assist at one of the most touching and grandest spectacles, the death of a saint.

[1] Priuli, April 26, 1586. [2] *Ib.*, 1586.

The best days of his cardinalship ended with the life of Pius V. Buoncompagni, on becoming Gregory XIII., was weak enough to remember his quarrel with his former attaché, and the wrongs with which he had reproached him. He treated him with haughtiness, excluded him from all participation in public affairs,[1] and on one occasion, as he came out of Sta. Maria Maggiore, he took away his pension, on the plea 'that poor cardinals were not to build palaces.'

Meanwhile the cardinal accepted the position which was made to him, of a man out of favour, and lived a more and more retired life, never appearing in public except when necessary, at consistories or church solemnities.

He held little intercourse with his colleagues, by whom he was rather considered than liked, and, in fact, he knew how to bear up against misfortune. Incapable however of holding his tongue, a fluent and sarcastic speaker, he often gave way to a criticism of the Pope, of his government, of his favourites, and revenged himself by sarcasms—a course exceedingly imprudent (clever men are often imprudent) if he really aimed at being Pope some day. He should have foreseen that the Gregorians, the most numerous faction in the Sacred College, would infallibly exclude him. But a thousand circumstances prove that at that time he was feeling the effects of his disgrace, as well as of the forced inactivity to which he was reduced, and which

[1] In his conversations with the Venetian envoys, Sixtus V. often recurred to this period of his life. Blaming Gregory's policy towards Venice, he one day said that he had disapproved of it at the time, but had said nothing, as became a man who had retired into private life.—*Alberto Badoer to the Doge*, 1589.

was so much against his nature, and that he had given up any ambitious hopes, or rather those of his family, for, besides a few idle words when he still lived at his father's house as a child, nothing shows that he ever seriously entertained them. His only thought, therefore, was to procure occupation and such recreations as were worthy of his elevated mind, his refined taste in art, his fallen position, as a poor and disgraced cardinal, who was not the less a prince of the Church, and if not so considered at Court, at least regarded by an appreciative, if not sympathising, public as one of the most eminent men in the Sacred College.

He had three hobbies—books, the arts, and building. For many years he had devoted his leisure hours to a scientific task—the revision of the works of the Fathers of the Church. When he became a cardinal, the first use he made of the liberality of his kind protector Pius V., was to erect a sepulchral monument to the memory of Nicholas IV., of the Franciscan Order, to which he himself belonged, in the tribune of Sta. Maria Maggiore. At the same time he added the chapel of the cradle (1576) to that basilica which was enlarged and finished during his pontificate, and received the bodies of the two friends, Pius V. and Sixtus V. He finally bought a vineyard, there to build a country house. On this occasion, as he was always wont to do when he purchased any small estate, in order to avoid the unfortunate vigilance of the Court, he employed a false name. Obliged to be economical of his means, which were from time to time increased

by sundry gifts from the Grand-Duke of Tuscany,[1] he had recourse to a mason who had just arrived from his native mountains of Como, and who showed great intelligence and was devoted to him. This young man, in peasant wise, used to send the money he economised to his parents, who hid it about their cottage. When the cardinal, owing to his being deprived of his pension, was no longer able to build, young Domenico Fontana continued the works with the capital he had economised, partly out of gratitude to his benefactor, partly also in the hope that the cardinal would some day be no less grateful to him when the wheel of fortune should have turned, as is possible everywhere, and nowhere so likely as in Rome. The works were not, therefore, altogether interrupted, and, four years before his exaltation, Cardinal Peretti had the pleasure of inhabiting his vineyard, declaring and perhaps believing at times —for the unoccupied who still feel some strength within them never wholly give up the hope of turning it to account some day—that he would end his days in it.

That Villa Peretti, now the Villa Massimi, built upon the declivity of the Esquiline, stands on classical ground. The ramparts of the royal Rome of Servius Tullius passed over it. Under Augustus it formed part of the garden of Mæcenas. Diocletian had comprised it within the vast circle of his Thermæ.

When Montalto became Pope, he bought a few fields to enlarge his property, caused the magnificent ruins which stood on it to be removed (for he had little regard for pagan remains, especially when they

[1] Antonio Tiepolo, 1578; Urbani, 1585.

were in his way), and erected there his ponderous palace called the Termini. A traveller alighting from the railway can see it. It does not contrast favourably with the Palazzetto. Fontana, as it often happens, receded while moving with his century.

As a cardinal, Montalto was satisfied with a little house, the Palazzetto we have mentioned, a real treasure, and the model of a small country house. The last days of the great epoch ennoble and establish that first and finest work of Domenico Fontana. It also calls attention by the frescoes which adorn the apartments, and which were painted by the artists then most in vogue, Mattia of Sienna, Cesare Nebbia, Salimbene, Paolo Brill, Baglioni, and others, who are often taken for the Zuccari, to whom their works are frequently attributed. It has justly been noticed that there is an undoubted superiority in the pictures painted for Cardinal Montalto, for whom time was of no importance, over those ordered by Sixtus the Fifth, whose feverish activity he communicated to others, and who, foreseeing death,[1] wished to replace time by the extent of his will, and called upon hours to give him what years seldom grant to ordinary mortals.

Whoever has visited these spots has felt the charm of that dwelling, which preserves its noble appearance notwithstanding the damage done to its frescoes by the influence of centuries, and the disappearance of those splendid avenues of trees to make room for the improvements which modern art has conceived it necessary to make in that portion of Rome. The hermit of

[1] So his intimate conversations seem to show.

the Villa Peretti had planted them with his own hand, in company with a few faithful friends in misfortune, the celebrated Scipio Tolomei, Castrucci, and others, while all along he was conceiving vast projects, which then in his mind were mere freaks of fancy and dreams impossible to realize. Around his vineyard stood the vaults and massive pillars of the Thermæ; before his window the old Basilica, which had not yet been hid by its modern screen; and from his loggia, which has likewise disappeared, as has the greatest portion of the Thermæ, and the old front of Sta. Maria Maggiore, he could at one glance see the whole of Rome, a portion of the Campagna, and the Sabine Mountains.[1]

He was about to leave the house in the Via Papale to go and inhabit his villa, when a cruel event occurred which caused great sensation, and deeply affected him. His nephew Francesco, having been called out into the street one evening by his brother-in-law Marcello Accoramboni, was found dead on the following morning. He had been assassinated, and his body, pierced by bullets and cut by swords, lay on the stones of the street which leads to the Quirinal, close to the garden of the Sforza, now the Barberini Palace. This unfortunate man left a young wife, who was one of the celebrated beauties of the day.

Who has not heard of her classic features, her cultivated mind, her quick wit, her eloquence, the melodious tones of her voice, her simple ways, her

[1] From the house there is a view which shows how extensive the destruction of the ruins, which were then still extant, must have been. Prince Massimo, the present owner of the Villa Peretti, has published an interesting notice of it. 1836.

graceful and taking manners, the irresistible charm, in fact, produced by all these qualities, which singly are sufficient to attract, but when combined fascinate and subjugate, and throw upon their fortunate possessors the supernatural lights of heaven, while they fill us at the same time with admiration, with fear, and sinister forebodings? Too much perfection, like too great happiness, is prone to give rise to secret misgivings. No one is ignorant of the events of her short life: of the adventures, the frailty, the repentance, the expiation, and tragical end of the too lovely Vittoria Accoramboni. At Gubbio, that classical town of Umbria, the palace of the Accoramboni can still be seen in the high street of the upper town. It is a fine building of the time of the first Renaissance, and is now falling into decay. The owner of the palace, the father of Vittoria, had married a Roman lady, Tarquinia Paluzzi, of the family of the Albertoni, who was well connected, proud, and discontented at having only married a country gentleman, ambitious, intriguing, and anxious that her daughter should shine in the world. Suitors were not wanting. Some were in earnest; others had intentions which, though not likely to alarm the mother, who depended upon her knowledge of the world and the charms of her daughter for success, were suspected by the father, who did not see with pleasure, nor even without fear, the frequent visits paid to his daughter by one of the most important noblemen of Rome and Italy, Paolo Giordano Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, who was prepared to give[1] Vittoria

[1] His income was valued at 30,000 scudi.—*Loranzo.*

his name and his fortune. He had married first the unfortunate Isabella of Tuscany, whose sudden death brought him into some suspicion. He was publicly accused of having strangled her with his own hands in a fit of jealousy. But, strange to say, he nevertheless continued to live in good understanding with his brothers-in-law, the Grand-Duke Francis and Cardinal de' Medici. His intimate relations with the latter were even a cause of his great influence in Rome, of which fact the cardinal knew likewise how to profit. At the Court of Spain he enjoyed great favour, owing to his known devotion to the Spanish crown.[1] He liked to speak of his intimacy with Philip II., whose friendship greatly added to his prestige. At the request of Cardinal Granvella, Philip was about to confer upon him the Order of the Golden Fleece, when the news of his death reached Madrid. He possessed in Rome the Monte Giordano, now Gabrielli Palace, the palace of Campo de' Fiori (Pio), and that of the Piazza Navone called the Pasquino, which was pulled down in the last century, the site being now occupied by the Braschi Palace. With him were many other Orsini—Latino, known as a soldier, others more or less mixed up in the Duke's affairs, more or less at war with the Government, some even prosecuted and openly in league with the banditti. Among these Ludovico Orsini, though a miscreant, was possessed of great qualities. His brother Raimondo had lost his life in one of those quarrels with the sbirri which were so frequent under Gregory's

[1] When the news of the taking of Lisbon reached Rome, he and Duke Sora illuminated their palaces.—*Correro to the Doge.* 1580.

pontificate. To avenge him Ludovico had caused the assassination of Vincenzo Vitelli, Giacomo's lieutenant-general. The unfortunate victim was coming out of a card party at Giacomo's, when a shot killed him inside his own carriage. Ludovico at once took to flight, became for several years a bandit, then entered the service of the Republic of Venice, by way of resuming his former character. Venice was always kind to the Orsini, and appointed him military commandant of Corfu. At this time of his life, which was to meet with a tragic end, we come across him. Paolo Giordano, though suspected of an atrocious crime, paraded about Rome with haughtiness, gave hospitality to the banditti, as well in Rome as in his numerous country houses, and especially at Bracciano, enjoying all the impunity which in the weak reign of Gregory XIII. was granted to men of his stamp, especially when they bore a great name and had powerful relations. He had personally none of the advantages which captivate a woman. He was close upon 50 years of age; his features were not agreeable. His extraordinary stoutness amounted to a repulsive infirmity. He, however, did not displease the youthful Vittoria, with whom he appeared to be more and more in love. The mother thought she had obtained her wish, when Accoramboni, to cut short the attentions, dangerous in many respects, of the head of the house of Orsini, married his daughter to young Peretti, the cardinal's nephew. This marriage, which was a poor one in comparison with the connexion sought after, was, however a good one, considering the uncle's high position, the difficulties of the case, and

especially there being no other means of getting out of them. The marriage was performed on June 21, 1573, in the Church of Santa Maria della Corte, the parish church of the head of the Albertoni, and the newly-married bride came to live with her husband in Cardinal Montalto's house. She was received as a queen, conquered everybody's affection, and especially pleased the cardinal, who to the end of his life ever preserved a great liking for her. Endeavouring to reconcile her with her new mode of life, surrounding her with a little luxury, a little comfort, he tried to make her modest home agreeable to her, and not to contrast too strongly with the habits, antecedents, and rather brilliant than solid qualities of the young patrician. Her husband, who was very inferior to her, and who at first was desperately enamoured of her, had nothing to offer her in return for so many qualities but a love which ought to have sufficed her. But unfortunately love is not always enough. It could not make the beautiful and elegant Vittoria forget the prospect, now gone, of the grandeurs she had dreamt of. Her mother especially could not reconcile herself to the marriage, but kept up amicable relations with Bracciano, and while she probably prevented her daughter from becoming reconciled to her fate, she fostered in her mind thoughts which, if not criminal, were at least insane.

What was the young woman's conduct? Unhappily, it was not irreproachable. She led her husband into expenses, and soon spent her marriage portion. She was surrounded by lovers,[1] and showed herself jealous

[1] Babbi, 1581. 'Ed avendoli lei più inamorati.'

of her sister-in-law, Maria Damasceni, who was preferred in the family on account of her virtues, and who was to succumb a few years later to decline. Her death was attributed to the witchcraft of a maid-servant of Vittoria, who was likewise accused of having bewitched Paolo Giordano, as if the charms of Francesco's wife had not been enough to place him at her feet.[1]

At the outset of his married life Peretti believed himself to be the happiest of men, but his joy and illusions were soon dispelled. His wife soon took a dislike to him, and the people who came to the house perceived the dissension which reigned in the household. Donna Camilla could not accustom herself to the mode of life of the young couple, to the splendid toilets of Vittoria, to her expensive and worldly tastes, which no doubt were in accordance with her former education, but were out of place in a house modest even to monastic simplicity. She was afraid of her step-daughter, and foresaw some catastrophe. The night when her son, at the call of Marcello Accoramboni, was about to leave the house to meet with the death which his brother-in-law was to inflict on him, she threw herself at his feet, implored of him to remain, and predicted some misfortune. She guessed that a crime was preparing, and from whom the blow would come. The news of the assassination of Francesco

[1] These details were given by Sixtus V. to Priuli (1585). This supposed witch was imprisoned at Padua. Donna Camilla asked for her extradition, but her brother refused, and recommended the Republic of Venice to place the suit in the court of the Bishop of Padua, saying that if she had committed other crimes of a similar nature, she deserved to be burnt alive.

horrified both the town and the Court. Not that such events were of rare occurrence (people were but too accustomed to them), but everyone felt that the Duke had had a hand in the affair. People trembled at the thought that the Government, impelled perhaps by the cardinal, would this time issue from its accustomed lethargy, and try to punish the assassin. As no one doubted that the assassin was Duke Bracciano, the head of the Orsini, it was feared that there would be much bloodshed in Rome. Nothing happened, however. While the public shuddered at the crime, the victim's uncle alone was unnerved. A consistory was held on the following day. Montalto went to it as usual, and, admired for it by many, accused of affectation by others, he merely replied by settled speeches to the condolence of his colleagues. But when the consistory was over, he went up to the Pope, and gave way to his grief.[1] Without accusing, and even, *pro formâ*, going so far as to ask the Pope to do nothing, he was in

[1] Babbi to the Grand-Duke, April 17, 1581. Arch. Flor. 3603. 'Questa mattina che è stato consistoro, è stato (Montalto) con nostro signore, e *ha fatto un gran lamento* e il papa si è rissentito molto, ma fin' adesso non ha fatto alcuna essecuzione.' Five years later the Pope said: 'Che dalla prima ora che ebbe nuova della morte di quell' infelice haveva rimesso ogni cosa in mano del signor Dio, e che sebbene papa Gregorio mostrò di far voler quache cosa, non solamente non lo fece, ad instanza sua, ma operò con mezzi termini poco convenienti, perchè di poi formato il processo, se lo fece dar in mani sue da monsignor Portico che ora vive, ne se n' è saputo altro, ed il servitore del signor Francesco, che fù fatto prigione come spia che lo condusse al macello, fù fatto dare dal Pontifice in mano del signor Giacomo ne si è poi saputo cosa alcuna di lui.'—Lorenzo Priuli to the Doge, February 15, 1585 (1586). Arch Ven. Disp. Rom. From all this it would seem that Francesco's uncle wished for the punishment of the culprit, without, however, putting himself forward personally, that is, for the intervention of the police and of that justice which Gregory denied him, and that the questionable attitude of that Pope

hopes that Gregory XIII. would order a severe inquest. The Holy Father showed how indignant he was at the idea of so horrible a crime. An inquest was held, but, apparently anxious not to bring down upon himself the vengeance of the powerful Duke,[1] the Pope later placed in his hands the documents relative to the inquest, which were afterwards deposited in Fort St. Angelo, and delivered up to Duke Sora. Francesco Peretti's servant had been arrested as an accomplice.

Matters went no further. Some days after, in order to throw a veil over the real culprits, a certain chevalier Pallentieri, a man of questionable reputation, and who had been exiled for several crimes, was made to write a letter in which it was stated that he, Pallentieri, had killed Francesco in order to prevent a murder which

on this occasion became a further cause of resentment between them. Gregory cannot have said, 'È veramente un gran frate,' and the facts must have occurred very differently from the representation given of them by every writer, and on the authority of anonymous manuscripts. This is also proved by the subsequent conduct of Sixtus V., who requested the extradition from Venice of Marcello Accoramboni, and had him judged and executed. I have entered into these apparently secondary details because they show not only the character of Sixtus V., but also his position under Gregory XIII. Everything was denied him, even to the punishment of the assassin of the principal member of his family. He declared then that he forgave, but what could he do more than make a virtue of necessity? He would likewise have preferred to see Marcello die on a Venetian scaffold, for one of the numerous crimes which that miscreant had committed, than for the assassination of his nephew, and after the judgment pronounced by the Roman Courts; but it was only when Venice had refused to revise the trial of Marcello for the murder committed at Padua that he had him tried for the death of his nephew. Such a conduct, which is wanting in frankness, is only to be explained by the Pope's character, which was just, strict even unto cruelty, but hating revenge, and rancorous only in small things.

[1] A MS. of the period, at the Vatican, gives the names of the men paid by a nobleman 'whose name, for certain reasons, we do not mention,'—so great was the terror he inspired.

the latter was supposed to have contemplated on the person of Pallentieri himself. Such a fable deceived nobody. The inoffensive character of Francesco, whose only enemy was his wife's beauty, the tone of the letter—everything proved it to be false. The Pope, however, believed in it. He ordered the supposed murderer to be arrested, a superfluous measure, since Pallentieri was not in Rome, but in perfect safety. Public opinion had not, for one moment, hesitated in pointing to the true culprits. They were, it was whispered, Duke Bracciano and Donna Tarquinia, the mother of Vittoria. While the cardinal, deeply affected by such a misfortune, and deeply mortified to see that even justice was denied him, was doubly attentive to the young widow, consoled the unfortunate mother, and replied to the condolences of his absent friends, a fresh sorrow, even greater than all the rest, since it affected the honour of the family, increased the measure of grief with which they were visited. Some days after the crime had been committed, Vittoria disappeared from the house of the cardinal. She was soon found to be in the house of Duke Bracciano. This news, which fired the Peretti family with indignation and filled them with shame, frightened the Orsini, and especially Cardinal de' Medici, who was, above all, anxious to prevent a marriage. Gregory was made to give[1] a monitory prohibiting Vittoria from marrying without his previous consent, and declaring the marriage to be null and void in the event of its taking place notwithstanding. The Duke, alarmed at this, hid his

[1] May 5, 1581.

mistress in his garden of Magnanapoli. A few days later another monitory from the Pope prescribed Vittoria's return to her father's home, never to leave it, even to hear mass, and to break with Orsini altogether. She returned to her father's house. Other monitories were promulgated. They were each attended to, but for a short time only, and the young woman went alternately over from the Massa Palace, which belonged to her parents, close to St. Louis of the French, to the Duke's garden and back to her house. Towards the end of the year, the sbirri entered the Accoramboni Palace, carried away Vittoria, and took her to the monastery of St. Cecilia at the Transtevero. She was later shut up in Fort St. Angelo, where she remained for nearly a year. Paolo Giordano, however, stood well at Court, and contrived to obtain the setting aside of each monitory[1] excepting one,—that which commanded Vittoria not to marry without the Pope's permission. The Duke had made believe that he had given up all idea of marrying her.[2] The members of his family, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, Cardinal de' Medici breathed more freely. They were not aware that the marriage had been twice solemnised at Rome and at Bracciano, where Vittoria lived with her husband in no fear of being molested by further monitories. This marriage gave rise in the following year to a lawsuit, which did not prevent the two coming to Rome and living together as husband and wife at the Orsini Palace.[3] Finally, dreading fresh severities on the part

[1] January 13, 1583. [2] Donato to the Doge, July 21, 1582.
[3] October 10, 1583.

of the Pope, and giving way to Cardinal de' Medici's entreaties, Paolo Giordano solemnly promised, a few days before the Pope's death, to separate from his wife. This promise was followed by a third marriage, celebrated on the 24th of April, at the very time of the election of Sixtus V.[1]

Thus, with the exception of the two last years of the reign of Pius V., Montalto's cardinalship was passed in worries and a forced retreat. Petty persecutions, more difficult to endure than great reverses of fortune, poisoned for many years the life of the future Pope. They must be borne, however, and if not silently—which was more than his strength could stand—at least with that resignation which, while it helps to bear up with the present evil, contrives to maintain the hope of a happier future. Cardinal Montalto was a martyr before becoming a hero. He, the former Inquisitor, one of the principal actors, though one little before the public in the great religious movement of the day, which had monopolised his thoughts and still filled his soul, now devoted his time to literary studies, to watching workmen, or planting trees. Ideas of religious reform seemed to fly away from him. He was put on one side in all that related to public business, owing to the sovereign's dislike to petty rivalries and his own failings. They were faults of character the most difficult to avoid, and the bitterest to expiate, since they become apparent and produce a remorse only when it is too late to repair the evil to which

[1] Count Gnoli's volume on Vittoria Accoramboni deserves perusal as descriptive of the deplorable state of Rome under Gregory XIII.

they give rise. His position was likewise due to those circumstances against which the will of man is impotent when the man is weak, but not otherwise insurmountable when met by such qualities as those which Montalto possessed,—belief in his convictions, clearness of judgment, and the lightness of a well-fortified soul. He, no doubt, had times when he was deeply discouraged. Who has not been discouraged at times of great trial? There were days and weeks when he believed he had reached his journey's end in life; but these moments of dejection were soon over. His indomitable character, so correctly appreciated by some sagacious observers, always finished by carrying the day.[1] At the moment when he saw the Sacred College at his feet, proclaiming him Pope, he recovered those virtues, which were hidden, but not gone, as his pontificate shows, during that long and painful period of disgrace. Those famous crutches of which so much has been said, and which have become an article of faith,—which he is said to have thrown away at the time of his exaltation, according to a legend rather symbolical than untrue, and which, as often is the case in legends, discovers the truth under the mask with which it is covered by the imagination of the people—these crutches were nothing but the chains of his forced prolonged inaction during the thirteen years of Gregory's pontificate; and at last they were broken.

What a change in his speech, in his manner! What a contrast between Montalto and Sixtus V.! Both Court and town marvelled at it. The astonishment of the public, which seldom looks at the bottom of things,

but is contented with their outward appearance, became a myth with time, and, as such, became history, greatly to the detriment of Sixtus V., and, what is worse, to that of truth.[1] Montalto has been shown up as a hypocrite, a comedian who deceived the world, which, for ridiculous reasons, was supposed to be very credulous. Nothing can be more false. It was as if the captive eagle had suddenly left his cage, and, spreading his wings, had flown into space. The change in his person, which was spoken of, does not appear to have struck his electors, who were surprised, however, not to see him changed, but to have been themselves the authors of the change. How, and by what means, had the son of the gardener of Grottamare travelled all the distance which separated his birthplace and the Vatican? There are various ways of making a career. Some

[1] It is, however, possible that the retreat to the Villa Peretti was already looked upon by the public as a feint. An 'avviso,' in a manuscript of Urbino, No. 1583, speaks of the feigned age of the cardinal. It is the only document which would seem to justify later assertions. Priuli, in 1585, says: 'Nacque per quanto fin hora è stato creduto a 15 dicembre del 21. Ma dipoi fatto papa è stato detto che ha quatro anni di manco.' In 1586 Priuli again gave the year 1521 as that of the Pope's birth, which proves that he did not credit the belief that the Pope wished to be thought older than he was. Monsignor Graziani, secretary of Sixtus V., and author of a MS. respecting that pontiff, had said that he was born on December 12, 1521. The Pope, to whom the MS. was shown, corrected the date in his own hand, and put '13 december, friday, at 16 hours, the day of St. Lucia, 1521.' No mention of the Pope's dissembling his age appears in the correspondence of the times, and Cardinal de' Medici is said, on the contrary, to have selected him because of his barely sixty-four years and strong constitution, which would allow of his surviving Farnese. In November 1586 Sixtus was seriouly ill, and Cardinal d'Este wrote to M. de Villeroy that 'his health was not so strong as was believed.' I could, by many other quotations, prove how evidently false are the assertions of Leti, and of many writers, all of whom are subsequent to Sixtus V.

succeed by audacious, others by commonplace means. Ever pushing, they swallow the mortifications they meet without wincing, and find a door whereat to enter should they be shown out of another. They impose themselves upon people, and find a help in the very tediousness they produce, in the habit which people take to of seeing them always and everywhere, in the silent contempt of the honest as well as in the loud applause of the mob. But they almost always end badly, for the catastrophe comes sooner or later. Public opinion, so easily blinded, so hard to undeceive, but so prompt in its revenge when enlightened, seldom fails to exact a cruel or disgraceful atonement from those who have received its favours unworthily.

Others appear who are confident in their own merit. They proceed slowly but surely, and ever leave upon all that pleasing impression which intelligence, courage, and perseverance must produce. They attract attention and maintain it; they command the respect even of the ill-natured, and carry off by force the prizes which intrigue and hypocrisy would fain contend for. They receive quietly the applause of the people, do not falter if they fall out of favour, march from one success to another, or succumb honourably if not gloriously, and are accompanied by the esteem of the honest, which is, after all, the only true reward of the difficulties and troubles of public life. But both, whether they be the abject followers of fortune or nobly ambitious men, require Fate to smile on them in order to succeed. One ray only suffices, but that ray must shine. Cleverly utilised, seized upon with judg-

ment, that ray will make the man appear on the stage of the world, if only as *figurante* at first, but only to make him subsequently act the great parts in the great human comedy.

This advantage Frà Felice never enjoyed. During his long life as a monk, his name was never mixed up with any of the important events of the day. No historical transaction had come to put in relief that important though obscure existence, until he took possession of the throne of St. Peter. His career was most ordinary, and wonderful only because it made him rise so high. As a humble Cordelier monk, he was remarkable in his youth, like so many others, for his eloquence; as rector of several convents, as vicar of his order, he worked at reforming souls; as Inquisitor, for the preservation of faith in all its purity. The silence and shade becoming these occupations screen Frà Felice for several years from the public gaze. If at times he is noticed, it is by an excess of zeal which gives his superiors as much trouble as it does pleasure, and constitutes a bad means of succeeding in calm times. It is true that those among whom he lived were not calm. The retreat and forced idleness of his cardinalship came next. Nothing in his life strikes the imagination, or calls for the notice of his contemporaries. In the eyes of the world, 'it is a Cordelier of the name of Montalto,' as Pisany says. No single word could better show the obscure life which the monk had led up to the time of his election. But what explains his good fortune is that his convictions were deep; that from its outset he had followed the

current of the religious flood which still continued to rise; that he had enlisted in the ranks of the great victorious army of the Church; that those who commanded it had to recruit their strength, and found much in that humble monk, and made him a cardinal, until his rivals made him a Pope. Frà Felice was a fortunate mortal, if we can so call those who, gifted with the highest faculties, concentrate them entirely on the attainment of one end and on one effort; fight under the command of men whom they admire and are to replace when these shall have disappeared; act—or suffer, if they cannot act—for the object they have in view, persuaded, as Montalto was, that the cause for which they labour is the first, the most important, and the only serious one of humanity.

PART THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY ADMINISTRATION OF SIXTUS V.

THE election over, the cardinals proceeded to St. Peter's. The Pope was carried thither in procession. The great news had spread with the rapidity of lightning, and, curiosity having the best of disappointment,[2] Rome, though not satisfied, hastened to contemplate that touching spectacle, and have a look at the new sovereign who had been so little observed under the preceding reign. Sixtus the Fifth[1] did not appear to be sixty-five years of age. He was of ordinary height, somewhat bent, and this made him look smaller than he really was. His head, which was comparatively large, sank rather

[1] When the name of Sixtus V. is mentioned at Rome, where he has left ineffaceable traces, people talk of banditti, of Monti, of Congregations, of the Needle (Obelisk). Thus does tradition sum up the various branches of his internal administrations: justice, finance, ecclesiastical matters, arts and public buildings. This popular classification has been the one I have adopted, reserving for their appropriate place such incidents of his foreign policy as I may wish to bring in, and for the end the explanation of his diplomatic intervention in the affairs of the League, since it coincides with the end of his pontificate.

[2] Babbi, April 24, 1585.

between two broad shoulders. His forehead was high and wrinkled. Arched and tufted eyebrows shaded two small brown but brilliant eyes. A change constantly came over his expression—not over his features, which seemed to be rigid and immovable. Calmness, kindness, and tenderness; then suddenly severity, anger; then again serenity, played alternately upon his countenance. It was like the storm which threatens, which roars and bursts, but calms down at once. His complexion was swarthy, his cheeks high-coloured, his cheek-bones very prominent, a characteristic of the Sclavonian race. His hair and long auburn and bushy Franciscan beard were growing grey. Soon they were to become entirely so. His health was excellent, and the slight infirmity with which he was troubled had, according to Messer Aurelio Stagni, the fashionable doctor, no serious character. His whole person struck the spectator at first, frightened him almost the next moment; but those who examined him closely were soon reassured. He was the type of a monk, with the difference that he was born to command, whereas a monk always obeys. He was attractive, though possessing no charms. He captivated, but did not please; was imposing, but not majestic; and, though he had nothing of the sovereign or of a prince in him, he could not be mistaken for anything but the master. The people understood him at once, for there are certain revelations which everyone accepts and believes in, though few can explain them.

When the procession entered the Basilica, through the great central door, the choir, under the direction of the

immortal Pierluigi di Palestrina, sang the 'Ecce sacerdos magnus'; then the 'Tu es pastor ovium,' for five voices; and a mass, also for five voices; both composed in a hurry, and for the occasion, during the fourteen days of the interregnum. These compositions were below what had been expected of the great maestro. The Pope perceived it. Even at that solemn moment he could listen to the music. 'Pierluigi,' said he, 'has forgotten Pope Marcello's mass.'[1] This sarcastic criticism deeply hurt Palestrina, but has been justified by competent judges. It was the first word uttered by the new Pope —just, severe, and merciless, as his pontificate was to be.

A 'Te Deum' ended the solemnity, and Sixtus V. retired to the apartments of Gregory XIII. There the cardinals, the noblemen, prelates, and courtiers filled the 'stanze.' The young Japanese princes were also there. Brought by the Jesuits from the other end of the world, they had been the delight of Gregory XIII., and were the living spectacle of the conquest of those countries by the Christian faith.

The French ambassador, desirous to congratulate the new Pope before his Spanish colleague, had the greatest difficulty in approaching him. It was only through Cardinal de Sens, who consented to 'shoulder'[2] him, that he was able to make way and get into the closet of the Pope. The Holy Father was at dinner, and talking with Cardinal Altemps, who, standing before him, was 'negotiating' an audience for Count Olivarès. After dinner M. de Pisany was allowed to

[1] 'Memorie di Pierluigi di Palestrina.' 1828.
[2] Pisany to Henry III., April 24, 1585.

kiss the Pope's foot, and the latter, looking at him 'with a beaming countenance,' said that Cardinal d'Este had made him Pope. Pisany was therefore convinced that he would have to deal with a most tractable pontiff as regards the affairs of the Very Christian King. Cardinal d'Este shared these illusions.[1] He wrote to Henry III. that, contrary to the truth, he had told the Holy Father that 'it was by order of his sovereign that he had helped in the election, which the Pope believed to be the case and accepted as such.' Count Olivarès and Cardinal Madruccio were not at all inclined to share the same feeling of security. The latter, in announcing to Philip II. the exaltation of Montalto,[2] who he says is very devoted to Spain, tries to excuse his choice, which is an excellent one, according to him, by the exigencies of the times, and the impossibility of centring the votes upon another member of the Sacred College. Sixtus himself tried to gain Olivarès, spoke to him of his friendship for Philip II., addressed some vague but gracious words to him, as he was wont to do to all the members of the diplomatic body. Priuli, the Venetian envoy, who was less confident than the representatives of France, less suspicious than those of Spain, and more in the right than the others, was of opinion that it was impossible as yet to judge of the future policy of a sovereign who was amiable in speech, grateful in expression, but already showed that his rule would be a stern one. Personally he could but express himself satisfied. Like M. de Pisany, he had come to the palace in all

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Henry III. April 24, 1585. Priuli to the Doge.
[2] Cardinal Madruccio to Philip II. Rome, May 5, 1585.

haste. Led by the Cardinal of Verona, he had preceded the crowd and reached the Pope, who was surrounded by cardinals, each asking a favour, but who finally drew aside, so as to allow the envoy to kiss the foot of His Holiness. A few commonplace words were exchanged, because the cardinals, with their hats in their hands, did not choose to withdraw. Two days after, he again found a number of cardinals with His Holiness, who, however, came up to him, and, calling him into a private room, requested him, contrary to etiquette, which he was not yet acquainted with, to cover himself. 'Please to inform your Government that we like Venice well, and intend to live in good harmony with her, that we continue to be desirous of favouring and helping her; but that we are sorry to see her States surrounded by heretics and Turks; and this is not said out of form or ceremony, but because it is the truth.' He repeated these words with emphasis, looking with a resolute air at Priuli. He then recommended the Venetian Government to respect the office of the Holy Inquisition and of the bishops, who were too often inconvenienced by being called and detained in Venice. 'I do not say,' he added, 'that respect must be shown to the bishops who rebel; because then we would not object to their being imprisoned, and even to their having their heads cut off.' These last words were said with an agreeable smile, so at least the ambassador wrote.[1]

Abroad the news of the election of Sixtus the Fifth was variously received, and with displeasure by Philip.[2]

[1] Priuli to the Doge, April 26, 1585.

[2] Antonio Tornimbene to the Doge. Barcelona, May 16, 1585.

While sincerely desirous this time to let the Conclave freely elect the Pope, he had inclined in favour of San Giorgio, not of Farnese, as the cardinals believed, and feared that Montalto would not prove very favourable to his interests. With his accustomed prudence, however, he disguised his displeasure. Those around him were less discreet. The intimate friends of Granvella made no secret of their disappointment. They regretted that he had not been sent to Rome during the interregnum. His influence, they said, would have enabled them, probably, to make another choice.[1] The echoes of these not very flattering sayings soon reached the ears of the Pope. In Paris the news of his election was joyfully welcomed. Henry III. had suspected Gregory of favouring the recent rebellion of the Guise. The news of his death had dispelled these fears. The king was enchanted, and liked to believe what his ambassador led him to hope, and what, in a measure, was confirmed by Cardinal d'Este's letters. He lost not a moment in asking the Pope 'to help him in pacifying, as soon as possible, the unfortunate dissensions within his kingdom.' This cry of distress was not unmixed with a slight indirect threat, which showed how matters stood with him; for he added,[2] 'in helping me to maintain and preserve my State in peace and obedience, His Holiness will insure to the Holy See a kingdom that will be always devoted to it (provided Sixtus the Fifth goes against the League), and will

[1] Vincenzo Gradenozo to the Doge, May 19, 1585.

[2] Henry III. to Cardinal d'Este, May 5, 1585. The draft in M. de Villeroy's handwriting.

particularly oblige a king who will never prove himself ungrateful.'

The Emperor[1] expressed himself well satisfied, and his Vice-Chancellor declared it to be a good and holy election. The news had spread while the Court and the diplomatic body were still in chapel. The Spanish party were loud in their expressions of vexation. They had counted on Farnese. Ottavio Spinola exclaimed: 'If Farnese is not Pope, it is he who makes and directs them.' This phrase was rather laughed at, and might have been ridiculed with justice if the character of Sixtus V. had been known. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany, who had been informed of the election on the day itself, owing to a species of telegraph got up by the indefatigable Cardinal de' Medici, thought he had reason, and in fact had cause, to rejoice. The Pope himself, out of gratitude, as well as from political reasons, hastened to send him an affectionate message. 'Well,' exclaimed the Pope, on perceiving in the crowd Monsignor Gerini, with whom he had formerly been very intimate, 'will His Highness regret my nomination? Have you made it known to him?' The old prelate, who was one of the Grand-Duke's correspondents, had no words sufficient in praise of his election.[2] Another correspondent of the Grand-Duke, Sangaletti, gave him similar assurances. He was an old servant of Pius V., then already much attached to Peretti, and who, as his private cameriere, assisted at the last

[1] Urbani to the Grand-Duke. Prague, May 8, 1585.
[2] Gerini to the Grand-Duke, April 24, 1585.

moments of Sixtus V.[1] Francis, however, had the good sense to moderate the zeal of his brother, who, certain that he could dispose of the Pope's will, fancied he had already done so, and was imprudent enough to tire him by all kinds of requests.[2] Francis advised him not to importune the pontiff, especially not to accustom him to refuse, 'for when a man meets with many refusals, he is looked upon as one who is displeased with his sovereign, and thus loses his good graces.'

At Venice,[3] the notification of the 'Assumption' was made, according to custom, by the Nuncio, who appeared before the Senate, and exchanged with the members of the Council words of truth and wisdom. On both sides the diplomatic forms were strictly observed. The Nuncio was ignorant of the course which the new Pope was likely to adopt with regard to the Republic, which had formerly asked for his recall. On the other hand, the Sacred College, for the same reason, was very reserved, and rather anxious as to the attitude which the former Inquisitor, expelled from its territory, would be likely to take up. In Rome, however, Priuli was able, from his first conversations with the Pope, to see that His Holiness was very favourably disposed as regards Venice.

On the very day of his election, Sixtus V. made some important appointments. He named Cardinal Rusticucci Director of the Prince's Affairs as it was

[1] He was in correspondence with the Grand-Duke and with Ferdinand I. from April 1581 to May 1598.

[2] Grand-Duke to Cardinal de' Medici. Pratolino, May 8, 1585.

[3] Arch. Ven. Espres., May 2, 1585.

then called, of Foreign Affairs as it is now styled, in the place of Cardinal di Como, who was now to retire for good to his beautiful palace (Giraud), or to the Villa Mondragone, which he had bought of Altemps. Rusticucci had already held that important post under Pius V. Alessandrino was appointed to the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. In reinstating him in his functions, which he likewise had filled during the reign of Pius V., the Pope assured him that his intention was to give him all the authority which he had enjoyed during his uncle's pontificate. He allotted to him in the palace the rooms which San Sisto, the nephew of Gregory, had lately occupied. Both these appointments, which were made out of gratitude to the memory of his great benefactor, were also comprehensible, inasmuch as he could not confide the direction of affairs to his grand-nephews, who were both children. Giacomo, Duke of Sora, General of the Church, was confirmed in his command; but the Pope, without giving any explanation, removed Mario Sforza, the Duke's lieutenant. Marquess Altemps, together with the charge of His Holiness' person, was entrusted with the government of the Borgo, and Monsignor San Giorgio with that of Rome. Monsignor Ghislieri filled the Pope's household with creatures of Pius V.[1]

On the morrow the custodians of the capital presented themselves at the Vatican, asking for that which the people do not always get though they ask for it—justice, peace, and abundance. The Pope replied that they should have justice and no famine, as under another

[1] Priuli, April 27, 1586.

Pope. This ill-timed allusion to Gregory was much criticised by those who heard it. He added that, 'to them he recommended the dispensation of justice, that they could depend on his support if they did their duty, and on the severest reprisals if they failed to do so, as he was resolved if necessary to have them beheaded.' The custodians left, paralysed with fear. Even the warmest adherents of the new Pope found these expressions rather too strong for a beginning.

In the official world, the severity of his language was excused by the necessities of his position, which required extreme sternness. Confidence was placed in the good sense and feeling of justice for which Peretti was known. It was not apprehended that he would become a Nero, but it was understood that he was certainly a Draco. His first acts were, however, better appreciated than his first speeches. He removed few people, desirous apparently to know the men with whom he had to deal before forming a government. The great appointments made during the first hours of his reign, because they could not be deferred, all bore the mark of being provisional. No one supposed the Duke of Sora's appointment to be a serious one, nor that of Rusticucci, whose incapacity for business was notorious, nor of Alessandrino, who was vain enough to believe himself to be the chief of the State under the new Pope. He confided this to Santorio, whispering in his ear: 'Do not let us tease the poor old man, for we shall be the masters.' Soon, however, it was seen of what little importance were these people, who had only been placed there to fill up momentarily posts which were

destined to others, and which in the mind of the Holy Father were destined to himself; for from the very first days he transacted all his business with his secretary Azzolini, without the aid of the ministers holding those offices. The old servants of Pius V. were evidently favoured: the Pope knew them, and made use of them until he could select his men according to merit. From the outset he had to struggle against the effects of the prolonged retreat which had kept him away from public affairs. This serious inconvenience is well known in the case of those who return suddenly to public business. They must act because affairs cannot be delayed; but are deprived of aid, and therefore compelled to make use of men whom they have known formerly, but who do not any longer belong to the times—whom it is indispensable to have, since there is nothing else to be had, but whom it will be necessary, though cruel, to send away as soon as something better is found.

In his conversations Sixtus was wont to say that he did not wish to wage war, except if challenged to do so, but that he would organise a crusade against the Mussulmans. This idea had evidently taken possession of his mind since his youth, it may be even since his childhood; for in his family the horrors committed by the Turks on the other side of the Adriatic, which in the preceding century had determined so many Dalmatian families to emigrate, had not been forgotten. Such an idea, however, was not in harmony with the present state of things. The times when Christendom trembled on hearing of the taking of Constantinople, the times even of the battle of Lepanto, were over.

The danger caused by the progress of the Turks still existed; but the state of Europe, which was deeply rent in two by the Reformation, rendered it impossible to think of any expedition in common against the Crescent. This new state of affairs was not sufficiently known to the old monk, rector, inquisitor, and hermit of the villa. In foreign politics he was a novice. The diplomatic envoys at his court soon perceived this, and resolved to turn each to his account that ignorance which was soon to make room for better judgment, thanks to his rare intuition and the vast horizons which from his throne he was enabled to survey.[1]

Among those who, when the Conclave was at an end, had hastened to the Vatican, there to pay homage to the new pontiff, Duke Bracciano had been noticed with astonishment. He had audaciously found his way to the Pope's presence, and was pretty well received. It is said that the Pope gave him a strange look, which said more than the few commonplace observations by which he replied to the protestations of devotion from the assassin of his nephew. Vittoria, on the other hand, got in at Donna Camilla's, who had in vain refused to receive her, but who did so at last, and very ill, crying all the while. The Pope was rather displeased with the boldness of the young woman, but he always preserved a certain degree of affectionate sympathy for her. Might it not be alleged, with some speciousness, that she did not know who had committed the crime?

[1] Olivarès often complains of the Pope's ignorance in this respect. 'Lo poco que el papa entiende en cosas de Estado y el quererlas guiar por su cabeza.' Olivarès to Philip II. 1587.

Yes, if she were looked upon as not being at all quick or intelligent; but, unfortunately, everyone knew she was quite the reverse. The Duke, her husband, obtained a second audience at the request of Medici and Olivarès. His more than cold reception by the Holy Father made him understand that his position in Rome was no longer tenable. He got frightened, fled with all his family during the night; went first to Bracciano, and, not feeling safe there, to Padua; then to Salò, in the territory of the Venetian Republic.[1] During the Conclave, Marcello Accoramboni, one of Vittoria's brothers, and the man whom Orsini had employed to get rid of Francesco, had assembled a number of banditti at Bracciano. They dispersed when they heard of the Duke's flight. They supposed that some great event had taken place.

The state of affairs, it is manifest, was not satisfactory. Energetic measures were called for by such exceptional circumstances. Sixtus V. saw this, and evidently wished from the outset to terrify those who until then had terrified others with impunity. After frightening Rome the day after his election by his speech to the custodians, and having by a mere look alarmed on the following day the audacious and powerful chief of the Orsini in such a manner as to compel him to fly for safety, Sixtus, on the fourth day of his pontificate, performed an act of unprecedented severity. He had prohibited the wearing of arms. Four young brothers, who during the interregnum had served in

[1] 'Questa notte da vedere e non vedere con tutta la casa se n'è andato a Bracciano.'—Babbi to the Grand-Duke, April 27, 1585.

Sforza's band for the maintenance of order in Rome, were returning home, each carrying his arquebuse. They were stopped by the 'bargel,' and summarily condemned to death for having infringed the law against bearing arms. In the evening several cardinals threw themselves at the Pope's feet, reminding him that no execution ever took place before the coronation. The Pontiff was inexorable. On the morrow, two hours after sunset, the four brothers were hanged on the St. Angelo Bridge. This news was received in Rome with that silence which astonishment and horror produce, spreading alarm not only among the malefactors, but also, though wrongly—for they little knew Sixtus V.—terrifying those who had injured him in former times. Among these were the monks of the Holy Apostles, who had shown themselves his bitterest enemies from the first day of his stay among them. 'They hang down their heads,' some one wrote to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, 'are furious with the election, but fear prevents their speaking of it.' The fact is that the Eternal City was in a state of consternation, and was rapidly reassuming the severe aspect of the Rome of Pius V. One look, one word, one act—a terrible one, it is true—had effected this change from the 24th to the 27th of April, that is, in the first four days of the reign of Sixtus the Fifth.

The Pope, however, had appointed governors to the several provinces. Castagna was named to the most important one, that of Bologna; Colonna to the Romagna, Cesi to the Marches, Spinola to Perugia, and Lancellotto to the Campagna. Remembering how

unsatisfactory his finances had been when he was only the poor cardinal, he doubled the 'dish,' making it 200 scudi a month, while to the cardinal-nephews of Gregory XIII., and to a brother of San Sisto, he only granted a pension of 100 scudi. The Roman barons became uneasy. The Sforzas felt that they were not in favour. The dismissal of Mario, and the execution of the four brothers who had worn their colours, were of bad augury.

On Wednesday, May 1, the coronation took place at St. Peter's, with the accustomed pomp, and in presence of a crowd of people, especially from the country. Cardinal de' Medici placed the tiara on the Pontiff's head. Besides the foreign ambassadors (who were all present, except the Spanish, who never went to a ceremony because he would have to give precedence to his French colleague), there were also present the envoys-extraordinary sent by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany to congratulate the new Pontiff, all the members of the Sacred College, the Roman princes, and the high prelates. The Pope was solemnly carried to the Church: the Marquis de Pisany acted as the Pontiff's train-bearer. One of the Japanese princes presented him with the water. To avoid any fighting, Sixtus suppressed the custom of throwing money to the people, and also the banquet to the Roman barons, on account of the dearness of everything. On Sunday, May 5, he took possession of the Lateran. He had spent the night in the Palace of San Marco, which, since the time of Pius IV., had become the residence of the Venetian ambassadors. The next morning, at the break of day, he proceeded

to the Convent of Ara Cœli by the long aërial corridor which still connects the Capitol and the Venetian Palace. It was from this convent that the procession, composed of members of the Sacred College, the ambassadors (excepting, of course, the Spanish),[1] the Japanese princes, the barons, the prelates, and the Papal Court started. Everyone was on horseback, and the head of the procession was already opposite the first basilica of Christendom[2] when its tail was still winding round the declivities of the Capitol. When the ceremonies were over, the Pope gave the blessing from the balcony, sent away his suite, and, accompanied only by Cardinals Alessandrino and Rusticucci, spent the remainder of the day in his old hermitage, in his villa at the Thermæ of Diocletian.

On the 13th he announced the appointments in a consistory called for that purpose, and scandalised Rome as well as the cardinals by giving the purple gown to his grand-nephew Alexander, who was one day to become one of the ornaments of the Sacred College and a Pope-maker, but who was then only a child of fourteen.

[1] This procession is represented in a fresco of the room named after Sixtus V. in the library of the Vatican. The costume of the Japanese is precisely that of those who visited Europe a few years back.

[2] St. Peter's is only the second.

CHAPTER II.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE BANDITTI.

THE increasing severity of the measures to which the new Papal Government had recourse were variously judged. Among the people there was a general outburst of indignation, restrained, however, by the fear of drawing on themselves the resentment of this Government, at once so strong, so well-informed, and so ready to strike.[1]

The corps diplomatique, and the cardinals who maintained a correspondence with foreign sovereigns, though they occasionally criticised the rigour of the Government—though they sometimes, but however seldom, blamed its excesses—fully approved the Pontiff,

[1] This is attested by the *notizie*, as the papers giving the news of the day were called, and which were circulated twice a week in Rome and in the country. The editors of these manuscript papers were called leaders (*menanti*), 'because they lead public opinion,' said the ambassador Michel Suriano; 'but they lead it without thought or discretion.' The Cardinal de' Medici complained of the great number of these papers, calculated to pervert public opinion, and Sixtus V. more than once treated the newsmongers with severity. These notices must not be confounded with the flysheets of the same name, which, as we have already mentioned, were added by the secretaries of the Venetian ambassadors to their official reports. The former were of great importance as contributing to form public opinion, and until of late years, during which the state archives have been opened to research, they were the chief sources of information to historians. These notices give an idea of the consternation and ill-humour of the Roman public during the first days of the reign of Sixtus.

who with an iron hand restored order within his dominions, and diffused the benefits of public security not only in his own capital, but indirectly throughout all Italy. The new Government, in these respects, won the approval of all.

Not only the States of the Church groaned under the terrorism exercised by banditti, but the kingdom of Naples[1] was equally infested by them, though the viceroys displayed extreme rigour in dealing with those who periodically disturbed the public peace. Those who were compromised tried to escape by making their way to the Roman frontier, and thus within a few months after the accession of Sixtus the fugitives arrived in vast numbers. Others retired to the mountains and became outlaws. At Naples, too, the dungeons were filled with political prisoners, and numerous executions took place. These severities, however, remained without effect through the inconsistency and partiality of the Government, the incoherence of its action, and the complete venality of its police. Humble people were hanged, and great personages were allowed to escape, in consideration of a fine. In Naples the viceroys were paralysed by the miserable inefficiency of their officers, and at Madrid by the intrigues of the Neapolitan aristocracy, who were more or less accessory to these disorders, but who were also more or less in favour at Court. Without doubt the government of Naples was very bad, but its worthlessness was even more the fault of

[1] Suriano to the Doge, October 15, 1569. Cardinal de' Medici, April 11, 1585.

circumstances than of the persons by whom it was conducted. Philip IV. hoped to mend matters by frequently changing his agents, but he merely increased the evil.

Central Italy was also far from being tranquil. In Tuscany, Romagna, and the two Marches there were numerous half-independent feudatories of the empire continually at war among themselves and disturbing public tranquillity. They employed in this private warfare the numerous 'fuorusciti' and 'masnadieri,' bandits who were brigaded together under the command of chiefs who sold their aid to the highest bidder, after the manner of the 'condottieri' of old. It was only on the main land, round Venice and in Savoy, that brigandage was comparatively kept down. Everywhere else it was terrible, and in the States of the Church had become intolerable, and even menaced the existence of the Government. In Venetia, Albanian troops, called 'capelletti,' employed especially for this service, seized upon the brigands, though at the same time they occasionally themselves laid violent hands on the peasants.

In Rome murders were committed in broad daylight, and much bloodshed in the streets was caused by the encounters between the young nobles and the sbirri, while bands of 'fuorusciti' drew near to the city and defiantly pitched their tents in the Campagna, half-way between Prima Porta and Ponte Molle, i.e. at the very gates of the city. There was no exaggeration in what Sixtus V. said, towards the end of his reign, to the Duke of Luxembourg, who was deploring the lamentable state of France, 'that he could well believe it, since he

remembered what Rome was during the reign of his predecessor, when neither man nor woman was in safety in their own houses even in the middle of the day.'[1] In short, towards the end of Gregory XIII.'s reign, the Eternal City was in a continual state of terror. Homicide, private revenge, and every kind of disorder had come to be treated as a matter of course. One morning, as the Cardinal Montalto was walking as usual in the streets, accompanied only by a servant, he suddenly found himself in the midst of armed men who were fighting. The head of the sbirri had carried off from the Orsini (Pio) palace, which was always filled with brigands, one of the most notorious of their number. It was an act of necessity, but constituted an infraction of the immunity which the dwellings of the great enjoyed. As he was carrying off his prisoner, they were met by a merry company of young men of condition, Raimondo Orsini, Savelli, Ottavio Rusticucci, Emilio Capizucchi, and others, all on horseback, and followed by their grooms. These all instantly attacked the 'bargel,' and a fight took place in which Rusticucci, some of the Orsini, and, by accident, the Cardinal's servant lost their lives. Montalto himself had great difficulty in gaining refuge in a neighbouring house; the Orsini complained of an infringement of the rights of their order, and fortified themselves in their palaces; their friends did the same. During three days desperate fights took place in the streets and in the courts of the palace, and there were wounded and dying men even within the walls of the Vatican. Cardinal Montalto

[1] Badoer to the Doge, January 13, 1589.

was unable to go to his villa without an escort of fifty soldiers. The unfortunate 'bargel,' however, whose only fault arose from an excess of zeal, though justified by circumstances, had made his escape, well knowing the weakness of the Government. On the demand of the Orsini, however, he was arrested and put to death—a singular way of pacifying the town thus to sacrifice those who were supporting the law! In the meantime the Orsini had given orders to their retainers to arm themselves; and, besides having obtained satisfaction by the execution of the sbirro, they consented to disarm their followers and send away the banditti only after long negotiations and after the intervention of Cardinal de' Medici, who had much influence with the family. The Pope and the inhabitants of Rome had trembled for their lives during three days, the shops and places of public resort had been closed, and the houses of the rich were guarded by soldiers.

A mutual understanding had arisen out of the protection which the barons accorded to the banditti. The 'fuorusciti' enjoyed complete impunity in the country, thanks to the asylum which they found in the barons' castles; and, on the other hand, they were summoned to Rome when the nobles were at war, either among themselves or with the authorities. It was like the worst days of the Middle Ages. Even the commandants of the Papal troops reinforced themselves in the same manner, in order to make a stand against any aggressions on the part of their rivals. This happened in the case of Prosper Colonna, the cardinal's brother, who was on unfriendly terms, as we have seen, with the Baron Giacomo. Thanks, however, to the intervention

of the cardinal, an affray was prevented between them. Though the banditti did not penetrate by force of arms into the city (as it was constantly feared they would), still they carried on their trade there by the same means which the brigands of Naples and Umbria had employed a few years before. There were some extremely audacious *coups-de-main*. The priest Guercino, one of the most dreaded chiefs, who called himself king of the provinces of the Campagna, had suspended the Bishop of Anagni from his functions, and had enjoined on the clergy and on the people that they should recognise only himself, Guercino, as their bishop and their king. He sent a threatening letter to Mgr. Odescalchi, demanding a sum of money. The prelate hastened to Gregory, who caused the bearer of the letter to be seized and put into prison. The prelate then received an intimation from the bandit chief, threatening him with imminent death; whereupon the Pope, at his entreaty, caused the brigand messenger to be set at liberty, and granted pardon to Guercino, with absolution for forty-four homicides. While the pardon was on its way to him he had committed new atrocities, had entered a castle and killed all whom he found there under arms.

Another day the carriage of Mgr. Mario Savelli, the cardinal's brother, was suddenly attacked by four strangers on horseback, and the prelate was killed by an arquebuse. This attack took place between the Porta del Popolo and the Ponte Molle, which was then already the rendezvous of the fashionable world, and at the hour of daily resort, in the midst of a number of carriages and of a crowd of people on foot, without

anyone daring to stop the assailants. The Venetian ambassador wrote: 'The cause of this attack is unknown, but the town is struck with astonishment, owing to the rank of the victim, who is a prelate and a judge; the place, which is one much resorted to, and the hour (it was still daylight), as also because of the fact that Mgr. Mario was in his coach, which is considered equal to being in one's own house.'[1]

The barons had gone back to the manner of olden times. Thus, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope, the Marquis of Ariano, nephew to Cardinal Cesi, left Rome, followed by 150 cavaliers, with the avowed intention of fighting one of the young Aguilars. The Pope detained the father of the latter as hostage; but this did not prevent much loss of life among the followers of these young nobles.

Such was Rome during the last years of Gregory XIII. It is to be explained by the state of the provinces, where the banditti were all-powerful. They could only enter Rome in a disguise, or with safe-conducts, which the Government granted them sometimes in great numbers, hoping thereby to render them inoffensive, an expedient which a Venetian ambassador rightly termed 'slow poison.'[2] The fear which extensively prevailed of a sudden attack on the part of the brigands, and of a new sack of the town, seems to have been but too well founded.

At all times brigandage has held a prominent place in the history of the people of the Latin race. The Italian

[1] Priuli to the Doge, December 22, 1584.

[2] 'Tossicco a termine': the same to the same, April 7, 1584.

brigands of our day, the bandits of the sixteenth century, the 'partidas' of Spain and the 'guerrillas' of Portugal, are distinguished from each other only by their local colouring. They have the same origin, they act in the same way, keep back in quiet times, without entirely disappearing from the scene, and reappear in times of war or internal troubles, when they become a real power, and attempt, like all powers, whether regular or irregular, to avail themselves of some name or cause, or of some principle. They try, in fact, to legitimise with a false appearance of right and justice the war which they wage on society. The doubtful characters among the population are attracted by them; and each village sends its contingent of ruined and worthless men, all, in short, who have reason to fear the arm of the law. In this way relations were established between the people and the banditti, who, miscreants as they were, earned by their bravery and their scorn of danger and of death a character for heroism—qualities which always strike the imagination. The peasants, thoroughly demoralised by fear and self-interest, connived at the deeds of the banditti, even rendering them passive assistance; and, in consequence, the commandants of the forces sent against them lost all means of obtaining information and local help.[1]

[1] As I was travelling through Algarves, in the south of Portugal, in 1842, seven years after the civil war, I saw 3,000 regular troops held in check in the passes of La Sierra de Monchique by about 100 guerrillas, so-called Miguelists, who had become brigands. It was hinted to me that they would respect me in my capacity of foreign diplomatist, and that the only way to travel in safety would be to send my escort away. Similar cases are to be found among the Abruzzi, on the frontiers of Naples and in the environs of Rome. These malefactors always strove to give respecta-

Such is the history of brigandage in all ages. The origin of that which existed at the period of which we are treating may be traced back to the civil wars, to the local quarrels of the free towns and of the petty princes during the two preceding centuries, to the factions which at one time divided the Peninsula into two camps, to the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, and, lastly, to the military system of the 'condottieri.' Guelphs and Ghibelines were now of the past; there were no more free towns, nor petty tyrants exercising an absolute power which might be escaped by stepping across the frontier of their petty dominions, and there were no more 'condottieri.' Italy was the first country, after Spain, which adopted the ideas and forms of a modern State; but the memories of the past were not entirely effaced. Traditions were still extant of those periods —periods of violence, it is true, but also of liberty, a lost liberty which was still mourned, and which seemed to be defended by the bandit chiefs when they made war on established authority. These were the recollections invoked by the feudatories when they disturbed public peace by their personal quarrels. They were aided by the banditti, who were not only recruited in the country, as we have just seen, but in the towns also, and often among the higher classes, while their numbers were increased by malcontents, debtors, and many who were exiled for deeds of violence. Owing to these traditions and recollections, the bandit was not branded in public opinion with the same dishonour

bility to their trade by assuming the cloak of politics, and wearing the colours of a party long after they had ceased to serve it by regular means.

which we, with our ideas, attach to a revolt against society. He was feared, pursued, and sent to the scaffold when caught; but he was not irrevocably dishonoured. At the most he was considered as an erring member of society, who could return to its bosom, and frequently did so, and obtained not only the sovereign's pardon, but sometimes even his favour, for he might occupy a great office either in the Government at home or abroad. Thus Ludovico Orsini, banished from Rome for a deed of vendetta, after having led for many years the life of a 'fuoruscito,' entered the service of Venice, like many of his ancestors, and obtained the important post of Governor of Corfu. Giovanni Battista, Signor del Monte[1] of the family of Julius III., formerly lieutenant-general of the Flemish light cavalry, solicited for his brother (through the ambassador Priuli) a command in the service of the Republic. This brother, to whom several imperial fiefs belonged, declared himself ready to go either to Candia or elsewhere, and offered to raise nearly 2,000 foot-soldiers on his own estates. He had been banished for an act which the Venetian ambassador considered somewhat extraordinary. This is the account he wrote of him to the Doge:—'This young man, of a very spirited and earnest character, was at variance with the authorities of Cività-Castellana. Fearing neither them nor any one in the town, he entered it in broad day, with eight bandit chiefs and 200 men; took possession of it, and put his enemies to death—a fate the Podestà would equally have shared had he not made his escape. If,' con-

[1] Priuli to the Doge, December 22, 1584.

tinued the ambassador, who considered this a spirited young man and the act a remarkable one, but blamed neither,—'if your Serenity prefers to treat with him indirectly, I can offer the services of my brothers, to whom he shall make himself known.' Thus deeds of violence were not considered a dishonour. The nobles ran the risk indeed of having their heads cut off on a scaffold hung with black, but they generally escaped being taken. The alternative was exile, and that naturally led to brigandage. If the exiled were a person of distinction, he put himself at the head of a party, and could depend on the support of the members of his family and on an asylum in their castles; then if he became tired of the trade, he could fall back on the pardon of his sovereign. He could also take service in France, in Spain, or in Venice. The States of the Church swarmed with large and small bands, who laid waste the country, though not nearly to the same extent as the regular troops; for the banditti were better disciplined, better clothed, better fed, and they spared the rural population when they wanted their help; while the soldiers belonging to the Duke of Sora, to Prosper Colonna, to Mario Sforza, were the terror of the peasantry, who called them slaughterers (*amazzatori*). Thus the defenders of public peace were more dreaded than its disturbers.

During the last years of Gregory XIII., the number of banditti who infested St. Peter's territory varied from 12,000 to 27,000, a number which equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the regular troops in the service of the Italian princes. The most considerable were those

of Alphonso Piccolomini, of Lambert Malatesta, and of the priest Guercino.

Alphonso Piccolomini, Duke of Montemarciano, of a noble Siennese family, and illustrious through one of its members, Pius II., had become in the reign of Gregory the real master of the Papal States. He used to enter them either from Pienza, which belonged to him, or from Pitigliano, where he was under the protection of his near kinsfolk, the Orsini. Sometimes he made descents on Rome, at others he indulged in raids on the Romagna and the two Marches. These movements were made with the rapidity of lightning. He almost always beat the troops sent against him, or, when he was worsted, he skilfully contrived to escape. He would then re-appear when he was least expected. One day he totally defeated, near Cattolica, 5,000 Papal troops with 200 men; another time he took a stronghold with only 100 or 150 followers, put the garrison to death, and returned in safety.[1]

He wore his hair long, and the expression of his face struck terror. Many stories are told of his deeds, and, as he treated the peasants generally with kindness, he was almost as much loved and admired as he was feared by them. This highway hero was the terror of Gregory. He had announced his intention of entering Rome, putting the Signor Giacomo to death, and not leaving the place till he had been reinstated by the Pope in his confiscated possessions. He had several nobles belonging to the first families with him, who introduced the ways and

[1] He was hung in 1591 by order of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany.

customs together with the opulence of high station into their brigand life. They paid ready money for all they wanted, and their presence gave credit to the rumours that a political enterprise, supported by foreign money, had been undertaken against the Holy See. Much astonishment was justly felt at the scandalous inactivity of the Duke of Urbino, and still more at that of the Grand-Duke, who remained both of them deaf to the demands of the Court of Rome for assistance. Viela Orsini de Pitigliano made no secret of supporting his kinsman Alphonso. The only satisfaction which the complaint of the Pope gained from these three lay in vague excuses from Francis, while the Duke of Urbino sent an agent to try and exculpate himself on the score of weakness. Viela's excuse was that he could not be expected to be stronger than His Holiness.

The Venetian ambassador then interposed, but with no better success. It was openly said at Rome that the Italian princes saw with pleasure the difficulties of the Holy Father; and that they treated him with such little consideration because they had nothing to hope from him and were in no way afraid of him. Gregory, however, did not remain inactive. He formed a commission, consisting of some cardinals and of the Signor Giacomo, for the purpose of directing the movements of the troops; and, to add strength to his side, he adopted a most culpable expedient. He took into his service another bandit, one of the Baglione di Peruggia, a mortal enemy of Piccolomini. Thus bandits were seen fighting side by side with the Papal troops—truly a deplorable sight! At last an arrangement was made

by the Cardinal de' Medici, who had a hand in everything. The Pope, though he would not restore Piccolomini's confiscated property, compromised matters by granting a pension to his sisters; he took the price off his head, but would not revoke his banishment. The cardinal by his influence got the sentence of excommunication removed, and the celebrated bandit quitted for some time the theatre of his crimes.[1]

Piccolomini indeed had disappeared, but his place was instantly filled by other chiefs, and, at the time of Gregory's death, these miscreants held their heads high in both Rome and the provinces. The very existence of the State was menaced by this calamity; for, evidently, the remedies used to cure it were insufficient, and the Government was accused by the Romans of feebleness and improvidence. In truth, it did not shine either by its energy or its intelligence, and it could be justly reproached with having allowed brigandage to assume inordinate proportions; but, then, great evils yield only to energetic measures, which imply qualities and resources in those that use them which Gregory certainly did not possess. As we have already seen, the banditti were not looked upon in the same light as ordinary criminals, and they could count, to a certain extent, on the sympathy of the people. The great employed them for their own ends, and the

[1] The *notizie* and manuscripts of the time are filled with accounts of the ravages committed by the banditti, and of the miserable state of the Papal territory. As it would have been impossible to verify the accuracy of all these data, I have kept exclusively to the authentic information given by the Venetian ambassador.

Governments even held them in reserve for certain contingencies. This is sufficiently proved by the conduct of the Grand-Duke Francis. They had taken root in the country, favoured by these circumstances, and formed, so to say, an element in public life. Hence, to attack them seriously, and give up all idea of making a compromise with them, was in public opinion a chimerical enterprise; to make war on them to the knife—to extirpate them, in fact—was considered by public men dangerous in the highest degree. They feared great misfortunes from this policy, and a general rising in Italy, which was already so full of disturbing elements, and at Rome, at least, danger to the Pope's temporal power.

On the other hand, what would happen to the Holy See and to the Catholic religion itself if the Supreme Pontiff were forced to seek safety in flight, and abandon the Eternal City to the bands which were so evidently in the pay of unknown but powerful hands? Where could the head of the Church take refuge? At Avignon? There he would be menaced by the Huguenots. At the Court of the feeble Henry III.? In Germany, which was herself as agitated, and exposed to greater commotion? Should he beg an asylum from Philip II., become a good Spaniard, and give up his authority, his dignity, his independence into the hands of this Catholic and zealous monarch?

These were the questions which occupied the minds of everyone, and which we have seen repeated in more modern times. But it was necessary to do something at once, for if sharp and energetic measures were not

taken against these enemies of society, they would, in all probability, take matters into their own hands and march on Rome.

Yet, when the state of the Government and country was considered, it seemed impossible to find an outlet from the difficulties; for in such critical times it seems better to do nothing, to live from day to day as it were; to rely, in short, on Providence, as both Governments and individuals are apt to do when they find themselves surrounded by difficulties created by their own improvidence and weakness. This was the case with Gregory. Sixtus V. acted very differently.

He began with that which was most urgent; namely, the driving of the banditti away from the gates of Rome; for they were there always, intercepting all communications, stopping the posts and robbing the messengers of the ambassadors. He increased the number of troops, and Prosper Colonna, having fallen ill, gave up the command to the cardinal, his brother. The field was at once taken against the banditti, who were driven back towards the frontiers of Naples. Great numbers of them were slain; amongst others, the priest Guercino. After this success, the town councils of the small towns took courage and joined their efforts to those of the cardinal, with such good effect that before the end of the year the Campagna of Rome was freed from this scourge.

The Signor Giacomo Buoncompagni, being considered wanting in vigour by the Pope, was disgraced, and nominally replaced in his command as General of the Holy Church by young Michel Peretti. He

escaped a more severe treatment by flight, and through his intimate connection with the Sforza family.

Neither did Mgr. San-Giorgio, the Governor of Rome, seem to Sixtus to be equal to his work. His place was given to Mgr. Pierbenedetti, who had long been intimate with Frà Felice, and he introduced a rule of terror which might be justified by the exigencies of the case, but which was considered by serious men, and indeed was, a grievous necessity. A number of Draconian sentences were pronounced against astrologers, fortune-tellers, card-sharpers, and blasphemers, against those who wrote indecent words or sentences on walls, against those who carried arms after sunset in the district allotted to the courtesans, and against those who afforded a refuge for banditti instead of giving them up alive or dead into the hands of the authorities. In one of these edicts all ecclesiastics are commanded to resume the tonsure and the dress of their order. The newsmongers (*menanti*) were menaced with death if they divulged anything which ought to remain secret or which was prejudicial to the honour of any private person. It appears, however, that capital punishment was, with few exceptions, enforced only in cases of homicide, and then with due legal forms, which were summary enough it is true.

Impunity could no longer be claimed from birth, position, connexions, or the ecclesiastical state. Some young nobles of the best families (amongst others, Virginio Orsini, Ascanio Sforza, and Marco Antonio Incoronati) had ventured to place cats' heads on pikes on the bridge of St. Angelo, in allusion to the numerous

executions of the new reign. They were immediately arrested, and everyone expected that they would pay for this rash jest with their lives; they came off, however, with the fright. Robert d'Altemps, a natural son of the cardinal of the same name, had carried off a young girl of the house of the Signor Frangipani. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the cardinal, he was shut up in Fort St. Angelo, and kept there for four months, during which time he lay under the sentence of death, which he had incurred according to the law. This affair made much noise, even abroad, and the Sacred College resented the offence received by one of its members. It was impossible to discover what the Pope intended to do with the young man, and he only released him at last out of consideration for Count Hohenembs, his uncle, who came all the way from Germany to try to obtain his release.

Cardinal Guastavillani was put under arrest for disobedience. When the Cardinal de' Medici intervened in his favour, the Pope's answer was, 'We are much surprised at your tone. We intend to be obeyed here in Rome by all, as we expect afterwards to be obeyed by the princes.'

In a quarrel between two grooms of the Cardinal Sforza, some blood was shed, and the culprits made their escape. The Pope then commanded the cardinal (who hid himself) to give up his servants, threatening him with imprisonment in Fort St. Angelo if he did not obey. These measures created great discontent among the cardinals, but few dared show it. The only persons who openly complained were the Cardinals

de' Medici and Farnese, and they felt secure, owing to their connections with the Courts of Florence and Parma. Farnese avoided, however, all intercourse with the Pope, and when he was obliged to go to the Vatican, people said he looked as if he were going to execution. Savello never appeared at the palace; he remained in retirement at Frascati, and attended neither the consistories nor the ceremonies of the Church.

More than forty years before, a parricide had been committed by Count Attilio Baschi of Bologna. The Pope ordered an inquiry to be made, and the Count, being found guilty, was executed. Captain Fossombrone, who had been an accomplice of Ludovico Orsini in the murder of Vicenzo Vitelli, was hanged, after having been tortured. Many other criminals, forgotten for many years, were indicted before the tribunals.

The public revenged themselves for these severe measures by putting the following dialogue into the mouths of St. Peter and St. Paul, whose beautiful statues are still at the entrance of the bridge of St. Angelo. St. Paul asked St. Peter 'why he carried a sack on his back?' 'Because,' answered St. Peter, 'I am going off, for fear of being judged for having cut off Malchus' ear.'

Nicolino Azzolino, captain of the pontifical guards, was executed for having wounded an ensign belonging to his company. Even his near relationship with the Cardinal Azzolino, the Pope's faithful friend and former secretary, could not save him. An incident which Cardinal d'Este considered at once serious and ridiculous, took place at the time of the special embassy of

Count Daun de Zimbern and of Dr. Curtius, who were sent by the Emperor to yield obedience to the Pope, which means to compliment him on his accession. One of their 'staffieri' (an armed footman), having been surprised in the courtesans' quarter with his sword, was imprisoned, and, according to orders, received three blows with the lash. The ambassadors were loudly indignant at this insult. Count Zimbern wished to leave immediately, and was only kept back with great difficulty by his colleague, Dr. Curtius. It is true that the Governor of Rome hastened to apologise, but the ambassadors insisted that he should be punished. Their discontent was further increased by what Sixtus said on this occasion. 'He would do nothing in the matter,' wrote the Cardinal d'Este to M. de Villeroy; 'and had one of the ambassadors even been found in the same situation, he would have received the same punishment; and were the Emperor himself even at Rome, he would have to obey the laws laid down by His Holiness.' These are the words which the Pope used to his nephew, jesting as he usually did after supper with seven or eight of his intimates. They repeated this speech when they left, and it was soon spread through the whole of Rome. An inquiry was appointed, and the imperial ambassadors received a sort of half satisfaction. However, a much more important event marked the first months of the reign of Sixtus.

The Pepoli of Bologna were one of the first families of Upper Italy, and their chief, Count Giovanni, who was already advanced in years, enjoyed great and

apparently well-merited esteem. Some bandit having taken refuge in one of his castles, the papal legate demanded his immediate extradition. This Pepoli refused, on the grounds that his castle was a fief of the empire. On hearing this, the legate sent some sbirri to carry off the bandit by force, but they failed in this attempt and were driven back by the Count's retainers. When the news reached the Cardinal, he had Pepoli himself arrested—a bold act, which might have led to serious disturbances, considering the feeling which then prevailed at Bologna. The Pope, however, approved of the Cardinal's conduct, and charged the Count, under pain of death and confiscation of his property, to deliver up the bandit. It was in vain that the Duke of Ferrara and the Cardinal d'Este, both nearly connected with the Pepoli, employed every means to save their friend. The Holy Father remained inexorable. He answered 'he had set Count Giovanni at liberty when he had been imprisoned in Rome during the preceding reign precisely for his connexion with the banditti, and as this noble had so soon fallen again into the same fault, he had decided to let justice take her course.' D'Este then hastened to dispatch a messenger to Bologna to inform the Count of his danger, and entreat him to comply with the Pope's demands. But the old nobleman remained unshaken in his resolution, and even irritated the Pope further by claiming the protection of the Emperor, and imprudently wrote (in a letter which was intercepted) 'he hoped soon to be out of the hands of this monkish tyrant.' He was condemned to death and strangled in prison, and his property, which was

worth more than sixteen million dollars a year, was confiscated. He was mourned by everyone at Bologna, where he was universally beloved; but though the indignation caused by his death was so great, no one dared show it openly, and the town remained quiet, notwithstanding the proverbial turbulence of its inhabitants, their fear getting the better of their anger. Many of the nobles, however, who had not clear consciences, fled from their palaces and took refuge in the territories of the neighbouring princes; a great number went especially into the Republic of Venice. This severity was, at Rome, considered excessive. With feelings of grief and anger Cardinal d'Este thus wrote to M. de Villeroy: 'Everyone who knew this excellent nobleman and what has happened, feels horrified; and both learned and ignorant are agreed in saying that it is manifest injustice.' That, however, was not the opinion of everyone. Babbi, the Tuscan secretary, merely says: 'It is necessary with the Pope not only to weigh each word one says, but also to keep a sharp look-out;[1] he is difficult to please in everything, but he never does wrong to anyone.' The Venetian ambassador wrote thus to the Doge: 'The nobles, who are subjects of the Church, will leave the country as much as they can when they see this severity and the little respect paid to them; but, on the other hand, it is believed that this severity will be very useful to the public peace, for everyone will be warned that

[1] The French saying is 'Have one's hands in one's pockets,' in the sense of having them ready for use, that is, on the look-out; but it may be that in Italian the saying is 'aver gli occhi alle mani,' which has no equivalent in French.—Note by Translator.

he must live sensibly and show deference and respect to his prince.'

This fearful act of severity, which was, however, but strict justice, as Pepoli was a subject of the Pope and had legally incurred the penalty of death, was also an act of great boldness, considering the state of Bologna, as we have said; but still more so considering the state of Italy and the connexion which seemed formed between some of the chiefs of the great bands and the French Huguenots. But all these dangers the Pope braved, and struck that decisive blow which produced so deep an impression not only in Italy but also in other countries. He had scarcely been four months on the throne before Europe had learnt to know his indomitable energy.

As he did not consider that a class is dishonoured because some of its members are punished when they have become unworthy of belonging to it, he did not deal more leniently with the ecclesiastic or the monk than he had dealt with the cardinal or the baron.

A friar, having imposed upon the credulity of many devout persons by causing an image of St. Mary to work miracles, was marched from one end of the Corso to the other and then flogged. A Franciscan, guilty of several crimes, was hanged on the bridge of St. Angelo; two brothers of the Transpontine order were sent to the galleys. An ecclesiastic, Don Annibal Capello, one of the newsmongers who had been the most decried, was cruelly executed on the bridge of

St. Angelo, after having been degraded at San Salvatore, in Lauro. Before he expired on the gibbet he had his hands and his tongue cut off. A list of his crimes was written up on a board, stating that he had during many years spread about false news, calumniated people of all ranks, insulted the worship of saints by exhibiting obscene statuettes, and corresponded with heretical princes.

A mother who had sold her daughter's honour was hanged on the bridge of St. Angelo, and the girl was forced to witness the execution, dressed in rich clothes given her by her seducer, who had taken flight. 'This was a blamable sight and act,' wrote the Venetian ambassador, 'which much displeased the town.' An impostor, who called himself a relation of the Cardinal Guastavillani, and who had sold false bulls in Spain, expiated his crime on a gilded gibbet.

Rome looked on in silence at these executions. Only Marforio and Pasquino, those two old statues that are still to be seen at the Capitol and at the corner of the Braschi Palace, kept their freedom of speech. Marforio always asks, and Pasquino always answers. The witty, often cutting, sayings which were ascribed to them amused the public, who took their revenge in this way on the severities of the Government. The name of Sixtus V. acted like a spell on the lower orders. All that passers-by had to do in a street quarrel, in order at once to separate the combatants, was to call out, 'Remember that Sixtus the Fifth reigns!' and mothers quieted their children by saying to them, 'Hush! Sixtus is passing by!'

CHAPTER III.

MEASURES TAKEN BY SIXTUS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF BRIGANDAGE.

THE POPE had no sooner entered the Lateran, an act by which the pontiffs take official possession of their powers, than he called the attention of the ambassadors of Germany, of Spain, of Venice, and of the Grand-Duke to the great question of brigandage. Peremptory orders, written in the same sense, were forwarded to the several nuncios. Sixtus addressed himself personally to his friend and former protector Francis, whose co-operation, owing to the geographical position of their States, and when it was a question of re-establishing order in Italy, was of the highest importance. 'Help me,' he wrote with his own hand,[1] 'to find out these brigands, who, to the misfortune of the people and the shame of the Holy See, lay the country waste.'

The good intelligence between the Grand-Duke and the Doge was a powerful guarantee of security for Italy. Such had already been the opinion of Gregory XIII.[2] Sixtus V. adopted the views of his predecessor in this

[1] Sixtus V. to the Grand-Duke Francis. May 11, 1585. Autograph letter.

[2] Paolo Teipolo. 1576.

respect, and hastened to obtain a better understanding between the two Governments than was often the case. He recommended Francis to give a good reception to the Venetian envoys who were sent to Rome to congratulate him, and who had to pass through Tuscany. The Venetians having been the objects of much attention in Florence, the Pope expressed his gratitude to the Grand-Duke, and hinted, at the same time, at the advantages of a close union between the three States,—'a necessary union,' he said to Alberti, 'and one which constitutes the object of all my solicitude; for it would paralyse the efforts of any enemy against one or the other of the three States; while their not harmonising with one another might occasion the most fatal results.'[1] To dissipate the clouds which were for ever appearing on the Grand-Duke's horizon, and darkened even the still wider circle of the Republic of Venice, seemed to him to be a task of the utmost importance. When Cardinal Cornaro, an enlightened and conciliatory man, was about to return to his diocese of Padua, the Pope commissioned him to see the Grand-Duke, and Bianca Capello, his wife, on passing through Florence, and to make them understand all the advantages of a cordial understanding with their powerful neighbours; but, while holding such language, to appear as if he spoke of his own accord, and not to put the Pope's name forward, so that, in the event of not succeeding, his supreme authority should not be compromised. The Cardinal did as he was bid,[2] and, thanks to these

[1] Alberti to the Grand-Duke, November 12, 1585.
[2] Arch. of Ven. Espos. May 22, 1586.

constant efforts, the difficulties which had subsisted between Venice and Tuscany lost much of their gravity.

The King of Spain had promised to help in the suppression of brigandage. The Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino were equally well disposed to favour this end; but at Venice, where there was, however, no lack of goodwill, the question offered many serious difficulties, as affecting a principle which the Republic had for years maintained, that of giving an asylum to every proscribed subject. Whoever set foot on the territory looked upon himself as saved. There was no inquiry into the causes which had led to the exile, nor was there yet at that time any distinction between ordinary crimes and political misdemeanours. The Republic afforded its powerful protection to every refugee, whoever he might be. It was clear that as long as the Republic maintained its right of giving hospitality to everyone without distinction, the evil could not be remedied. The Pope therefore asked, through his nuncio, that a public declaration should be made in the senate to the effect that henceforth every man out of the pale of the law, or banished by the Pontifical Government, should not be received in the town or continent of Venice. He offered to do as much with regard to the Venetian outlaws. It was indirectly proposing an extradition treaty—that is, introducing into international law a principle which was unknown up to that time, and contrary to the political traditions of the Republic. These overtures were not favourably met. The nuncio obtained nothing, and the Pope was obliged to enter into personal negotiations with the

Ambassador Pisany. 'What I want,' said he,[1] 'is that people should live in peace in the States of the Church, and the best means of obtaining this end will be to deprive the evil-doers of any chance of escape. Every prince in Italy and His Catholic Majesty have given me the assurance that they will refuse them an entrance into their territories; I trust the Doge will do as much, otherwise I shall question his good-will towards me. It is sufficient that an order in this sense should be published. I shall not object to these men being enlisted in the service of the Republic, and sent either to Candia, or Corfu, or other distant country, but not to Dalmatia, whence they could easily return to my States. As to the lords and gentlemen of my States, I do not object to their being well received by the Doge; but when it is a question of the respect due to the Holy See, which must have more weight in the eyes of the Republic than a mere individual, I cannot believe, nor does it appear to me right, that the Republic should favour rebels. I hope that during my reign this will not occur; but should it do so, provided the case is not an extreme one, a line sent to me through the ambassador will be sufficient, albeit that the general declaration has been published.'

These fresh propositions, which were moderate in tone, and more in harmony than were the first with the ideas and customs of the Venetians, met with the approbation of the Republic, which endeavoured to reconcile the question of principle with the Pontiff's requests.

[1] Priuli to the Doge, August 31, 1585.

A concordat was signed, by the terms of which the Republic engaged not to admit on its territory those who should be expelled from the Roman States by Sixtus V., and henceforth her co-operation was never found to be wanting. Eight months after these first steps, the Pope could flatter himself that he had obtained great results. He told the Envoy Grilli that the King of Spain had written to congratulate him, and with good cause, since the banditti had at one time formed a regular army, which, in concert with the Turks or the Huguenots, could have done a deal of mischief.[1] In almost each of his interviews with the ambassador he recurs to the subject. Sometimes he merely confined himself to the most striking misdeeds, at others spoke of the minutest acts of brigandage. He deplored the weakness and inaction of the governors appointed by his predecessor, thanked the Republic for its useful co-operation, and, by making it a witness of his indefatigable energy in the repression of that crime, excited the same active zeal on its part.

Some of these intimate conversations were, however, at times a little stormy. 'So their Venetian lordships,' he once said to Gritti, looking at him fixedly with a sarcastic smile, 'wish to make a Venetian nobleman of Garzetta?[2] For goodness' sake beg of them to deliver him up to us.' Then he enumerated his grievances at length, recalled all those which the Republic had against Gregory XIII., pointing out, on the other hand, how gracious he had been towards it, but ever and

[1] G. Gritti to the Doge, April 19, 1586.
[2] The same to the same, June 6, 1587.

anon referring to the brigand who had been condemned to death, pardoned through the intervention of the Duke of Ferrara, and only sent to the galleys when he should have been executed. In fact, the Pope wanted his extradition, in order to hang him. 'Were you to ask for our nephew, Cardinal Montalto, supposing he had committed Garzetta's crime, we would hand him over to you,' he exclaimed. Thus it was that, to attain his end, he alternately got angry and gentle, praised and blamed, without, however, ever showing that his sympathies were not for the Republic, nor his wish otherwise than to agree with her. Neither the Senate nor the ambassador doubted the Holy Father's perfect sincerity, and, notwithstanding these wranglings, and other such little difficulties, the relations between Rome and Venice were, and ever remained, on a good footing.

This was not the case as regards the Grand-Duke. Quite a coldness had succeeded the intimacy which formerly existed. Francis had reasons for not pursuing the brigands. In time of war they might prove useful allies to him; and in any case, if he spared them, he secured his States from their attacks. Deaf to the entreaties of Gregory XIII., who had vainly asked for his co-operation, and replying evasively to all his entreaties, he intended to do the same with Sixtus V., who, on that account, was exceedingly displeased. This equivocal conduct paralysed the effects of his proceedings. To be likened to his predecessor seemed to him as a kind of further outrage. It was sufficient to fire him with anger.

Since Piccolomini had been disposed of, Lamberto Malatesta was undoubtedly the most formidable chief of the brigands. He belonged to the illustrious family which formerly at Rimini had reigned almost as sovereign princes. He ravaged the Romagna, Umbria, the Marches. His audacity was equalled only by his successes, by the terror which he spread among the population, and by the defeats he inflicted on the Pontifical arms. Not content with ransacking the country, he attacked and took fortified castles. One night he dared to scale the walls of Imola, one of the most important towns of the Romagna. His basis of operations was Tuscany. Like Piccolomini, he found security there, good winter-quarters, and whatever he needed to revictual and recruit his men. Sixtus V., furious at so criminal a tolerance, protested incessantly at Florence, either through his Nuncio, or through the medium of Alberti, the Tuscan envoy in Rome. Not only did the former not succeed, but he was actually badly treated. Francis first rendered himself inaccessible, then made him wait for several hours, and altogether showed him, by his conduct, that he was resolved not to act. Cardinal de' Medici, having refused to interfere with his brother, the Pope had recourse to an extreme measure. He wrote himself to the Grand-Duke,[1] 'I am in the greatest perplexity, and do not know whether I shall be able to write to your Highness what I have to say, having received so

[1] March 10, 1587; May 8, 1587; June 27, 1587. Alberti to the Grand-Duke, March 10, 1587.

much kindness from you, not only in my present position, but at a time when I occupied a more humble station. If I ever trusted a living man, I may say my hope now rests in you alone. And yet you tolerate that Lamberto Malatesta, a man who has been discarded by the Holy Church, should levy men in your States, to the detriment of mine. You are witness of the fact, and you say nothing; while I, not to be wanting in the respect which I owe you, am obliged to tolerate this to my shame, and to become thus the object of public ridicule. I have authorised your Highness by a brief to pursue the banditti even upon the territories of the Church. Grant me at least the equivalent favour. I beg you to answer me—to act so that this man shall not increase his forces, and that our neighbours may not any longer laugh at us.'

On the same day a Consistory was held. The Pope denounced Malatesta's proceedings, and complained in most vehement terms of the conduct of Francis, to whom he had shown so much affection, and who repaid him so ill. More than forty cardinals and prelates had heard these words. They soon were rumoured in Rome, and produced a certain sensation. On leaving the Consistory, Sixtus sent Cardinal Lancelloti to Monsignor Alberti, to inform him that if Malatesta was not at once given up to him, he would have recourse to coercive measures. If he could be believed, he was resolved to go to war with Tuscany. On the eve of this occasion, at supper with his intimate friends, he had already let out hints of this nature. It was a

regular storm, and while the Tuscan agents admitted that all that the Pope said when he was angry or in conversation with his friends was not to be taken for granted, they nevertheless advised their master not to prolong his resistance. Alberti had an interview with the Pontiff, and implored of him to make his complaints known at Florence either through himself or his own Nuncio, but not through the medium of the public.

The Grand-Duke did what he was asked to do with a good grace. Malatesta was arrested and sent to Rome. Meanwhile the Pope wrote to the Tuscan prince to recommend that, as a measure of precaution, Malatesta should be made to swallow an antidote, so as to prevent his poisoning himself on the way. Sixtus V. believed that Malatesta had brought a poison with him from France, which he always carried about his person. The reasons why the Pope attached so much importance to his being handed over to him alive were founded on certain intercepted letters, which showed that he was in political relations with Marshal Lesdiguières.

The arrival of Malatesta in Rome was the signal for many to leave who feared that his revelations might compromise them. This showed how numerous were the allies he had managed to secure, as well as how vast were his designs. It would seem that he had conceived nothing short of the invasion of Italy by Protestant princes, with the object of destroying the Papacy. Malatesta was to co-operate with his gang of men. Was Sixtus V. well informed? Did the avowals of Malatesta justify these apprehensions? We know not. The suit against him lasted six weeks, and ended

by his being condemned.[1] Out of consideration for the family, or because he was found to be less of a criminal than had been believed, he was only decapitated. The Pope, satisfied, resumed his good relations with Francis, wrote him an affectionate letter assuring him of his friendship, and sent him word through Monsignor Alberti, that 'he loved him always as much as and more than any other Prince.'

Autumn of the year 1587 had come. Two years and some months only had passed since Sixtus had been made a Pope, and already he could say that brigandage had ceased. The preceding winter he had complained to M. de Pisany[2] that 7,000 only out of 27,000 of these miscreants had been punished; but now he looked back with pleasure and compared Rome under Gregory XIII. with what it was under himself.

Pisany, speaking to him on one occasion of the misfortunes of his country, said, 'My sovereign is a great king, a very Christian and a courageous man, who could not but be jealous if he saw that your Holiness approved of his Catholic and Huguenot subjects forming separate parties in the kingdom, and entering into engagements with foreign elements merely

[1] Sixtus wrote to the Grand-Duke on May 8, 1587: 'Acciochè si possa intendere che intelligenza era la sua con Lesdiguières.' The minutes of the suit, which I have not been able to discover, would be valuable if they actually showed that there was a secret intelligence between the banditti and the Huguenots. The Pope was convinced of it, and the events which succeeded one another, such as the banditti invading Rome, recruiting in Tuscany, and corresponding with the party of action abroad, must strike the observer.—Gritti, 1587. Pisany, 1585.

[2] Pisany to Henry III., March 24, 1587.

to serve their own ambition and interests under the pretext of religion. He could not tolerate what your Holiness would not permit his own subjects to do, viz., to arm and concert with the foreigner.' 'He did not show himself displeased,' writes Pisany; 'he said I was right, and told me that he had well weighed all the remarks I had made. Naming all his principal subjects who, by their credit or power, might be capable of injuring the State, he added, "There is not one of those whom, if he dared shelter one single man whom I should suspect in the least, I would hesitate to behead; much less could I endure his arming and compromising the safety of the realm."'

Talking with Cardinal de Joyeuse, Sixtus said, 'Two things are necessary—severity and plenty of money.' 'And then,' writes that cardinal, 'the Pope made a long speech, showing how necessary it is for a prince to be feared and dreaded, not only by his own subjects, but by strangers; never to allow anyone, either far or near, to boast over one; and adding, in self-commendation, that, on his elevation to the throne, he had found the Pope's authority much diminished in Rome itself, as well as in the rest of Italy, but that he had raised it; that the Italian princes had then little good feeling existing among themselves, nor much respect for the Vicar of Christ; that the principal families in Rome were in feud with each other, all being agreed, however, in not caring what the Pope might do to, or think of, them; that the whole of the Ecclesiastical State was overrun by proscribed malefactors from other States; but that in a very short time he had compelled the most important

to submit, and had dispersed or exterminated the brigands.'[1]

The Pope was not saying too much. In Rome, as in the provinces, he had revived the respect for the law. While raising the authority of his government, he had procured a renewed peace and tranquillity in the States, and to his subjects a prosperity unknown under his predecessor. By means which, it is true, are repugnant to our present feelings, and which even then could only be justified by the requirements of an extreme case, he had succeeded in tranquillising the good and in frightening the wicked. His severities visited the latter, but never the peaceful citizens. He was not a sovereign who believes his authority to be in danger because his subjects are impatient to get rid of him, and who on that account has recourse to exceptional measures. His enemies were those of society in general—outlaws who had committed crimes, and not political refugees: they were brigands who paralysed the action of Government, demoralised the people, stopped all commercial enterprise, and who, in the hands of foreigners, of Huguenots, Protestant princes, or Turks, might become the instruments of his fall. They had already grown into a power incompatible with his own, and one which it was necessary to attack by every means at his command, to fight seriously, and conquer at any cost. As for the generality of his subjects, they had no idea of depriving the papacy of its temporal power, or of giving themselves another sovereign. Such theories were not then current in the

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III. 1587.

minds of the Romans, and Sixtus V., when he began his reign with such severe measures, meant to protect his subjects as well as himself against the attacks of a common enemy, and by no means to keep them by force under a rule which no one disputed. When, at the death of the Duke of Parma, Cardinal Farnese requested leave to levy men on the Pontifical territory to maintain the Parmesans in their obedience to Duke Alexander, he at once refused, saying, 'that States were to be maintained by gentleness and affection, not by force and violence.'[1]

[1] Pisany to Villeroy, September 7, 1586.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POPE AND THE FRENCH KING.

SOON after his accession, Sixtus resolved to replace his Nuncio in Paris, Monsignor Bergamo, by the Archbishop of Nazareth.[1] Acting according to established usage, he warned the French ambassador, who, either from want of experience or thoughtlessness, did not leave the acceptance of the choice to his sovereign, but seemed, either by speech or by his silence, to approve of the selection made. Monsignor Fabio Mirto Frangipani, Archbishop of Nazareth, had passed through a long and honourable career. He had grown old in the service of the State. Formerly Pope's Nuncio at the court of Charles IX., and governor of several im-

[1] Lorenzo Priuli to the Doge, July 27, 1585. Arch. Ven. Disp. Rome, fil. 19.—Giovanni Gritti to the Doge, April 4, 1587. *Ibid.* fil. 21.—Olivarès to Philip II., June 12, 1585. Arch. Simancas, *S. de E.* Rome, leg. 946.—The same to the same, July 30, 1585. *Ibid.*—Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, June 14 and 16, 1585. Bibl. Imp. Paris, Coll. Harlay, 288.—Cardinal d'Este to Henry III., July 30, 1585. *Ibid.*—The same to the same, August 3, 1585. *Ibid.*—Henry III. to Cardinal d'Este, August 17, 1585. *Ibid.*—Henry III. to Cardinal d'Este, same date. *Ibid.*—Villeroy to Cardinal d'Este, October 1, 1585. *Ibid.*—Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, February 25, 1586. *Ibid.*—Villeroy to Cardinal d'Este, June 24, 1586. *Ibid.*—Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, August 12, 1586. *Ibid.*—The same to the same, August 25, 1586. *Ibid.*—Pisany to Henry III., Sept. 17, 1586. *Ibid.*—Pisany to Villeroy, November 18, 1586. *Ibid.*—Pisany to Henry III., April 7, 1587. *Ibid.*—Cardinal de' Medici to the Grand-Duke, May 21, 1585. Arch. Flor. fil. 5119.

portant provinces, he was looked upon as one of the most distinguished members of the high clergy. But he had been unfortunate enough to displease Cardinal de' Medici. The latter was so hostile to him that, immediately after the election, he had entreated Sixtus V. never to employ him; but the Pope replied that his conscience did not allow of his depriving himself of the advice of so enlightened a man, especially at a time when men of capabilities were scarce.

Medici did not hold himself beaten. He threw himself at the feet of Cardinal d'Este, and supplicated him to interfere so as to prevent an appointment which he feared. Being a Neapolitan by birth, and therefore a subject of Philip II., intimately connected with the members of the Spanish faction in the Sacred College, specially protected by Olivarès, Rusticucci, and the Farnese, no wonder Monsignor Frangipani was little acceptable to the Cardinal Protector of France, to whom his appointment to Paris was as displeasing as it was to Medici. To decide Pisany to withdraw the tacit or explicit adhesion which he had given, D'Este assured him that he himself had heard the Cardinal once say, that the only means of saving France was to make the Duke of Guise king. This was quite enough, as may be conceived, to fire the ambassador of Henry III. with indignation. He therefore joined issue with Cardinal d'Este, but their joint intervention only indisposed Sixtus V. against them. To calm him, they at last both offered to write themselves to the King of France, and showed him their letters, which were intended to do away with the objections which His Majesty might

raise against the new Nuncio. The Pope praised their conduct, warning them at the same time not to write other letters in a contrary sense. He made them responsible, he said, for the difficulties which Nazareth might meet with in the fulfilment of his mission; and, if the slightest annoyance was offered to his ambassador, he would refuse them any further audience. Meanwhile he ordered the archbishop to return at once if the slightest obstacle was placed in his way to France.

On the other hand, the Archbishop of Nazareth had a rather sharp explanation with Cardinal d'Este. He retorted upon him the accusations with which he had been visited, recalled to his memory their common stay in France, their intimate conversations, and how the Cardinal then seemed to entertain that combination in favour of the Guises with which he was now reproaching him. He asked him why he had not then informed the King against him—in fact he defended himself as best he could. Cardinal de' Medici vainly recalled the fact that, in the time of Julius III., when people were so frequently prosecuted for heresy, Nazareth had been had up before the Inquisition. The Pope maintained his nomination, and the archbishop started for his new post.

Cardinal d'Este was all the more mortified that every one knew of his endeavours to prevent his departure. It was known that the French cardinal had failed, and that the Holy Father had disregarded his opinion respecting the choice of the new Nuncio. D'Este saw that his authority was as much compromised in Rome as in Paris, and in his displeasure demeaned himself to an act

unworthy of him, but which passion and fear, those bad counsellors, impelled him to commit. He caused the letters which the Pope had seen to be followed by others, of a more secret nature and conceived in an opposite sense, begging of the King not to receive Monsignor Nazareth at once, but to protest against his nomination, on the ground of his former intimate relations with the chiefs of the League.

On arriving at Lyons, the Nuncio found letters from the King, enjoining him not to proceed further for the present. M. de Pisany was entrusted with the painful duty of informing the Pope.

This envoy had, as was seen, hailed with enthusiastic pleasure the accession of Sixtus. He believed himself called to exercise a preponderating influence over the Pontiff, and had made known to his Court the hopes which he entertained, but which were only illusory. Such illusions are more frequent than is generally believed in diplomatists who are to deal with a new sovereign. When Governments are newly born, out of a victorious enterprise or out of a regular rotation of established institutions, as is the case in Rome, they ever shed around them, whatever difficulties attend them, an atmosphere of youth and freshness, which, while it excites hope, opens a brilliant future to the ambitious. It is the honeymoon of the latter. All who are connected with the Government are confident in the future; they live from day to day, ask nothing of power but what it can give in the shape of rejoicings, and leave all trouble for the morrow. Nothing is so dangerous for diplomatic agents as to allow themselves

to be seized by this malady; nothing, however, is more difficult to avoid. Let them well weigh the state in which the newly-born Governments find themselves. Still somewhat surprised at their own existence, not prepared to face the exigencies of the moment, without any fixed ideas as to the course which they should follow in foreign matters, they must gain time, and therefore avoid all hazardous topics. This state of things often creates a false sense of security. Anxious not to displease anyone, they smile upon everyone, and meet the advances which are wrongly made to them at the outset by tokens of a commonplace kindliness which often delude, but do not deceive men of sense. Cleverness, experience, habit of the world, knowledge of affairs, are not always sufficient to secure a man against the fatal effects of new Courts. Even Cardinal d'Este was not proof against them; Medici and Pisany were greatly blinded by them.

John of Vivona,[1] called De Torettes, Lord of St. Gouard, Marquis of Pisany, Knight of the King's Orders, Colonel of the Italian Light Cavalry, Seneschal of Saintonge, recently appointed ambassador of the Very Christian King to the Court of Rome, where he had arrived during the interregnum, was a loyal and brave man, a true knight of the old style, quick, punctilious, ever ready to draw his sword, intelligent, and devoted to his master. Stephen Pasquier praises him greatly. He calls him 'one of the wisest men we have ever given breath to in France, of whom I can say, as a man who saw it (for I had the honour of seeing him frequently),

[1] Moréri, *Dictionnaire Historique.*

that he never drank either water or wine or any other liquor, just as the man who lived without drinking, but indulging instead in fruit, of which he was very fond and took much.' His house—the Lanti Palace, near St. Eustache, which was then the property of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and where he lived with his wife, a Savella—was the rendezvous of the flower of the young Roman nobility. High play was carried on, greatly to the disgust of the Pope, who, however, would not allow the Governor to interfere with the privileges of an ambassador. After the death of Henry III., Pisany rallied to the new Government, went back to the army as colonel of light cavalry, and died in Rome as the ambassador of Henry IV. His ingenuousness could not be altogether ascribed to his century or to the military turn of his mind. Thus, on one occasion, the Pope asked for the extradition of a brigand in order to execute him. The marquis recommends M. de Villeroy 'to gratify the wish of His Holiness, provided it be no one whom His Majesty has any affection for, or can render him any good service.'[1] Complaining of the conduct of the Duke of Nevers, he accuses him, in a letter to the King,[2] of having said 'that your Majesty is pusillanimous and incapable of governing;' promising if he got near him 'to be as wanting in respect to him as he saw that he was wanting in it towards the King.' Then he added: 'The Duke intends to leave this place in ten or twelve days, and will be soon followed by the Cardinal de Vendôme.

[1] Pisany to Villeroy, Sept. 9, 1585.
[2] Pisany to Henry III., June 7, 1585.

If your Majesty would give orders for them to be arrested on their return, it would, I think, be easy, and a good thing, to teach them to be wiser.' On another occasion, being ill in bed, he regrets that he cannot get up to punish with his own hand some insubordinate attaché.

From the moment of his arrival Cardinal d'Este had taken possession of Pisany. The first months all went well. The representative of Henry III. enjoyed the little favours with which the Pope overwhelmed him. Thus Gregory XIII. had suppressed the intervention of ambassadors of great Powers in the ceremonies at St. Peter or in the Sistine Chapel. At the request of Pisany Sixtus V. rescinded this order. At all times there had been difficulties as to precedence between the Spanish and French ambassadors. The Pope decided in favour of the latter, following in this the example of Pius IV. Pisany attached the greatest importance to this, and believed his authority henceforth to be most solid and for ever ensured.

Before informing the Pope of the royal injunction by which the progress of the Archbishop of Nazareth had been stopped, the ambassador took care to communicate to him another piece of news which could not but please him—that of the peace which had been signed by the treaty of Nemours between the King and the League. This communication once made, the ambassador hinted at the protest of his sovereign against the appointment of the new Nuncio. Sixtus replied that as to the treaty of Nemours he reserved his opinion, as he was not yet acquainted with its conditions; but

as regards the Archbishop of Nazareth, he requested him to inform the King that he was much distressed at the treatment of which he had been the subject, and never would have believed that a king supposed to be Christian could so far violate the right of nations in the person of a representative of the Holy See. When M. de Pisany referred to the intimacy of the Nuncio with the Duke of Guise, the Pope stopped him and said, 'You surprise me. How! when peace is made between your king and the duke, and they have become friends, their subjects should be suspicious of one another!' On the following day Cardinal de Rambouillet went to the Pope to avert the storm which was impending, but obtained nothing. Without completely exonerating Cardinal d'Este, the Pope complained especially of the ambassador, and with justice accused Medici of being the instigator of the intrigue.

Letters from the Nuncio relating what had passed, and announcing his immediate return, having been received on the following day, the Pope ordered the French ambassador to leave Rome within four-and-twenty hours, and the Pontifical States within six days. He gave Count Olivarès himself all the details of this affair, because he knew, he said, that he was speaking to a statesman who would give his Government a faithful account of it. The Spanish ambassador, while admitting the Pontiff's grievances, begged of him, however, as a statesman, and certain that in doing so he would be approved by his master, to allow this incident to be settled amicably.

The Venetian ambassador likewise proffered his good

offices, on his own authority at first, and afterwards by express order of the Republic, which was much alarmed at this commencement of a rupture between France and the Holy See.

As for M. de Pisany, the order fell upon him like a thunderbolt. He at once went to Tivoli, where Cardinal d'Este was laid up with the gout. Several cardinals had in vain interceded with the Pope, who was inexorable. Behind his anger, however, it was clear that, while wishing to assert his rights, the Pope did not wish to break altogether with the French King, who, in the mind of Sixtus, however unable to do good, that is to extirpate heresy from his States, was always able to do harm, by seeking the aid of the Huguenots against the Guise, should the latter, which was very possible, notwithstanding the lately signed peace, take up arms afresh. Indignant as he appeared to be, the Pope did not lose sight of these important considerations. He also depended upon the penury in which Henry III. was at that time, and which was so great that he had been obliged to make the most pressing demands in Rome to obtain authorization for the alienation of some church property. This calculation in the mind of the Pope did not escape the sagacity of D'Este. He therefore requested Pisany to await at Tivoli the issue of his negotiation, started for Rome, and was at once received in audience by the Pope.

Again the Pope tried to spare the person of the King. 'His Majesty,' said he, 'has been deceived. The fault is that of the ambassador, and he must suffer for it. He it is who, having accepted the new Nuncio,

changed his mind, embittered matters by his letters, and is the cause of the evil.' The Cardinal defended Pisany. 'To tell the truth to one's sovereign is not to do mischief; it is a praiseworthy act, not one deserving of censure; but not to do so, on the contrary, is a punishable act. Besides, were even an ambassador to have committed a grievous error, it must be his own sovereign who punishes him. Thus to treat ambassadors is to offend their sovereigns, and from such offences to powerful sovereigns irreparable inconveniences arise. The like occurs when they are not respected in the person of their representatives.' The Pope scarcely allowed the Cardinal to speak, but again attacked the ambassador; not the King, 'whom he likes, and will help if His Majesty decides upon waging war against the Huguenots. If, at the outset of his pontificate, he were to endure such insults, everyone would chide him and treat him as they had treated Pope Gregory. If the late Pope had not tolerated such proceedings, he, Sixtus the Fifth, would not have been so insolently treated.' Having exhausted every argument, the Cardinal betook himself to entreaties; but could only obtain that Pisany should remain at Tivoli, under the formal injunction not to enter Rome. Such a concession could not be accepted with dignity, and, on the advice of the Cardinal, the embassy left for Lucca, July 30, 1585, where it awaited the orders of its Government, which were not long coming, and which bade him return to France. Pisany was in despair. 'This,' he wrote to M. de Villeroy, 'is exceedingly vexatious to me, and if I were at all in fault, I should have died of grief, believing

myself to be the most unfortunate man in existence to have brought that mission to that unlucky end, albeit leaving the whole in the hands and to the judgment of God.'

The endeavours of the Cardinal Protector of France had been fruitless. The Cardinal trembled at the notion that the Pope would bring the matter before the Consistory. He feared that its approval of the dismissal of the ambassador, or even the silence of the Assembly, would make the evil worse. Nothing of this occurred, however, whether because Sixtus V. listened to the entreaties of many members of the Sacred College, who implored him not to embitter the quarrel, or whether he acted of his own accord.

The Cardinal, angry at having gone too far, and obliged to advise the King, was in a cruel state of perplexity. No one knew better than he did how deplorable was the state of Henry III.'s affairs; no one better knew his character, or the danger there was to Catholicism if he appealed to the Huguenots to combat the League, or to the latter to fight the Huguenots. It was either exposing France to the perils of heresy, or placing her at the mercy of Spain. In this dilemma D'Este advised prudence, which meant submission to the Pope's will. To this cruel extremity was this generally enlightened man reduced, because, wishing in Rome to neutralise the influence of Spain, he had got his sovereign into a pass from which he could not get out except by retreating. He advised prudence, but with infinite oratorical precautions, dexterously avoiding to wound the susceptibility or self-esteem of the King

'He confides in the wisdom of his Very Christian Majesty, who with his habitual prudence will be able to judge how hard it is on the one hand to bear an insult, and on the other to break with the Pope at such a time, and will weigh these matters, keeping an eye on the state of his present affairs.'

Happily Sixtus V. was not desirous of breaking altogether with France. He had written a letter to the King, which had been taken by a confidential hand, to explain matters, while he maintained the dismissal of Pisany. In another letter he called Henry III. King of Christendom, of which flattering title D'Este knew how to take advantage with Henry. Meanwhile he showed himself disposed to help him, as regards church property, to the amount of two millions, hoping that such property would not be sold, but authorising the sale to that amount.

On the other hand the King resolved to be patient, but deeply felt the insult which had been offered to him. 'My uncle,' he wrote to the Cardinal on August 17, 1585, 'I wish to open my heart to you on the subject of the insult offered to me in Rome, and must tell you that I am obliged, greatly to my regret, to dissemble rather more than I would wish, owing to the state in which my affairs are, and the declaration I have made against the Huguenots in my kingdom. I never would have believed that our Holy Father the Pope could have so forgotten himself as to insult me in the person of my ambassador.' Matters went no further. Cardinal d'Este succeeded in calming the irritation of the two sovereigns, both of whom con-

sidered themselves outraged, and were both desirous to make it up—the King because he was compelled to seek for support everywhere, and the Pope because he correctly guessed how matters were with the King, whose weakness filled him with fear. He did not object to profit by such weakness, but he was afraid that the Huguenots would derive a greater advantage from it, or that it would even more benefit the King of Navarre, the enemies of Catholicism, or those who, like the King of Spain and the Guises, defended religion on political grounds. To do this was contrary to his instincts rather than his views, which were not altogether settled. Under such circumstances a reconciliation was possible. Cardinal d'Este worked at it incessantly. After parleying for several months, it was agreed that the Archbishop of Nazareth should be received in Paris, and that M. de Pisany should return as ambassador to Rome. The Pope insisted, however, on the Duke of Luxemburg, who had been sent to make the act of submission, being received before the ambassador.

This point of etiquette kept everything in suspense. So-called strong-minded people, who are generally the reverse, despise and ridicule the dictates of etiquette, because they do not know that etiquette, with its numberless symbolical formulæ, is the safeguard of international rights, often obtained at the price of blood; that it maintains certain given positions; prevents any indirect return to matters which have been settled, and facilitates the daily intercourse between individuals and between States. Etiquette exists everywhere. Both great and small must submit to it. It is

a necessary element of civilised life. Ridicule lies in its exaggeration. The Pope was not familiar with questions of protocols; but his great common sense told him that if he allowed M. de Pisany to take precedence over the Duke of Luxemburg, it would be an apology from him to the King and the diplomatist whom he had treated so unceremoniously. The latter, who had been away for a time from his embassy, would be taking full possession of it by right, as if returning from leave. But if he came after M. de Luxemburg, then it was the latter who renewed relations, and M. de Pisany continued them after the Duke's departure.

Cardinal d'Este took much trouble to obtain the precedence for Pisany. He at last succeeded, owing to a stratagem, as well as to the Pope's ignorance of such matters. 'Unable,' he wrote to Villeroy, 'to conquer the Pope's objections by good and convincing reasoning, I had recourse to an argument which is not well founded. As he is not well versed on the subject, it served me better than the rest. I maintained that the act of submission could not be made by an ambassador-extraordinary without the ambassador-ordinary being present. He replied that I might present and assist the ambassador-extraordinary; but I replied that, as a cardinal, I must be in my place, and that such a thing had never occurred.' Things which have never been done being impossible in Rome, the Holy Father at last agreed that he would receive M. de Pisany before M. de Luxemburg.

Another question relative to etiquette had caused the Cardinal many a sleepless night, so zealous was he

in the defence of the honour and very weak prestige of his royal cousin.

The Pope had received at dinner, besides Count Olivarès, the Duke of Frias, who had been sent to Rome by Philip II. to make act of submission. On the Cardinal asking the same favour for the French ambassador, he was met by objections. 'Dinner,' it was said, 'was given accidentally to the Spaniards, and owing to the rain which was falling heavily.' At last the dinner was also granted to the French; and thus the Cardinal, who had committed the great blunder of setting the two Courts at variance, had the feeble merit of reconciling them, both availing themselves with pleasure of the opportunity, provided their susceptibilities were not offended. M. de Pisany and the Duke of Luxemburg, who had orders to await at Bologna the summons of Cardinal d'Este, and not to proceed unless it was settled that Pisany was to be received first, arrived at the villa of Pope Julius, and was received by young Michel Peretti, whom the Holy Father had sent to meet them. They then made their solemn entry, 'with a deal of firing from Fort St. Angelo,' at the very time that the whole town was assisting at the transfer of the Obelisk to the Piazza of St. Peter. Conducted to the Sala Reggia, Sixtus V. admitted them to the ceremony of kissing feet, received the King's letters from their own hands, and invited them to his table, being 'exceedingly attentive to them during the whole of dinner.' When the repast was over he kept them half an hour more, saying 'that he was exceedingly sorry for the troubles in France,

blaming those who caused them, even unto nearly breaking the good intelligence which existed between them.' Cardinal d'Este, who was ill with fever, could not assist at the act of reconciliation. On the morrow M. de Pisany was the first to be received in private audience, and resumed his functions. He had become prudent almost against his will, and could scarcely contain his ardent nature when dealing with that terrible old man, who could get into such a passion, but also forget heartily, which is rarely the case, the blows he had himself inflicted. This second embassy, as the reader will see, was, for much graver motives, to end as abruptly as the first. Meanwhile M. de Pisany had become the advocate of good relations, and the fear with which Sixtus inspired him sometimes appears in his correspondence. Giving an account, some time later, of the Pope's illness, he wrote to M. de Villeroy, 'He does all he can for himself and will not surrender, but eats stoutly his wine soup daily, and will not give it up for anybody. I am quite sure that on the sly our French cardinals are preparing; but we must take care that this does not come to his ear, for he never would forgive it, and, if he suspected me, he would be for throwing me out of the window.'

The Archbishop of Nazareth, who was the innocent cause of all these quarrels, was but a short time Nuncio in Paris. He died the following year, 1587, universally regretted. The news of his death distressed both the people and the political world of Rome. Henry III. had conceived a great liking for him, and had a magnificent funeral ordered. During thirty-nine years'

service in the highest posts, he had always shown the example of voluntary poverty. Sufficient money was not found in his house wherewith to pay the expenses of his burial or to send home his servants.

The Very Christian King had not alone felt the severity of the new Pontiff. The Catholic King was not better treated in the person of his highest subjects. The Duke of Terranuova, who was the Governor of Milan, had caused a seat to be raised for his own use in the cathedral of the town, as high as that of the archbishop. The Pope ordered the seat to be pulled down by force, threatening the Governor at the same time with excommunication if he resisted. It was with great difficulty that the Spanish cardinals obtained that the affair should be handed over to the Congregation of the Bishops.

During a season of famine the Viceroy of Naples had prohibited the exportation of corn grown on Neapolitan soil, but belonging to inhabitants of Beneventum, within the Pontifical limits. Informed of the fact, the Pope at once complained to Olivarès, and declared that, unless the prohibition were removed within a given time, which he fixed himself, the Viceroy would be excommunicated. The latter prevented the storm by hastening to obey the summons of the impetuous Pontiff.[1]

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, August 29, 1585. Lorenzo Priuli to the Doge, August 31, 1585. When he had told him that the Viceroy, from fear of being excommunicated, had announced his submission by a special messenger, Priuli adds: 'Ognuno procura di proceder con gran rispetto vedendosi tanto risoluta Sua Santità in farsi portar rispetto, ch' ognuno dubita, che anco per cose legieri si possa incorrer in disordine d' im-

With the exception of diplomatic quarrels between Rome and Florence with respect to Malatesta, almost all the facts we have narrated took place nearly at the same time, three or four months after the election of the Pope. While Rome was subject to the first effects of the severity of the new *régime*, which were intended to give her security in the future, but which terrified before reassuring her, the almost forgotten murder of Francesco Peretti was brought back to the recollection of the public by the arrest, for common misdemeanour, of a former servant of Duke Bracciano. This individual, who was put to the rack, made certain confessions which greatly compromised the Duke. Donna Camilla, who had never ceased to mourn over the death of her son and to ask that the culprit might be brought to justice, availed herself of this circumstance to urge her brother again to try and obtain the extradition of Paolo Giordano Orsini, who was then living at Salò, on the Lake of Garda, upon Venetian territory. Sixtus V. spoke of it to the Venetian envoys. He confessed how he disliked recurring to this affair, having as a cardinal placed the matter in the hands of God; but, as he was called upon to administer justice severely, he could not allow an atrocious crime to be committed without punishment. On the other hand, he entertained a great repugnance to appear as if he were satisfying a personal revenge. He had caused the papers to be brought to him which related to the

portanza, tanto più che questo negozio di haver scacciato l' ambasciador di Francia, riuscitole così bene, lo farà anco più animoso e più risoluto nel suo proposito.'

murder, and which had been deposited in Fort St. Angelo. When he saw them he burst into tears, and said he would neither know nor hear anything. Finally, giving way to the prayers of his sister, he insinuated that Marcello Accoramboni, the principal culprit next to Paolo Giordano, the news of whose death had just been received, should be tried, not for the murder of Francesco, but for a homicide committed in a public bath at Padua. The Senate refused absolutely. Marcello was brought before the tribunals, whose answer was, 'We cannot reconsider a case that has been judged. The concordat which has been agreed to between us only refers to individuals expelled by Sixtus not being allowed to enter Venetian territory, and does not, therefore, affect Marcello, since he was exiled under Gregory. In this case, however, and to mark its respect for the Holy Father, the Senate is prepared to make an exception. Marcello will be arrested, brought before the Council of Ten, sent to the prison of Padua, thence to be handed over, at the Pope's request, to the Pontifical authorities.' After much hesitation Sixtus V. accepted this offer. Marcello was taken to Ancona, his trial was revised, and himself condemned to death, in November 1586.

Meanwhile, Duke Bracciano, who for some time past had been suffering from a wound in the leg, died at Salò,[1] in the arms of his wife, whom he adored to the last, and whom he constituted heiress to the greater part of his fortune. The news of his death produced a painful sensation in Rome, where the great noblemen of the

[1] November, 1585.

land are well considered if they can wear their titles with honour, and are dear to the people, who share the glory that attaches to their name.[1] The faults which had tarnished his life were forgotten, but the liberality and amiable character of Signor Paolo Giordano were recollected. In Madrid also, many persons, and among them Cardinal Granvella, regretted him.[2] He had left Vittoria alone at Salò, exposed to the jealousy of the Orsini, and especially of Ludovico, then at Venice, and on the point of starting to take the command of the island of Corfu. Informed by a letter from the young widow, Ludovico arrived at once; treated her most shamefully, and obliged her, which she did with gentleness and resignation, to give him all the jewellery and precious objects which were in the house. Alarmed, and foreseeing what her fate would be, she fled to Padua, claimed the protection of Venice, and, being reduced almost to poverty, wrote to the uncle of her first husband to ask for help. Sixtus, who was much moved, and had always had a weakness for her, had not time to answer her request. He soon learnt her tragic end. During the night of December 21 and 22, some twenty men, armed and masked, scaled the walls of the Cavalli Palace, which she inhabited with her brothers Marcello and Flaminio and a few attendants. Another band of masked men surrounded the house. The murderers entered the room of Flaminio, wounded him first, then pursued him into the next room, where he had fled, and finished him off with their swords

[1] Babbi to the Grand-Duke, Nov. 1585.
[2] Vincenzo Gradenijo to the Doge. Madrid, January 10, 1585.

and arquebuses. Vittoria had been to communion in the morning. She was saying her evening prayer when the assassins appeared at the threshold of her room. When she saw them she did not ask that her life might be spared, but prayed for a few moments only to collect herself, and recommend her soul to God. The ruffians refused, and killed her with their daggers. Her brother Marcello had fled. The assassins, after looking for him all over the house and even on the roof, left, and recommended the servants to take care of the effects belonging to the victim. On hearing of this crime, the Senate sent to Padua an 'avogador' of the communes, who had orders to search for the murderers, in concert with the rectors of the town, and to apprehend them. As the most serious suspicions were entertained as regards Ludovico Orsini, the commissioner of the Republic had instructions to seize him, even by force if necessary. On the following morning Orsini, who had been cited to appear before the rectors, instead of obeying, fortified himself in the Contarini Palace, outside the town, on the other bank of the Brenta, near the convent of St. Austin. Here shots were fired, and there were dead and wounded on both sides. At last the 'avogador' brought up two guns, which soon brought down an angle of the palace, burying in the fall three of the principal culprits, Count Francesco Montemolino, Col. Lorenzo dei Nobili di Fermo, and Oliverotta Paulucci. Orsini, who had hoped to prolong his resistance until the evening, when he could have escaped during the night, saw that resistance was useless, and gave himself up

as a prisoner. He sent his ring to his followers, thirty-three armed men, and recommended that they should give themselves up too. The house was then occupied and searched. Some of the banditti were taken, and, among bloodstained daggers and arquebuses, a silver tank with the arms of Medici was found, which had belonged to Donna Isabella of Tuscany, and afterwards to Vittoria Accoramboni. Both these women had been murdered by Orsinis, the one by her husband, the other by the near relative of the latter. This cup served as evidence in the summary trial which Ludovico underwent. The Doge requested Priuli to communicate the preceding details to Sixtus V., and to inform him that, to satisfy public justice and dignity, both of which had been outraged by a functionary of the State in one of the first towns and fortified places of the Republic, it had been decided that he should lose his life, albeit with all the regard due to his illustrious family, many members of which had rendered good service to the State. Three days after his capture, Ludovico was strangled in the prison of the Government palace, and his accomplices were executed the next day, without ceremony, on the public place of Padua.

The Pope praised the energy with which the Republic had gone to work on this occasion. He complimented the Venetian ambassador, adding, however, 'I hope that in future the Republic will be careful not to admit into its pay men of such bad repute. It will have no lack of good subjects as long as it remains in good intelligence with the Lord God, who sends to good princes legions of angels, and one angel alone can

do more than all the men together.' In Rome the numerous friends of Ludovico Orsini regretted his death.

Thus ended the tragedy, as it was called, of Vittoria Accoramboni, the most captivating woman, according to contemporary writers, that Italy had ever produced. Was she criminal? Was she innocent? It is not our province to judge. We are writing the life of Sixtus the Fifth, and not that of the beautiful and unfortunate wife of his nephew. We must leave to the lawyers who from generation to generation examine her case the painful task of deciding as to her guilt, or to poets the sympathetic care of renewing the flowers round her tomb. For ourselves we will not throw a stone at that strange beauty who with her favours spread death around her, who herself was killed by those who hated her because she was too much loved, redeeming by her Christian and heroic death the scandals of her romantic existence. She was ever amiable and ever loved, even loving, for 'love spares not those who inspire it.'[1] This tragedy is but one of the numerous examples, though a remarkable one, of what men dared do in Italy at that time. It shows the evil in relief, the danger which civilisation ran of falling into barbarism and of perishing in bloodshed, as well as the urgency which existed of finding a remedy. Salvation could come only out of extreme measures, called for by the state of things, which was itself extreme, not to say desperate.

[1] 'Amor, ch' a null' amato amar perdona.'—DANTE, *Infer.* canto v.

We have seen that Sixtus V. did not hesitate to undertake this arduous task. To re-establish the authority of the law, so as to give security to Rome, to her States, and indirectly to Italy, he had to display an incredible degree of energy, to have recourse to measures of terrible, even cruel, severity; but he had only punished the guilty—at least those who were so according to the law. In punishing the enemies of society, he hoped to win the sympathy and the gratitude of the peaceful citizens. The results which he obtained in a few months were surprising. In April he had ascended the throne. We have shown in what state the Papal dominions were at that time. In August matters had already taken another turn. Two years later they were altogether changed. Order reigned in the capital and in the other towns. The country was free from the scourge of banditti. These had been either killed or dispersed.

For the first time for many years people breathed freely. They were not alternately ransomed by the disturbers of peace and those who were sent to restore it. Sixtus had also on that account become the idol of the peasantry, though he was the bugbear of Rome. With his marvellous insight he had at once ascertained the seat of the evil.

He understood that order in Rome was possible only if the barons could no longer depend upon the help of the banditti around the city, and that these could only be exterminated when the barons ceased to receive them in their country houses, or the reigning princes of Italy upon their territory. It would have been use-

less, and a waste of strength as well as increasing the evil, to enter on a campaign against the brigands without previously conquering the opposition of the aristocracy—without bringing the Italian Governments not only to withdraw their protection, but even to join their efforts to his in the suppression of brigandage.

The aristocracy must submit; those among them who resisted, and were the most important, must be made examples of, while the Italian princes must be compelled to co-operate in the war of extermination which he contemplated. Such an undertaking supposed not only an intimate understanding between his Government and theirs, but also good relations between them. Two campaigns at the same time were therefore to be opened—the one against the opposition which his authority met with in Rome, the other against the brigands, who at that time were masters of his own States. Besides these two campaigns, he had to carry on a third—a diplomatic one—the object of which was to obtain the co-operation of the Italian Governments, of the Republic of Venice, of the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany, and of the King of Spain as King of Naples and Duke of Milan. In order that such co-operation might be of use, it was necessary that good harmony should exist between Venice and Rome, and that harmony had long been broken.

Such was his programme. The reader has seen how he set to work to accomplish it. The banditti were exterminated without mercy. The aristocracy was warned by the execution of Pepoli that any opposition might be fatal; so was the Sacred College, by

the treatment to which the Cardinal Camerière and others were subjected; the King of Spain by the declared impending excommunication of his highest representatives in Italy; the King of France by the dismissal of his ambassador. There arose hatreds which were kept down, and recriminations to which no vent was given; but all submitted, and the murmurs of those who had suffered were drowned in the applause with which the whole of Europe greeted him. Europe applauded, as men always applaud, the spectacle of force employed successfully, and within legal limits, in the service of society. The natural enemies of the Pope—the chiefs of the Protestant Reformation—were among his greatest admirers. Henry of Navarre was one, and Queen Elizabeth, on being solicited by her ministers to choose a husband, was wont to reply with a smile, 'I know of but one man who is worthy of my hand, and that man is Sixtus V.'

PART THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE 'MONTI.'

'SEVERITY and accumulation of riches'—such were, according to Sixtus V., the indispensable elements of a good Government; and by severity he meant public order, and by riches order in the finances. Thanks to such a system he had restored in his States, not only the respect for the law, but also his temporal authority. With the help of the millions which he accumulated, he soon became one of the richest princes in Europe, if it be true that he is the richest who, better than any other, can at any time dispose of the money which is required by the exigencies of the moment, or to accomplish his purposes. It is certain that if the immense territories of Philip II. be compared with the insignificant dimensions of the States of the Church, the King of Spain was, as Sixtus V. was wont to say, an elephant, and he himself a fly. But Philip's coffers were always empty, while those of the Pope were always full. Whenever the galleons, loaded with all the treasures of the new world, delayed their arrival at Seville, Madrid was at

bay, while the Pope was separated from his fortune only by the short distance which divides the Vatican from the Mole of Hadrian. The Emperor, the Archdukes, Henry III. were always in a chronic state of want of money; and, excepting the Republic of St. Mark, all the princes of Italy were very much less well off than the Roman sovereign. With a few millions of gold in hand, Sixtus V. was the richest sovereign of the day: not that he had many more resources than the others, for, on the contrary, he had less; but he had more ready money whenever he required it, and always more than enough at any time. So situated, a man becomes a privileged being, to whom the imagination of the people lends a power which partakes of the supernatural, and before which everyone bows his head, either through envy or vague hopes, but generally because of that magic and indescribable charm which the aspect of gold produces, as well as because we are ready to bear with the prestige of power, and to be intoxicated by its influence. Sixtus V. knew this, and used loudly to proclaim that 'a king without money is nobody.' When speaking to diplomatists, to cardinals, or foreigners, he was fond of referring to his riches. In doing this there was a political object as well as a personal gratification. He wished it to be known that he was rich, and intended to remain such—that he meant to increase his wealth, and especially not to jeopardise it by an imprudent expenditure. He would have squandered his riches, and with them his power, had he, as he was suspected at one time, conceived any ambitious plans such as those

for which Pope Caraffa had so dearly paid, or in subsidising Catholic princes who, in his mind, were not equal to their mission. Whenever he promised a subsidy, it was always with the understanding that the sums granted should only be discharged under certain circumstances, and after certain results obtained. If there was no success, he closed the credit account. For him to give money, there must be some accomplished fact. Thus he acted with the King of Spain on the occasion of his armaments against England, and with the Duke of Savoy, when, through the opposition of France, that prince was obliged to defer his attack upon Geneva. He used to say so to the Cardinal de Joyeuse, whenever he importuned him with requests in favour of Henry III., for whom Sixtus V. entertained simply a feeling of pity. The letters of the French cardinal are filled with reports of his audiences in which the Pope was lavish of good advice, but took care never to give money, which would pass into the hands of the King's favourites. 'Whereupon,' writes the Cardinal,[1] 'he again talked of his money, saying he had money and wished everyone to know it; that many who witnessed his accumulation of it said that he entertained some great design, or wished to wage war; the truth being that he wished to go to war with no one, unless obliged; that the money he collected was to help the Christian princes, and especially your Majesty; but that he would think much before lending you any, and that

[1] September 7, 1587. Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, February 25, 1586.

the project for which the money had been asked by your Majesty must be in good progress.' On another occasion the Cardinal and Marquis de Pisany attended the Pope's audience, together with a financial man sent by the King. It was again a question of asking for help. Sixtus treated them very ill. 'The Pope,' wrote Joyeuse,[1] 'made an answer which was very unworthy of his Holiness, of your Majesty, and of the importance of the affair in transaction, and I am very glad that another, and not I, has to communicate it to you. The more we argued, the more he replied unsatisfactorily, so that we had to change the subject, in order not to leave him in so bad a way and go off ourselves in anger, for which he gave us many opportunities. The cause of so strange a reply was the request which Signor Mario and I made for money (which, owing to his closeness, he is disinclined to part with), reminding him that he had promised to help your Majesty as soon as he should note some success. In fine, sire, so it is, and I beg most humbly that your Majesty will no longer depend upon it. For while I do not believe that he will ever give you monetary help, I think, also, that as long as he believes that your Majesty is likely to need it from him, he will speak too unworthily of your affairs; whereas, if liberated from the fear that he may be asked for money, he might change the tone of his language, and allow that it is daylight at twelve.'

'The best thing to do with the Pope,' writes Pisany[2]

[1] February 4, 1588.

[2] Pisany to Villeroy. Private letter. April 2, 1588.

to Villeroy, 'is to take care that if he does no good to the King, he does him no harm, neither of which he will do if it costs him any money; but if one or other alternative must be expected, it would rather be that of doing harm, for such is his personal inclination.'

The financial system of Sixtus V. rested upon the increase in the revenues corresponding to a decrease in the expenses, which will ever be the only means of giving a solid basis to the finances of a State. The economies thus made, however, were shut up in Fort St. Angelo, and were dead capital, depriving currency, and therefore the public wealth, commerce, and industry, of the specie which it required. In looking at this proceeding with the eyes of the present day, we cannot but smile at the ingenuousness of a *régime* which, in our mind, is prejudicial to the vital interests of the country, which it impoverishes, while it fills the public treasury. The interests of the Government and those of the country are the same, and one cannot prosper while the other is suffering. Matters are very different, however, when looked at with the eyes of that epoch. People were very ignorant about finances. It was not yet known that the national wealth increases in proportion with the currency, which creates demand, awakens and keeps up public elasticity, and, when maintained within certain limits, benefits the whole population. But currency implies credit, and credit scarcely existed. Money was only lent at very high interest, and never during political troubles, that is, at the very time when Governments are most in want of it. There were only two public banks in Europe, those

of Venice and Genoa, but they opened no credit accounts. Their business was confined to facilitating on the spot the commercial transactions of such tradesmen as had deposited money with them. Hence the necessity for Governments to have a treasury composed of specie, just as it was necessary to have granaries full of corn in the event of a famine. There being no means of transport, neither England, nor Italy, nor France could have asked Russia or America for the grain of which a bad harvest left them in need. Before the arrival of the corn, people would have starved. In a financial point of view, therefore, to accumulate money was good policy. It was, in fact, the only one possible; and if Sixtus V. was criticised in his day, it was not because he economised and deposited the fruits of his economy in Fort St. Angelo. What he was reproached with was, that he carried the system rather too far, that he taxed the people rather too heavily, and that he went too rapidly to work. When, at the end of the year, the Government collected the sums due to the Apostolic Chamber, he was accused of keeping back specie, and thus producing temporary disturbances in the daily transactions of ordinary commerce.[1]

Rome was never a commercial city nor an industrial centre. From the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Genoese had the monopoly of the commerce of the Pontifical States. They were the best bankers in the world. The Venetians had ceased to be the first navigators. They had been replaced by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, who were themselves on the eve of

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., March 7, 1588.

being supplanted by the English and the Dutch; but they were still for Italy the first commercial people, and had the monopoly of the commerce of the Levant. With his usual sagacity Sixtus V. turned to account the advantages to be derived from such a state of things. He took advantage of the Genoese, who were desirous of buying up his 'Monti,' of which we will speak presently, and obtained for his Adriatic provinces, especially for Ancona, which he had made a free port, all the advantages to be derived from his intimacy with the Republic. As to the Romans he knew them well. He gave up the idea of making bankers of them, or great merchants. He knew them to be clever men, but he knew also that, with the exception of the artists and workmen who were connected with the arts, they preferred to move their tongues rather than their arms, and found ample elements of prosperity in being able to plunder foreigners. In the Middle Ages, and until the brigands had put an end to the possibility of carrying on these branches of industry, silk stuffs were manufactured in the Marches, and woollen in other parts of the province. By issuing wise ordinances, and giving intelligent aid, the Pope revived these industries. Understanding how important it is to have good roads of communication, he built bridges and constructed roads. Gregory XIII. had already connected Rome and Ancona by a road on which small chariots, and even carriages, often drawn by bullocks, could travel. His successor gave proof of that originality which was his characteristic, and of that authority especially which, by a look or a word, settled all difficulties of

time, place, and ill-will. A great political sense reigns in all his acts for improving the position of the people, and maintaining the public interests. He protected the Jews, in order the better to take advantage of them. These were already numerous in Rome, and, though living at the Borghetto, were already known to be very rich. They, however, laboured under severe restrictions, which dated from the Middle Ages. The Pope granted them certain facilities, and protected them against the outrages to which they were subject whenever they came out of their quarter. Rome often witnessed with astonishment Christians whipped publicly in the Corso for having insulted a Jew. The Jews, on this account, were among his most devoted subjects. On a certain Wednesday, at the fair of the Piazza Navone,[1] the news of his death having been falsely rumoured, the Jews, terror-stricken, all fled, carrying away their goods with them.

In every respect Sixtus V. went with, or rather in advance of, his century. He aimed but at one object, which was always to have ready money in hand, and never to spend it except upon profitable undertakings, and through persons who inspired him with confidence.

For this purpose he gave a great development to the system of offices called 'vacabile' and 'non vacabile,' as well as to the 'Monti;' in other words, to the purchase of office and the placing out of private capital at an interest varying between 5 and 10 per cent., according to the nature of the Monti (State funds), which, like the offices, were 'vacabile' or 'non vacabile.'

[1] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, July 14, 1590.

The 'vacabile' offices were divided into three classes: first the 'prelate's office or office of the first order.' The purchaser, besides paying the price of the office, had to give personal guarantees that he had the necessary requirements, standing and antecedent. Next came the minor offices, or those of the second order, which equally belonged to the category of public employment, but to purchase which it was not necessary to be a prelate, and which could be held in common with a third, or entirely given up to the latter, if the holder was wanting in the necessary qualities. Finally, there were the offices of the third order, which did not give access to public employment. The holders derived an annual income from certain taxes specially devoted to this purpose. The revenue of the 'vacabile' offices of the two first categories consisted in the taxes and profits which the holders, according to the nature of their employment, were allowed to derive from the services they rendered to those who were obliged to have recourse to their aid. The office became vacant at the death of the holder, and was again put to auction by the 'dateria,' who lodged in the Pope's treasury the amount paid, without allowing any indemnity to the heirs. It was therefore capital placed at a mere life interest, supposing that these public posts were only given to individuals capable of holding them, that those who could not administer to them themselves only gave them up to the worthiest, and that in levying the tax the letter of the law was strictly adhered to. The system then, as looked upon in the light of that day, may be perfectly justified in principle.[1] It is, however,

[1] See Part i.

evident that it gave rise to bribery and every species of corruption. To prevent abuse, it was necessary that there should be a strong, severe, and intelligent chief, in fact a Sixtus V. As soon as such a control as his should fail, the system must become a cause of demoralisation, and to the public an intolerable vexation. That is not all. To multiply the vacancies, Sixtus V. had issued an ordinance by which the offices at 'Monti' were vacant by the promotion of the holders to bishoprics or cardinalships.[1] This was giving a pontiff, who would be less penetrated with the sanctity of his mission, the means of filling his coffers by naming prelates to the vacant bishoprics who had just purchased Monti or 'vacabile' offices. It was putting indirectly a price upon the highest posts of the hierarchy. The rich Genoese (most of their great families were in commerce) arrived in great numbers to place their money in the Monti, thus hoping to make rapid progress in the ecclesiastical line, and to see the doors of the Sacred College open to them.

The 'Monti' constituted the public debt. The creditors were purchasers of shares, which were called 'luoghi.' There were 'vacabile' Monti, that is, shares which were redeemable or to be payed off at a certain time; and 'non vacabile' Monti, that is, perpetual.

This institution was due to Clement VII., who at the time of the sack of Rome was in want of money wherewith to pay Charles V. his subsidy during the war, which the latter was waging against the Sultan. The venal offices likewise existed before the time of

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, October 8, 1585.

Sixtus V., but he reformed and extended the sphere of both by cutting short the numerous abuses which had crept in, and which were justly complained of. While they enriched the holders of shares, they injured the public as well as the Treasury.

Notary acts, until then kept in the hands of the solicitors, to the prejudice of individuals, were collected into a group of general archives of the Pontifical States, and thus made accessible, by paying a trifle, to those who were interested in searching them. This was providing for a want which was much felt. The public profited by it. The Pope wished the Treasury to gain by it also. He farmed out the archives for nine years to a Roman patrician of the name of Paolo Falconieri, who was to give him 11,000 scudi annually for it. At the same time he instituted the 'Archives Fund,' which consisted of 98 luoghi, at 100 scudi each luogo. The purchasers paid 98,000 scudi to the State, and each share brought them in 10 scudi, so that their money was placed at ten per cent. interest, paid out of the money due by Falconieri.[1]

The Pope based his financial operation upon a public necessity, which he satisfied by means of compensation. This compensation allowed Falconieri to furnish the Government, besides the profit which he derived himself from the excess of his returns, with the means of paying the interest upon the sums advanced. The security of the money so placed lay in the permanent

[1] This financial speculation is analogous to some of our own commercial enterprises. Mines are worked and railways are made in the hope that the returns will enable the companies to pay the interest on the moneys advanced, and in time clear off the debt.

want which the public would experience of having recourse to the archives, which the Pope held in his own hands, and which he intended at the end of nine years either to farm out again to the same people, or, what was more probable, on better terms.

The building of the Sixtus Bridge, of the cupola of St. Peter, and the subsidies granted to Philip II. for his armament against England, obliged him to have recourse to another financial operation. He instituted the 'Vacabile Monte of St. Bonaventura.' The capital, which had previously been fixed at 300,000 scudi, was afterwards raised to 400,000. There were 4,000 luoghi or shares, at 100 scudi, yielding ten per cent. interest. A portion of the Custom House returns was set aside to pay off the interest, as well as of the Pontifical postal service, and an increase in the stamp duty.

The 'non vacabile' Monti yielded but five per cent. In establishing the Monte Sixtus, which yielded a sum of 520,000 scudi to the Treasury, the Pope decreed that, in his dominion, Rome and Bologna being excepted, a tax should be levied on wine. He soon perceived, however, that this was a mistake. Duty on articles of first necessity (and wine is one in southern countries) can be heavily imposed without ruining the taxpayer only if that industry has reached a certain degree of development, if it works in concert with agriculture, if the cultivator has the opportunity and certainty of selling his products, and of thus procuring the money a portion of which is to pay the tax. Prosperity does not necessarily imply money; but it is injured when the people have no money. Such was the case, not only

with the rural population of the States of the Church, but with the greater part of the inhabitants in Italy, especially in the south of the peninsula. The 'quattrino' levied on a 'foglietta' of wine was a death-blow. To pay it the workman was obliged to sell his implements, the peasant his cattle. Marforio asked Pasquino why he washed his linen on a Sunday? 'Because,' replied the latter, 'the sun will be put up to auction on Monday.' Marks of indignation broke out everywhere, and Sixtus hastened to suppress the tax.

When he looked back and compared the state of the provinces and city of Rome at the time of his accession with what they were at the end of his pontificate, Sixtus rejoiced greatly. On one occasion, a year before his death, he spoke at length on the subject to the Venetian envoy. After enumerating the buildings, bridges, and aqueducts which were completed, and the structures projected, he told Alberto Badoer how his finances stood.[1] 'At the time when I ascended the throne,' he said, 'the revenues of the Church were, it is true, two million gold scudi; but the debts of the State left, out of that amount, a sum of 200,000 scudi only at the disposal of the Treasury.[2] Yesterday the returns of the accountants showed that there is a yearly economy of 146,000 scudi. This I obtained by reducing considerably the number of employments, and in providing with livings and other ecclesiastical preferments many of the clergy who had previously been living

[1] Alberto Badoer, July 22, 1589. Arch. Ven. Rome.

[2] Gold gained 20 per cent. upon silver, and a silver scudi equalled a Venetian ducat—that is, 6 lire 4 grossi. Arch. Ven. 1589.

at the expense of the State. I have in the Fort some 3,000,000 scudi in gold, and 1,000,000 in silver, which, if the gold was converted into silver, would make a sum of 4,600,000 scudi, common money, or as many Venetian ducats.[1] I have 2,800,000 scudi in "vacabile Monti," which all turn, without counting the fortuitous vacancies in the space of ten years, as a long experience proves it, to the advantage of the Apostolic Chamber.'

If the Pope could flatter himself that his finances were flourishing, people were not all of the same opinion. According to the diplomatic correspondence of the times, his financial system was generally condemned. It is true that the ambassadors did not see with pleasure all the money which had been accumulated in Fort St. Angelo. They were ignorant of the account to which the Holy Father meant to turn it; they knew only how fruitless were their attempts to get at any of it when pressed by their sovereigns to do so. 'People find,' writes Giovanni Gritti,[2] 'that the Pope is wrong in over-taxing his subjects, and of confiding more in his coffers full of gold than in Providence or in the filial devotion of the Christian princes, who are ever ready to defend him against the oppressor; that so many treasures heaped up in Fort St. Angelo might excite the envy of the discontented, and raise in them the idea of attacking Rome.' The Pope used to smile whenever he heard such remarks. He knew

[1] The *agio* on gold was 20 per cent., and the silver scudo equalled a Venetian ducat, that is 6 lire 4 grossi.

[2] G. Gritti, 1589.

what to expect from the disinterestedness and devotion of princes, and no longer feared the banditti, the chief of whom had either been beheaded at the bridge of St. Angelo, or compelled to leave Italy and take refuge with the Huguenots.[1] As to the designs of Providence, he said, it was not his intention to sound them; but he could not admit that in this respect diplomatists or the public generally were more clear-sighted than the Head of the Church. He maintained that kings and the Pope, when poor, would be objects of ridicule at a time when money opened the door to every undertaking; that his predecessors had committed a great error in not doing as he had done; and that sovereigns should follow the example of the ant, which puts away in summer the provisions for the winter.[2]

[1] As Malatesta did, and likewise Alfonso Piccolomini during the greater portion of his reign.

[2] To determine approximatively the value of silver at that time, it is only necessary to compare the prices of objects of primary necessity such as they were fixed then by the civil authorities of Rome under Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., with the prices of the same things now. It may safely be said that, with little variation, these prices remained the same during the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century. The ordinances of the years 1585 to 1593 show that a loaf of bread weighing 10 ounces cost 5 centimes; a pound of beef, a little more than 6 baiochi, or 30 centimes; Parmesan and 'ricotte' cheese from 6 to 7 baiochi; fresh butter 10, and during carnival time 12 baiochi; vermicelli and macaroni, $3\frac{3}{4}$ baiochi. Wine in casks was sold at the 'Ripa;' those of Italy—the Clarivello, the Lachrima, the Ischia, and the Calabrese—cost between 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ scudi, according to their quality; those of Greece from 3 to 5 scudi: muscat and malvoisie were the most in esteem, and also the dearest wines. The present prices in Rome are those of all the great capitals of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

RELATIONS WITH THE COURTS OF SPAIN AND FRANCE.

THE world, and the diplomatic world especially, watched with curiosity, if not with anxiety, the Pope's financial transactions. It was asked what his intentions could be, and men could with difficulty believe that he seriously thought of undertaking, as he had often said he would, a war against the infidels. It was known besides that he was in personal correspondence with Philip II.[1]

To Philip he had made his first proposals. He did not like Philip, nor was he liked by him. Of this he was aware, but he also knew that the King of Spain was the most powerful of the Catholic princes, the most ardent in the defence of the interests of the Church, which formed the constant and almost unique preoccupation of Sixtus. On this ground they met. He had scarcely been installed in the Vatican, when the Pope spoke to Olivarès, the Catholic King's ambassador, who inspired him with no more sympathy than did his master.

Juan Enrique de Gusman, Count of Olivarès, belonged to one of the great families of Spain, and had married

[1] Lorenzo Priuli to the Doge, November 30, 1588.

Doña Maria Pimentel de Fonseca. He was very rich;[1] had figured at the Court of Charles V., and possessed all the confidence of Philip. In his youth he had been a soldier. Lamed by a wound at St. Quentin, he availed himself of this infirmity as an excuse for not appearing at the ceremonies of St. Peter and of the Sistine Chapel, and thus deprived M. de Pisany of his anticipated pleasure of taking precedence over him. His arrival in Rome, which had been announced for some time, had taken place four years before the death of Gregory XIII., in June 1582. It was quite an event. Several vessels of the State escorted the ship which brought him and his numerous suite from Barcelona to Genoa and from Genoa to Civita Vecchia. He disembarked in the latter town with all the honours due to a representative of Spain, accepted the hospitality of Cardinal Farnese at Palo, and, after being admitted to a private, or, as it was then called, a secret audience of the Pope, he made his solemn entry with an extraordinary display of magnificence.

He had taken the palace of the Duke of Urbino[2] in the Corso. The good pensions which, in the name of his king, he distributed among cardinals, prelates, high and petty functionaries, gained him numerous adherents from the outset. Gregory's love for Spain secured for him the first place among the representatives of the great Courts. We may readily imagine that he was surrounded by deferential people, by flatterers as well

[1] Besides his revenues as an ambassador, he was said to have 40,000 scudi a year.

[2] The palace has been destroyed and replaced by the three Pamfili Palaces, now called the Doria Palace.

as by secret enemies and Italian susceptibilities, while his proud attitude and cold disdain sufficed to break the resistance he might meet with. But we may conceive his anger and mortification when he found the new Pope stopping him short, threatening the Viceroy of Naples with excommunication, and making him feel that a similar fate might befall himself. The struggle was an unequal one. He soon found his unlimited authority roughly and suddenly brought back to narrower limits, more in harmony with the great notion which Sixtus entertained of the dignity of the Papacy. Full of the importance of his mission, and of the supremacy of his sovereign, Olivarès was a distinguished diplomatist. He had seen Europe, and knew Rome well; but at first he paid little attention to the monk-pope, who seemed as if he wished to play again the part of Innocent III., and was deceived because he despised him. This error is frequently committed by men who have grown old in the affairs of State when they find themselves suddenly in contact with new men whom they wrongly look upon as parvenus.

Until he knew him better, Olivarès smiled at the Pope's ignorance. He attributed to versatility of character the rich mine of ideas with which he was gifted, and which, though unripe as yet, even impracticable at times, but ever bold and profound, revealed the man who was rather in trouble as to which way to begin than as to the means of realising his views. Attacked openly, the ambassador tried, not only to defend himself, but to place himself on the

offensive. Long supported by his sovereign, he was only abandoned by him when, passion having carried him beyond the limits of the respect due to the Head of the Church, he placed his king under the necessity of either breaking with Rome or of replacing his ambassador. Even then this disgrace was long coming, and in fact did not prove to be a disgrace. Sixtus V., who had several times urged his recall, had not the satisfaction of being rid of the presence of a man who poisoned his days. Olivarès outlived him in his post, and it was only after the death of the Pope that he exchanged his dignity of an ambassador for the Viceroyalty of Naples.

Magnificent in his way of living, spending much, just, severe, and terrible to the Neapolitan aristocracy, Olivarès made himself liked by the people as much as a Spanish viceroy could be liked. His compatriots looked upon him as one of the glories of their country, and, in memory of his long stay in Rome, called him the great 'papelista.' He disappeared from active life soon after the accession of Philip III., owing to some court intrigue.

His son, the celebrated count-duke who in the following century was to be for some time absolute master of the Spanish monarchy, was born in Rome, at the Urbino Palace, and was baptized, as were the numerous other children of Olivarès, in the church of Santa Maria in Via Lata. The splendid career of the favourite of Philip IV. has made people forget the more substantial merit of the father.[1]

[1] Donato, June 2, 1582.

Sixtus V. and Olivarès could not agree. From the first conversations they had together, an antagonism was born between them. The first year they each tried to hide it, but later it broke out publicly.

The affairs of France, in the mind of the Pope, presented the distressing spectacle of an inextricable confusion. The sympathies of Rome were for Henry III., as legitimate king. Henry of Navarre, the chief of the Huguenots, was excommunicated for being a heretic. But Henry III., who was weak in mind and in character, often showed most equivocal tendencies, and frequently hinted in his correspondence with Rome the possibility of his going over to the camp of the heretics.[1] Henry of Bourbon, who was active and brave, gave hopes, on the contrary, of some day returning to Catholicism. If Henry III. were to be worsted in the fight against 'the Béarnais,' the schism of France would be an accomplished fact. If, on the other hand, the latter could be brought to renounce Protestantism, and as a Catholic were to succeed Henry III., the unity of faith and of the kingdom of France would be saved.

Political considerations complicated those of religion. The Guises defended the latter. Alone they had little chance of success, and required the co-operation of the King of Spain, who, undoubtedly a very zealous defender of the faith, perhaps even more zealous in this respect

[1] Complaining of the support given to the League by Gregory XIII., he wrote to Cardinal d'Este:—'His Holiness would seem to wish to force me to make use of sovereigns of opposite belief to ours, and to have recourse to extreme and desperate measures to revenge myself of the injury done to me, against what I had believed, and like that inflicted on other princes, the consequence of which was known too late, and when it could not be remedied.' 1585.

than they were, was at the same time quite resolved to have his services paid for at the expense of France, in which prize he would claim the lion's share. The victory on the part of the League, which was only possible with the help of Philip II., implied the dismemberment of France, and if not a dismemberment, that is, not a complete victory, no more did it imply a total collapse of the Catholic faith. There were always heretics whom, in the eyes of the Pope, it was necessary to do away with. If the victory should be complete, there would no longer be any France, but then, also, there would be no more heresy. Anything was better than heresy; but if heresy could be exterminated without sacrificing France, or rather without putting Spain in its place, which, thus aggrandised, might threaten Italy and Rome, it would be certainly the best solution. In fact, at the accession of Sixtus V., these difficulties appeared to be insurmountable.

He returned to the illusions of his monkish life. War against the infidels (since he could not yet wage it against the heretics), the conquest of Algiers, the conversion of Queen Elizabeth, were the ideas on which he dwelt. When Olivarès presented himself one Saturday for his weekly audience, the Pope communicated these ideas to him, begging of him to write[1] in that sense to the King, and lay before him all the advantages of a war against Barbary, as the only means of pacifying the Mediterranean. The ambassador excused himself, and said that his master would probably reply to such proposals only if they

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., June 4, 1585.

came direct from His Holiness. The Holy Father then talked about England, and confided to Olivarès, without explaining his meaning, that there were some hopes of the Queen performing a 'good act' (embracing Catholicism). Olivarès inquired and found that these hopes were built upon a word said by the English ambassador in Paris to the Nuncio. He had said that, in the event of any disturbances, Her Majesty would have but to hear a mass to get out of trouble. The truth is, however, that the Jesuits had written from London to say that the Queen was favourably disposed; and it was on the strength of these informations that Sixtus V., through the Duke of Luxemburg, had begged Henry III. to enter into secret communications with Elizabeth.[1] 'In fine,' says the Count, in his first reports, 'the Pope wishes to undertake something great.' 'It would seem,' remarks Philip in the margin of his ambassador's letters, 'that the war in Flanders does not appear to him a great undertaking, nor that he knows what it costs. He is deceived about England, and labours under a delusion.' As may be seen, neither the King nor his envoy, as yet, took him for anything remarkable in the way of a politician.

Gregory XIII. had already entertained relations with Persia. But communications were slow, news contradictory, and the notion of combining an action in common with the 'sofi' was not very practicable, even supposing that the Christian princes had agreed (which

[1] The Pope himself gave these details later to the Venetian envoy, G. Gritti, June 4, 1588.

they were far from doing) to attempt another crusade. An agent sent by Gregory to Persia came back towards the end of the pontificate of Sixtus V. The Shah's letter which he brought was three years old. Yet, at the outset of his reign, the Pope depended a good deal upon the results of his good relations with this 'infidel' ally. He expected to begin the war by attacking Barbary. It was observed to him that to take Tripoli, twenty-five or thirty galleys, at least, would be necessary, carrying among them an army of six thousand men; that they must disembark during the night, and re-embark at once if the surprise should fail. As for Algiers, the expedition would have to be carried out on a much larger scale. The latter undertaking, which the Pope was constantly recommending at Madrid, was particularly odious to Philip, who, seeing the attitude of England, was, on the contrary, endeavouring to be on good terms with Turkey. He finished by declaring that he would not hear Algiers spoken of further.[1]

Some time after, Olivarès learnt that Cardinal d'Este was endeavouring to induce the Holy Father to engage in an enterprise against England. The Pope was to invite the King and Catholic princes of France, whom the treaty of Nemours, which they had just concluded, had reconciled, to march jointly against England for the purpose of re-establishing the Catholic religion in that country, of dethroning Elizabeth, and of setting Mary Stuart's son, the King of Scotland, on the English throne. Sixtus asked the opinion

[1] D'Este to Villeroy, April 1 and June 2, 1586. Badoer to the Doge, July 1, 1589.

of the Cardinals de Vaudemont and de Sens. This was tantamount to telling the secret to Olivarès himself. The latter at once proceeded to the palace, declared to the Holy Father that such chimerical notions were out of season as long as heresy existed in France, and that Cardinal d'Este had only suggested them in order to sow discord between His Holiness and the Catholic French princes. How could he hope that the latter would follow out his wishes in this respect? how ask them to leave France at such a time? Would it not be leaving France in the power of the heretics, who, once masters of the country, would not fail to take the part of Elizabeth? The wars in France and in Flanders must first be concluded. Then England might be thought of, Queen Elizabeth expelled, and the kingdom given, not to the King of Scotland, who was not very zealous in the Catholic cause, but to Mary Stuart, his mother. The Pope acknowledged the truth of these remarks. He was mortified, besides, to learn that his intimate conversation with cardinals should come to the ear of the Spanish ambassador.[1] Warned by the latter that Henry III. was in treaty with the Sultan, Sixtus V. promised him that he would tell the French ambassador that if the King of France asked help of the Sultan, he would excommunicate him, deprive him of his kingdom, and would invite all the Christian princes to invade France, besides absolving his subjects from their allegiance to him. He spoke with such emphasis that Olivarès, who was delighted, could not doubt that the Pope was sincere.

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., July 13, 1585.

As Sixtus got better acquainted with the important transactions of the day, he gained more authority in Madrid. He often wrote to the King, and Olivarès had often to come back upon the question of England. For various reasons the state of that country then engrossed the attention of both Philip and Sixtus. Common views gave rise, at the same time in Madrid and in Rome, to the idea of an expedition against Elizabeth. The results of that expedition are known. They were a fearful military disaster, and a still greater political defeat; the consolidation of Elizabeth on her throne, and of Protestantism in England.

In the eyes of Philip II., the daily increasing ascendancy of Elizabeth, her relations with the King of Denmark, with the Protestants of Germany, and with the Turks, made her a formidable enemy. Sleep fled from the couch of the old and infirm king whenever, during the day, letters were brought to him from the new Continent. They were always full of the depredations of Drake, the terror of those distant lands, who often captured the galleons of the King of Spain, whose coffers, on the other hand, were always being emptied to defray the expenses of the war in Flanders, of the League, and of the repression of insurrection in Portugal.

To bring England back to the fold of the Catholic Church was the Pope's greatest desire. In England, as in France, matters were rather complicated. The cause of the conquered religion was represented by a charming woman, beautiful still, interesting by her present misfortunes, obliging men to forget the levity

of her conduct in happier days, as well as the suspicions to which it gave rise, and surrounded by the halo of martyrdom which she was about to suffer. On the throne was a woman full of energy, audacious, indomitable, evidently equal to the task of definitely, or at least for centuries, separating the noble and lately so Catholic land of England from the communion of the Church.

Sixtus V. pitied Mary Stuart, but admired Elizabeth. To obtain his end of bringing England back to Catholicism, there were, in his opinion, two means—the conversion of the Queen or her dethronement. He undertook both at the same time. In London, through the Jesuits, who penetrated in disguise and at the peril of their lives, and in Paris through his Nuncio, he incessantly strove to bring about the reconcilation of the Queen with Rome. He was in hopes that she would listen to his voice. He adjured Henry III., who kept up good relations with his English neighbour, to interpose his good offices, and to represent to her how dangerous was her present position, how advantageous would be her conversion. When the Duke of Luxemburg left Rome to return to France, he was charged by the Pope with a secret mission to the King, to whom he wished he could communicate his zeal. But whether the Duke did not fulfil his mission properly, or that Henry received the message coldly, the attempt was fruitless.[1] He explained to Pisany how useful to his master would be the conversion of Elizabeth. 'One of the chief

[1] Pisany to Henry III., Nov. 1, 1586.

remedies,' writes Pisany,[1] 'would, in the opinion of the Pope, be to gain over the Queen of England and to make her a Catholic. It appears to His Holiness that your Majesty has a good opportunity of attempting this holy work by means of the great and well-advised Catholics of good morality whom you are about to send to the Queen to negotiate the release of Queen Mary. They might begin by showing her, in your name, how precarious her life is as long as she holds her present opinions, since she cannot doubt that at every moment some attempt will be made upon her life, and that she cannot again enjoy an hour of safety or of pleasure. They would point out, on the other hand, that if she became a Catholic she would remain a great queen, and one honoured and loved by everyone; and that if the Huguenots gave her trouble, your Majesty would help her with money and by all kinds of means. The Pope promised me on his own part to furnish money and place it in the hands of your Majesty, thus insuring the aid of the Catholics of England, whom he knew to be numerous; besides which the Queen would gain in heaven a crown of glory, and among the Christian nations immortal honours and reputation.'

The ambassador did not share the Pope's illusions. He knew his own Court too well to believe that it could or would follow out his views. 'Besides,' said he, 'Elizabeth's advisers would never consent to it. Even I have heard that her ministers are so powerful, and the Queen on such intimate terms with them, that, as soon as a proposal of becoming converted were

[1] Pisany to Henry III., Nov. 4, 1586.

made to her, she would communicate the same to those of her council who would at once turn over everything and give little satisfaction to those who had made the proposal, besides perhaps making of it a means of injuring still more the Queen of Scotland.'

The Pope replied, 'You must not think of so many things. Perhaps she is more disposed to become a Catholic than people imagine.' It is true that Elizabeth had not much encouraged his proposal that she should become a Catholic. She had laughed at it.[1] But the Head of the Church was not discouraged. He also told Pisany that several times it had been proposed to him to assassinate her, 'and for a small sum, but that he had rejected such proposals, detesting and abhorring means of that kind.'

When he learnt the death of Mary Stuart he cried. He regretted less the unfortunate Queen, whom he had tried to save, than the triumph of Protestantism,[2] and the loss of the support to which the Queen of Scotland, as a pretender to the English throne, had led the Catholics of England to look forward—a vain hope no doubt, but one which had given them courage. In Madrid also it caused a great grief, but for other motives. Philip II. sincerely believed that Mary Stuart was a saint, and that therefore it was not right to have a funeral service for her. His confessor and theologians reassured him on this point. They had doubts, they said, as to her sanctity, which had not yet been defined by the Church. They had less doubts as to the pro-

[1] The Pope himself told it to Badoer, the Venetian envoy, 1589.
[2] G. Gritti to the Doge, March 28, 1587.

priety of a funeral service, and following their advice the King assisted in person at the service, and showed signs of the greatest distress.[1]

The tragic end of Mary Stuart was much felt in Rome; but the Pope consoled himself with the hope that Henry III. would avenge her death. From that time his personal affection for Elizabeth changed altogether. But while he no longer liked her, he never ceased to admire her. 'What a courageous woman!' he said to Pisany; 'she braves the two greatest kings by sea and by land.'[2] And to Joyeuse he remarked, 'She is a valiant woman; if she were not a heretic she would be worth a whole world.'[3] To the end of his life he never despaired of converting her, believing always in the influence of his Catholic friends. When a councillor of the Landgrave of Hesse, who had been sent to Florence to treat upon certain matters, expressed the wish to come to Rome, the Pope recommended the Grand-Duke Ferdinand to send him, in the hope no doubt of influencing the Landgrave and converting him. 'Ah!' used he to exclaim, 'if one could only approach the Queen of England.' He recommended Ferdinand of Tuscany to keep up good relations with her, 'for times may come when good may be done to the advantage of religion.'[4]

The fate of the English Catholics was a matter he had much at heart. The extraordinary promotion of Monsignor Alan had been made in order that they

[1] Hieronimo Lippomano to the Doge, April 21, 1587.
[2] Pisany to Henry III., 1587. [3] Joyeuse to Henry III., 1588.
[4] Nicolini to the Grand-Duke, 1590.

might have an Englishman as their ecclesiastical head. This promotion took place shortly after the death of Mary Stuart, at the request of Philip, and much to the displeasure of Elizabeth. The Sacred College looked upon it as an imprudent act, because it endangered his co-religionists in England, who were then subjected to the most terrible persecutions. The King of Spain intended to send off Alan with the Armada, and to have him made Legate of England.

While at the Vatican the conversion of Elizabeth was not despaired of, the possibility of her not returning to the bosom of the Church was not lost sight of. In such a case she was to be deprived of her crown. Such was Philip's object, and the Pope's extreme measure. At the time when he was to decide, and while the expedition against England was being prepared, the Pope could not make up his mind between the two alternatives. His language and his acts often betray the impression produced upon him by news from England and Spain. They reflect his illusions as regards the personal dispositions of the Queen, the momentary disappearance of his hopes, his doubts, which are every day more justified, as regards the final issue of Philip's great enterprise. After warmly recommending war, he hesitates and cools down. After the disaster he denied or forgot that he had been one of the chief instigators of the Invincible Armada.[1] During the whole time of the war he never ceased to work at Elizabeth's conversion. He made no absolute mystery of it to Philip, but said as little as possible on the

[1] Badoer to the Doge, April 25, 1589.

subject, not wishing to offend him. While Philip's first object was to humble and weaken England, the re-establishment of the Catholic religion being but a secondary consideration, the Pope thought of nothing but the latter, and would have far preferred Elizabeth's conversion to Philip's victories as a means of obtaining it. These sentiments were shared by the statesmen of Rome, who regretted that the Pope should become so involved in Philip's affairs. Not knowing that Sixtus[1] had insisted upon Mary Queen of Scots becoming Queen of England, the Pope's Nuncio in Madrid was surprised that His Holiness had not settled beforehand with Philip who was to succeed to the throne of England; for, said he to the Venetian envoy, Gradenigo, 'that king would like to be always master of England, while neither the Pope, nor any powerful sovereign, could consent to the great kingdom of England being annexed to that of Spain. The King, it is true, is a wise man. He says that he does not envy another's good; but opportunity, the innate desire in man of domineering, and unforeseen circumstances, might end in the establishment of a universal monarchy.'

Gradenigo asked the Nuncio what Gregory XIII. had thought on the subject. The Nuncio told him that, in the event of Philip taking possession of England, the Pope had intended himself to dispose of the crown; but that later, being impressed with the power of his Catholic Majesty, he had recognised how impossible it was to elect another prince than Philip, and had made

[1] D'Este to Villeroy, February 10, 1586.

up his mind to recognise him as King of England. This distant expedition, however, the Nuncio thought was useless, and especially hazardous, inasmuch as the King had not a single harbour of refuge near the coast of England in the event of a defeat.[1]

These very modern political views, since they rested on the principle of a European equilibrium, were no doubt just. Cardinal d'Este warned the Pope against the ambition of his ally. 'I represented to him,'[2] he wrote to M. de Villeroy, 'how his ambition may and must alarm the Christian princes; for while he covers his enterprise against England by the pretext of the heresy of the Queen, there is little doubt that he is aiming at becoming the monarch of the whole Christian world. To this the Pope only replied that to become such a monarch would be a long business, and that there is much to do; then was silent and made no further remarks.' The cardinal got alarmed, and advised the king eventually to proffer his aid to the Spanish expedition against England, on condition that it should be postponed until the disturbances in France had been appeased.

Allowance being made for the ambition of Philip, it is not the less certain that he was obliged to strike a heavy blow at England; that the Pope could not prevent his doing so—was even in duty bound to wish him success, and to help him as much as possible. What was the state of affairs? The Church, which is always in want of secular aid, could only find it then

[1] Vincenzo Gradenigo to the Doge. Madrid, February 22, 1585.
[2] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, October 8, 1585.

in the King of Spain. The Emperor and the King of France were of no avail, the one from the new state of things which the Reformation had created, the other from the civil war which disturbed his country. There remained therefore but the pious and powerful King Philip. But he was only powerful and capable of lending the Church the necessary help if he were master of the seas. Without maritime supremacy the possession of Flanders, of Sardinia, of Naples, of Sicily, and of the Indies was compromised and likely to be lost. The history of the following centuries proved it. Philip understood it. England's incipient navy contested his maritime preponderance. The name of Drake, which has now almost been forgotten, then filled the world. He it was who had first dared to attack that immense power and prestige which Philip enjoyed across the ocean; who captured his galleons under the guns of Cadiz, kept up the insurrection in Portugal, and threw into the shade the legendary glory of the old Scandinavian kings. Sweeping the seas, he was to be found everywhere—on the coast of Spain, in the West Indies, at the Azores, wherever the once proud Castilian flag had waved, but which the guns of the Spanish forts could now hardly protect.

When the old Cardinal Granvella, who was still nominally prime minister, found that his master no longer kept him acquainted with the movements of Drake, he gave way. It was the final blow. He felt that his time was up, that he had but to die, and he died.[1] Such was the importance which that corsair enjoyed

[1] V. Gradenigo, 1586.

in the eyes of the Court at Madrid. More than once the King was obliged to give orders that his ships should not leave the harbour.[1] What a humiliation! what trouble! Those galleons were the very ships that were to bring him the money which he so sorely needed. Drake must be destroyed; but he must first be met with, and this was a difficult task for the heavy ships of the Royal Navy, which, never having sailed except in security in seas wherein they rode as masters, were not sufficiently armed, and could not cope with the swift English clippers. The enemy escaped whenever they were many together, but only to return soon after, in order to pursue them, to reach them, and to destroy them if they were found alone.

Nothing was left but to attack the enemy in his home, to organise an expedition, not against the uncatchable Drake, but against the country from which his vessels sailed. The dominion of the seas, and with it the position of Spain as a great Power, were at stake. These considerations gave rise to the notion of a great expedition against England. A necessity, the greatest of all necessities, that of self-preservation, inspired Philip with the idea. It is also true that, if realised, Philip was master of England. But the conquest of England was not the object, but the consequence only of the undertaking.

Looked at from this point of view, the Pope could not but approve the arming of the 'Armada.' For reasons which are known, he soon regretted its necessity. He allowed it, however; and, having done so, he

[1] Lippomano to the Doge.

promised the King an annual subvention of 100,000 scudi, but deplored his having to do it, as well as the Spanish slowness, which was so prejudicial to the English Catholics, the faults committed, and the time lost. He also tried to encourage the King, who had days of despondency, and desired to make peace when peace was no longer possible. After spending enormous sums in equipping his fleet, he got frightened at the difficulties of the undertaking, and at one time deliberated whether he would not treat with Elizabeth, remembering the saying of the Duke of Alva, 'Spain can go to war against all the people of the world, provided she is at peace with England.'[1] 'This morning,' wrote the Pope to Philip II.,[2] 'I held a consistory, and, to please your Majesty, Alan has been made a cardinal. Though, in proposing this nomination to the cardinals, I took care not to hint at the armaments which are going on, I hear that in Rome the rumour was: Now they are preparing to go to war with England. Your Majesty must therefore lose no time, in order to avoid bringing misfortune upon those poor Christians (the English Catholics); for if you delay, the good which you propose doing would become an evil. As to the help which I can give you, I have at once ordered that which Count Olivarès asked me for, and I presume he will inform you accordingly. As your Majesty is to command in person, you had better get reconciled with God before departure, for the sins of princes are visited upon the people and upon their kingdoms.'

[1] Lippomano to the Doge, July 16, 1587.
[2] Sixtus V. to Philip II., August 7, 1587.

The good understanding between the King and the Pontiff was not without being occasionally disturbed. Besides the ecclesiastical questions which almost always gave rise to some dispute, they quarrelled upon many other subjects. Count Olivarès was not a man to facilitate the settlement of any quarrel. Sometimes the Pope showed an amount of susceptibility unworthy of so great a mind. Questions of etiquette, too, easily became state questions, and Philip attached to these an extreme importance. Titles, precedence at public ceremonies, the order of visits, denoted each one's part in the splendour and royal favour of which the King was the supreme dispenser. To be wanting in respect to the smallest of his 'criados' was to fail in respect towards himself; to commit high treason; to be disrespectful to God, whose representative he believed himself to be upon earth, at least in his own States, which were spread throughout the world. The Pope, who knew nothing about etiquette, and was susceptible precisely because he knew so little about it, had his eyes for ever open to the King's doings. He everywhere saw some encroachment upon the rights of the Church. His anger knew no bounds when he heard that at Venice the Spanish ambassador required the Nuncio to pay him the first visit. 'It is unheard of,' he exclaimed—'inauditum a sæculo.'[1]

Alberto Badoer, who was the Venetian ambassador, tried to calm him, by expounding a whole code of etiquette in the sixteenth century, and insinuating in clothed language that 'visits are matters which concern

[1] Badoer to the Doge, July 29, 1589.

private individuals; that they concern politeness and education, not politics or the State. Whoever leaves, pays a visit to take leave, whoever arrives is paid the first visit. He himself on arriving in Rome had had the visits of the ambassadors of France and of Spain. He could not on that account look upon himself as their superior, or that the Republic takes precedence over the mightiest sovereigns. He who fails to follow out these rules is looked upon as badly educated, but it cannot affect the prestige of princes.' The Pope was at last appeased, but repeated that nuncios were people out of the common. Other disagreements of a more serious nature took place on other questions. Philip, who was lax in the details of his vast administration, sometimes invented rules and issued decrees which affected the rights of other sovereigns, and excited the Pope's jealousy and anger.

Tired out by the constant squabbles between his representatives in Italy, the Viceroy of Naples, Count Olivarès, and Prince Doria, who had ceased all relations[1] with one another because one refused to call the other Excellency, the King published a decree respecting titles which gave rise to a perfect storm of indignation in the diplomatic body at Madrid and at foreign Courts.[2]

[1] The Duke de Frias, stepson to the Viceroy of Naples, had been ordered to go to Rome and make the act of submission to the Pope on the part of the King. He delayed his departure owing to a question of etiquette which arose between him and Olivarès. The Duke said that Olivarès, not being a grandee of Spain, was not entitled to more than the 'mercèd' (mercy). They both appealed to Philip II., who decided that the Duke de Frias should style Olivarès Your Lordship, and the latter call the Duke Most Illustrious.—Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, February 25, 1586.

[2] Lippomano to the Doge, October 18, 1586; October 25, 1586

Among the articles concerning the members of both houses of Austria, which this decree set forth, it was decided that the titles of Excellency and Most Illustrious should be confined exclusively to the cardinals and to the Archbishop of Toledo. Foreign ambassadors, called chapel ambassadors, or ambassadors belonging to great Courts, including the Nuncio, who was not named, were simply to be styled lordships (seigneuries). The Emperor's ambassador, Baron Khevenhüller, first sounded the alarm. Reserved as he was by nature, he spoke loudly against 'that infamous production,' and announced his departure for the end of the year, the time at which the decree was to be carried into effect. The Nuncio took umbrage, but was more moderate in his expressions. When the King returned from the Escurial, he was assailed by requests for an audience. The Pope's representative spoke haughtily, declared that he would not submit to the ordinance, that the Pope was the judge, since it was the Pope that gave and confirmed titles. Baron Khevenhüller gave up his hopes of receiving the Order of the Golden Fleece, and spoke 'bravely' to the King. The Venetian envoy, 'Minimus Apostolorum' as he calls himself, spoke with much ability to the same purpose. To all these objections, the King, who was always exquisitely polite to ambassadors, merely replied, that, 'in issuing his pragmatic, he wished to remedy certain abuses, and did not intend to wound anybody, nor to be wanting in respect to sovereigns, but that what had been written

January 15, 1587; January 26, 1587; June 22, 1587; July 5, 1587; August 22, 1587.

was written.' The withdrawal of a decision was with him an unheard-of thing. Philip II. knew well that nothing so quickly destroyed the prestige of a prince as a change of opinion. On this point he was inexorable.

When the Pope heard of this ordinance, he insisted on the revocation of the articles to which he objected, and asked for a peremptory declaration. 'No time must be lost, Spanish fashion,' he said to Olivarès;[1] 'these ordinances must be revoked, or they shall be put in the index of prohibited books.' He then wrote himself to the King:[2] 'No sin is so grievous before God as the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; history both sacred and profane can prove it. Your Majesty has been advised to extend your pragmatic to bishops, archbishops, and cardinals. It was a very great sin. You must therefore except these ministers of God from your ordinance, and do penance, otherwise some great misfortune may befall you. Do not believe those who tell you otherwise, for they are evidently flatterers or atheists. Believe me rather, whom God has given to you as your father. Believe the Holy Church, your mother, to whom you owe obedience "de necessitate salutis." If your advisers are humanists, let them read Eutropius; if they are canonists, let them read . . . ; if lawyers, the book "De Sacratissimis Episcopis;" if theologians, the 1st and 2nd tracts of St. Thomas; and then they will no longer give such bad advice to your Majesty. Cæsar Octavius and other pagan

[1] G. Gritti to the Doge, March 21, 1587.
[2] Sixtus V. to Philip II., August 7, 1587.

emperors had so much respect for ecclesiastical jurisdiction that, before framing any laws "circa sacra," they first had themselves elected pontiffs. The great sin you have committed has made me shed many tears. I trust that you will make amends, and that God will forgive you. To the Vicar of Christ is due implicit obedience in all that relates to salvation. I hope that you will obey me.'

This half quarrel was contemporaneous with the preparations for the Armada expedition. Never had a good understanding between Rome and Madrid been more necessary. The King, however, seemed decided not to withdraw a single ordinance. He put the case before the Council. Did the pragmatic encroach upon any of the liberties or upon the dignity of the clergy? The Council resolved the question in the negative. The Pope referred the matter to the Consistory, declaring 'that his beloved son King Philip, in arrogating to himself the right of jurisdiction over cardinals and ecclesiastics, had committed a sacrilege. Why! the King refuses to obey because his ministers advise him not to do so? It was not thus that the Emperor Theodosius acted when St. Ambrose prohibited his entering the church. He never replied that his friends advised him not. He obeyed, submitted, did penance, and was then admitted into the church.' This harangue lasted an hour, and ended by his prohibiting the cardinals, under penalty of excommunication, to obey the pragmatic. The King was much hurt and distressed to find that his quarrels with the Pope were thus disclosed to the whole world, at a time when it was so

necessary that the world should believe that the most perfect harmony existed between them. He avoided showing how vexed he was; but he ceased writing to the Pope, and only communicated with him through his ambassador.[1] While the Spaniards who resided in Rome were loud against this vehement outbreak on the part of Sixtus V., which was so inopportune and so causeless, and only served the ends of the opposite party, already well served both at Rome and in Madrid, the King received letters from Italy throwing doubts upon the loyalty of the Pope.[2] How could such conduct or such language be explained on the part of an ally? Why so much money accumulated in Fort St. Angelo, when the Pope refuses to pay the subsidies? Could it be that he plots some secret undertaking, as it is rumoured, or is thinking of annexing the kingdom of Naples to the Pontifical States? Why such an intimacy with Venice? Does he intend to gain her over to his secret views by offering her those territories which she formerly possessed in Apulia? Does he expect to outlive the King, for during Philip's lifetime he could not think of accomplishing such vast projects, unless he found some ally like the Republic of Venice, which would not be compromised as long as the King reigned? These rumours were current in Philip II.'s ante-chambers and in those of his advisers. They came from Italy, where for a time they were believed. Brought by the newsmongers of the period, they found their way into the books of some of the authors

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., March 21, 1588.
[2] Lippomano to the Doge, Sept. 20, 1587.

of the following century, and thus acquired the reputation of being facts. Nothing, however, was more false. Sixtus never dreamed of conquering Naples. Such an ambition, for which Pope Caraffa had been severely punished, could not come into the head of so practical a man. Neither Philip nor his ministers believed in these rumours. The latter implored of their master not to show his anger, to be indulgent to the hasty temper of the Pope, to give way in the matter of the ordinance, and to be certain that Sixtus, besides knowing how difficult a descent upon Naples would prove, and looking upon the Catholic King as the principal defender of the Christian Church, as the strongest opponent of Protestantism and of the Turks, would never, out of a purely vain desire of glory, throw the Christian world into disorder, or spend his money without any chance of turning it to profit.

The King followed this advice, which was so well adapted to his manner of thinking as well as to his character. Instead of showing any susceptibility, he was even more attentive. When the Pope wished to marry his grand-nephew, he met his wishes by facilitating the union of Michel Peretti with Margaret, the only daughter of Count de la Somaglia. On the other hand, Sixtus was not insensible to these civilities. They were not in error who said that he appreciated Philip's importance in the light of the interests of the Church. When the King's health began to fail, the Pope showed the greatest concern. His fears had a cause. Philip had the gout, and, to the despair of the German doctor of the Dowager Empress, he was being for ever purged

and bled, according to the customs of the country. He was rapidly declining, but still worked incessantly, writing himself, and becoming more and more inaccessible even to his ministers, much more to ambassadors.

The death of Cardinal Granvella occurred in the midst of the war preparations. Had it occurred earlier, it would have been an event; then it passed without notice. The cardinal was but an illustrious old man, who departed from life long after having given up public affairs. He had stuck to power with great tenacity, showing, as so many others have done, that it is easier to get upon the wide stage of the world than to come down from it willingly and with dignity when the hour of retreat has sounded. The King, who had always a great regard for those who served him, had left him a kind of pretence of his former grandeur, but had long ceased to consult him. 'That great statesman died with prudence and constancy,' as the Venetian envoy writes to the Doge. The King had written to him to say 'that his illness gave him great concern.' The cardinal sent back word that his concern was well founded, for he lost a faithful servant, who had never hesitated in the defence of his interests to call down upon himself the hatred of all the princes of the earth.[1] Sixtus V. learnt the news of his death with indifference. He said to Gritti, 'Why did he quit Rome, where he could live with honour, and take the direction of his sovereign's affairs in Italy? whereas, by going to Spain, he has exposed himself to

[1] Lippomano to the Doge, September 10, 1586.

what has occurred, for the Spaniards cannot stand being governed by foreigners. The King made no use of him, and gave his confidence to that deaf and blind Don Juan de Zuniga, and Ydiaquez. How can it be wondered at that Drake, and even the corsair Murat-Reiss, should do them harm, since the King's council is in such a state, and since, not to augment the authority of the nobility of his land, he calls only men of low extraction into the Cabinet? God grant no misfortune may occur to him; for, in that case, the nobility, anxious to take the reins of government in their own hands, might operate strange changes, not only in Spain but also in Italy.'[1]

The Venetian envoy was always the person in whom he confided. When Gritti[2] brought him the news of the peace that had been signed between Persia and Turkey, he showed fully how displeased he was. 'This,' he said, 'is a fine opportunity lost. Now the heretics will get help from the Turks, and will do a deal of mischief.' He regretted giving 800,000 scudi a year to the Catholic King. 'The Spanish galleons,' he exclaimed, 'only traffic, and the money of the Church is spent otherwise than it should be. Hence God's wrath, the humiliations and reverses which the King meets with in Holland, in Flanders, where he takes one town to lose two; while a woman can make coalitions with the princes of Germany and of Navarre, and find in herself the means of upsetting the whole world.' Gritti, in giving an account of this interview, implores

[1] G. Gritti to the Doge, October 11, 1586.
[2] *Ibid.* May 23, 1587.

the Doge to keep it secret. The suspicions which he thinks he notices in the Pontiff's heart as regards the loyalty of Philip strike him greatly. 'It is certain,' he writes to the Doge, 'that the King of Spain is arming, but it is not equally certain that those armaments are directed against England.'[1] The Doge was discreet, and the Pope continued to give Gritti his confidence. 'For goodness' sake,' said the Pope on one occasion, 'let those Venetian noblemen behave in such a way that we may remain friends, that there may be no cause for our quarrelling, but that we may help one another.' Then, showing him a drawing of the Holy Sepulchre which had been sent to him, and which lay on his desk, he added, 'We might buy the Holy Sepulchre from the Turks; they would give it to us for money, but that is not what we wish. We do not wish them to believe that we cannot take it by force if we please, and though, during our life-time, we dare not hope that this will be done, still we do not wish the world to believe that it is impossible. In having it transferred to Rome we should be afraid of committing a sin, and of doing that which is displeasing to God; for He chose to be born at Bethlehem and to die at Jerusalem. We also find that, though Our Lord's cradle is in Rome, no one comes to see it, while to visit the Holy Sepulchre many travel to Jerusalem. They say the pilgrims are badly treated by the Turks. We must have patience until God sends the man who, to the honour of God, undertakes the conquest of the Holy Land. One man would suffice, for the rest is not

[1] Gritti to the Doge, August 20, 1588; June 4, 1588.

wanting. The King of Spain's forces would alone be sufficient, if he only wished to turn them to this account. He has so many kingdoms, so much money, so much power! Nor would he be alone, for who would not help him? Ferrara, Florence, Mantua, Urbino, would all combine by every means in their power. The King, it is well known, can dispose of Genoa as he pleases, and, though the Government of Venice would not compromise themselves openly with the Turks, there is not a woman in the town or continent of Venice, with a little money, who would not willingly pay for the equipment of five or six soldiers for such an enterprise. One thing is wanting: a leader—a Constantine, a Theodosius, an Arcadius, a Lothair, or some such prince. Such a prince, we fear, we shall not find during our lifetime; for among those we see there is not one capable of fulfilling such a task. Let us not despair, however! If he comes forward, we have laid by as our share some three millions, and before that sum is expended we shall take care he has more. Such an enterprise could have been set on foot with the money expended in the armament against England. Thirteen millions have already been expended, and nothing has been done. The King and his Armada are becoming ridiculous, while Queen Elizabeth knows how to manage her affairs. If that woman were only a Catholic, she would be loved by us more than any other sovereign, for she has great qualities. See what Drake is. With his small forces he has burnt twenty-five of the King's ships in the Straits of Gibraltar, and a greater number

still at Lisbon; he has pillaged Philip's fleets, ransomed the island of San Domingo, and acquired so great a reputation that the English run after him to take a part in his victories while the others run away from fear. That Spanish Armada gives us anxiety. We have strong presentiments that it will not succeed. Instead of despatching it in September last year, as we had advised, because in war nothing is so advantageous as promptitude, the King has delayed, hesitated, and given the Queen time to prepare against his coming.' Though he blamed Philip, he appreciated his worth. He knew how important it was in the Catholic interests that he should live. 'He is,' said he to Badoer, 'sixty-three years of age; and, though he makes believe that his infirmities do not trouble him, he is very ill. May God preserve him, for his life is very precious in the times we live in.'

The armaments were carried on, but with rather more zeal than practical sense. Plans were discussed, adopted, then rejected and again replaced by other plans. In the summer of 1586, work had already begun, but little progress was made. 'The French,' some one said to Lippomano, 'think too little, the Spaniards too much.'[1]

What would France do? The question was an important one. Where seek a refuge in the event of failure or accident if the French ports were closed to the Spanish fleet? Philip II. tried to elucidate the matter by a direct appeal to Henry III.[2] 'The audacity

[1] Lippomano to the Doge. Madrid, December 3, 1586.
[2] *Ibid.* July 26, 1586.

and rashness of the Queen of England,' wrote Philip, 'exceed all limits and require to be put down. It is impossible any longer to bear with such insults, nor with the serious damage which that Queen occasions, not only to Spain, but also to the Pope, to the Catholic religion, and even to your Majesty, since she has lately recommended that the German princes should send auxiliaries to the aid of "the Béarnais."' Above all, he is obliged to impress on him the necessity of avenging common insults, and to ask the advice of Henry III., as well as to let him know what he thinks of the undertaking, which has been principally begun on account of his zeal for religion and respect for the honour of God.

Were he alone to bear the whole onus of the war, and God gave him victory, he would be satisfied with the honour of having performed such an act, and would place the kingdom of England either in the hands of the Queen of Scotland, who was so closely allied by blood to his Christian Majesty, or in those of some English Catholic nobleman.

Henry III. replied that so prudent a king could not require his advice; that he could himself decide what was necessary to do; and that no one pretended to hide how much the kingdom of France was troubled and perplexed. It was a pain to him to have to acknowledge that matters had come to such a pass that, if the civil war lasted, each man might do what he pleased for the common defence, and that, if peace were made, it would not be he that could prevent the Catholics or the Huguenots from helping the Queen of England if

they wished. This answer seemed to be very reserved. What could have dictated it? No one knew. Neither the Pope,[1] who had made great efforts to extort from Henry III. at least a promise of neutrality while the expedition lasted, nor Don Bernardino, of Mendoza, Philip's ambassador at Paris, had been successful in obtaining a more explicit declaration. M. de Longle, French minister at Madrid, expressed himself in the sense of his master's letter.[2] It became evident that Henry III. would not prevent his subjects from helping the Queen because he did not ignore the fact that the League was supported by help from Madrid. If, therefore, no reliance was placed on his sympathy, his powerlessness was counted upon.

Meanwhile Philip made fresh overtures to Rodolph II. The last had been unsuccessful. He asked him, through his ambassador, to invest him with the powers of acting as his vicar in Italy. As he was obliged to recruit men in the Peninsula, he wanted to be able to exercise a direct authority over the numerous feudatories of the Emperor. Such an attempt at such a moment only increased the secret jealousy of Rodolph, and would besides have met with the strongest opposition on the part of the Electors, whose vote was necessary, and who never would have consented to give up to the King of Spain what little influence and prestige Germany still possessed in Italy. Cardinal d'Este was alarmed. He already saw 'the princes, counts, barons, and high justiciaries of Italy cited before the tribunal

[1] Lippomano to the Doge, August 24, 1586.
[2] *Ibid.* October 11, 1586.

of the Inquisition at Milan, a tribunal worse than the Spanish one.'[1]

Besides the diplomatic campaign, which had for its object to insure the neutrality of the French king; to concentrate in one man the interests of both houses of Austria in Italy; to better the relations with the Sultan,[2] and thus to direct against England the whole of the Spanish forces with the exception of those employed in Flanders and in Portugal, there were military and naval armaments which, as the Pope said, were proceeding so slowly that Elizabeth would have time to prepare against an attack. Not only had she time to prepare her defence, but also to put the whole Christian and infidel world on the alert. Her agents were indefatigable at Constantinople, in Morocco, in Persia, in Algeria,[3] the most powerful of the African States, and these were all prepared, it was firmly believed, to co-operate with the Queen in making a diversion against Spain.[4] Months and years passed by. Orders and counter-orders succeeded one another. Soldiers were levied in Italy and in Spain; they were marched to Lisbon and to Corunna. Both these places were filled with troops, demoralised by inaction and reduced by illness. Opportunities offered themselves, but they were allowed to pass.

Drake was far away in the West Indies. Why not take advantage of this absence to make a descent upon

[1] D'Este to Villeroy, 1585, no date.
[2] *Ibid.* April 1, 1586.
[3] Pisany to Henry III., November 4, 1586.
[4] Lippomano to the Doge, October 11, 1586.

Ireland? People in Rome and in Madrid wondered at this. But obstacles always presented themselves. In the fine season the Armada was not ready; in bad weather it was evident that without harbours of refuge it could not start on an expedition into hostile waters. The Pope was inconsolable, and regretted all the money that had been spent without profit. 'The Spaniards,' he said, with a sigh, to the Venetian envoy, 'are like the gardener's dog, who does not eat the cauliflowers, but does not allow others to eat them.'[1] Pisany writes to M. de Villeroy:[2] 'He began to speak to me of the King of Spain and of his ministers in a strange way, and said that more than 20,000 men had died on that same fleet in Portugal, and that on the day of St. Luke at Lisbon twenty-eight big ships, from want of management, had run foul of each other and had all been injured, and also that the Italians sent to Flanders last year had all died. So that everything in his opinion was going on from bad to worse, while he was made to believe that all was right, and that the army was to embark on the 4th of this month (April 1588), and begin the expedition, which he knew could not be undertaken without him; that Philip was constantly asking for the 700,000 scudi which he had promised, but which he had promised only when success had attended their efforts and they should have landed; that he had heard that since the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, whose experience and talent he questioned, had been appointed

[1] Badoer to the Doge, June 10, 1590.
[2] Pisany to Henry III., March 21, 1588.

commander-in-chief. But whatever occurred he would see that nothing was done which might prejudice France or be likely to give rise to suspicion.'

In August 1588, the Armada sailed to its destruction. The first news of the disaster was communicated by the Duke of Parma. The reports of Mendoza, Spanish ambassador in Paris, who had evidently been led into error by false intelligence, had given rise to the belief in Madrid that a great victory had been obtained. Now the news came that not only was the fleet dispersed, but also probably destroyed; that the ships which had escaped the fire of the English were making their way towards Scotland, and were wandering about the Norwegian waters, which were unknown to the Spaniards; that they could not seek refuge in any of the harbours of King James, who, forgetting the murder of his mother, had thrown himself on the mercy of Elizabeth; that if they remained at sea they had to fight Drake, who had been sent in pursuit of them; that in both cases their loss was a certainty. If even the elements proved more auspicious, if the rest of the fleet were to round the western capes of England and regain the ocean, their destruction was likewise inevitable; for they had nō more provisions, and if the crews escaped the enemy's fire, or being drowned, like so many others, they would perish by famine. What was to be done? Send those ships which were cruising off Corunna to revictual that portion of the fleet which was saved? But was it not to expose them to the same fate as the Armada? Prepare new armaments? It was not to be thought of at that

moment. Men, money, and ammunition were alike wanting. Spain had exhausted herself in a single effort. That effort had not succeeded. She was ruined for many years. Such was the impression common to the King, his ministers, and the diplomatic body in Madrid. In such an emergency Government dissembled the news as much as possible, intercepted the private letters which came from abroad, increased the number of processions and public prayers to obtain from God that victory which had already been granted to the enemy, and, in fine, acted as foolishly in trying to repair the evil as it had been powerless to prevent it. The public stormed; made the King, who had never listened to anyone but Ydiaquez and Mora, responsible for the disaster; blamed the delay of the Duke of Parma; raised to the skies the Marquis de Santa Cruz, who had died before the departure of the fleet, and who had been so severely criticised during his lifetime; and condemned his successor, the unfortunate Medina Sidonia. Accustomed as Philip was to dissemble, and clever at appearing unconcerned whenever any good or bad fortune befell him, he was not able this time to hide his grief. Wounded to the heart, and reproaching himself with being the author of this fearful catastrophe, he shut himself up for many hours with his confessor, made a new will, and gave no more audiences. He lived ten years more, but he was no longer the same man. He never recovered his health, which was already so impaired. His countenance showed how deeply sorrow, care, and dark presentiments had poisoned the last years of his life. When

his son Philip fell dangerously ill, his most intimate servants were witnesses of his despair, though even before them he tried not to show it. He wrote and signed as formerly, but never spoke. His eyes were ever lifted up to Heaven, and he no longer had the strength to go and see the child he believed to be at death's door, and whom he visited only when he was out of danger.[1]

Since the destruction of the Invincible Armada, a mournful dulness reigned at the Escurial. Philip continued to work. A second Armada was to be formed. Reinforcements were to be sent to the invading army in Portugal. *Lists* of officers were drawn up, and commanders were chosen. 'Last year,' it was said in Madrid, 'we had an army without a chief; now we have commanding officers but no army.' Men and money were wanting. There existed still a steadfastness of purpose, but no longer that energy and activity which great troubles require, nor that genius which discovers resources and faces misfortune. At the Vatican bad temper showed how deep was the affliction the news had caused. M. de Pisany went to the Pope and boasted to him that he had always said that this expedition could not succeed, undertaken as it was without the consent and co-operation of his king. Sixtus held his tongue. He was resolved no longer to

[1] Lippomano to the Doge, Madrid, February 27, 1589. The recovery of the future Philip III. was obtained by means of a stone called 'belzuar,' which was considered to have the property of arresting fever, &c. The medical science in the 16th century was very backward, and it is matter of astonishment how the men of the day could withstand the medicines administered to them.

expose his treasures to be swallowed up by the Channel waters together with the Spanish galleons. Olivarès, on hearing of the disaster from the Duke of Parma, was the first to apprise the Pope of it. Italy was full of bad news, which had been received in France, in Venice, and by the members of the Sacred College, who were hostile to Spain, with mingled feelings of sorrow and joy. The Count's audiences were of a stormy character.[1] According to the terms of the convention for subsidies, the Holy Father owed the King a million of scudi. The ambassador claimed the sum. The answer was that the stipulations of the convention did not apply to this payment. Olivarès proved that, even without the convention, the Holy See was obliged to help the King in the present circumstances. He recalled the sacrifices made by his master. The Pope let him speak, though he was almost unable to contain himself from impatience. At last his anger exploded. He was a man of his word, he said, but he must first have positive intelligence respecting the Armada. Moreover he could not dispose of the money of the Holy See without the consent of the Sacred College. So weak an argument showed how ill-disposed he was towards the King. Olivarès wanted to reply, but Sixtus ordered him to speak on other matters. 'I find him,' wrote the ambassador to Philip II., 'very lukewarm in his tokens of satisfaction whenever good news comes from Spain, and not much affected by bad news from that quarter. Envy of your Majesty's greatness, and his horror at

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., September 26, 1588, August 12, 1588, and September 30, 1588.

parting with money, act more powerfully upon his nature than do the welfare of the Church and his zeal to see the annihilation of heresy in the world. If he promised a subsidy, it was in the hope that the expedition would never take place. When the King's affairs are not flourishing, his pride and arrogance are unbearable; he literally places the knife to my throat, and forgets that the harm which may be done to your Majesty is likewise harm done to the Holy See and to the cause of God. On this occasion his evil disposition has shown itself once more. I, however, hold out firmly against him.'

'In order,' wrote Olivarès on another occasion, 'that your Majesty may understand how the Pope is informed with regard to military and naval matters, I will note here that he has recommended my asking your Majesty to give orders that the fleet support the troops now before La Rochelle.'[1]

Having heard that Monsignor Grassi was chosen to be the Pope's Nuncio in Madrid,[2] Olivarès, who did not like the appointment, had an explanation with the Holy Father, which clearly shows the nature of his relations with Sixtus V., and how unmeasured were his expressions. A prelate, to whom the embassy of Madrid had been destined, had begged to be excused on account of his age and infirmity. Olivarès told the Pope that Mgr. Grassi was much older, but that he was so far good that he would probably die on the way, in which case His Holiness would inherit of a 'clerk of the closet,' one of the 'vacabile' appointments.

[1] Olivarès to Philip, May 30, 1588. [2] *Ibid.* August 12, 1588.

The Pope complained of the little notice the King took of his advice. He had begged the King, he said to Olivarès, to settle with the Portuguese Pretender before embarking in his great expedition against England. Don Antonio had, as a good Catholic, addressed himself to the Holy Father, and declared himself ready to give up all his pretensions to the throne of Portugal, provided he had some compensation in Italy, either the Duchy of Milan or the States in the kingdom of Naples.[1] From Madrid, however, no answer had been vouchsafed. He had implored his Catholic Majesty to ask the King of France for a harbour of refuge. This advice had met with a similar fate. Many other grievances were added to these, and Olivarès had some trouble in facing the storm. He recommended his King to write himself to Sixtus, to insist on the payment of the stipulated sums, to show a change in his politics towards him, and to threaten him with his resentment. Then, as if alarmed at this advice, which had been given in a hasty hour, he wrote four days after to beg that the King 'would satisfy the Pope in secondary matters, show him respect and affection, but be firm as regards matters of primary importance. He did not despair of bringing him back to just views, except in money matters, and except also in all that he has told the King, and which he must in truth keep to, of the irascible character of the Pope and his want of good faith.'

The facts advanced by Olivarès were correct, but the judgment he formed respecting them was the result

[1] Badoer to the Doge, June 3, 1589.

of passion, and is not therefore trustworthy. It is true that Sixtus V. did not wish for a universal monarchy under Philip II., any more than under any other sovereign. He never disguised his opinion on the subject, but even expressed it too loudly and too often, for he had the failing of speaking too much. 'Great Christian princes,' he said, during one of his numerous conversations with the Venetian envoy,[1] 'require a counterpoise; for if one prevails, the others run the risk of giving in in many things which he may ask for.' This was not a reason for accusing Sixtus of want of faith. It is true that he did not like to part with the money he had economised, nor to place it in hands that could not deal with it, nor to spend it uselessly, as he foresaw that it would be spent if he agreed to fresh armaments in Spain. From the first he saw—and his insight was always good—the whole extent of the disaster of the Armada, the fall of the Spanish monarchy, and the little hope there was of seeing the infirm King again take the lead in the great struggles against the enemies of religion.

The complaints of Olivarès against his irascible temper are more just. Whenever, with a frown on his countenance, he quietly left his seat and canopy, and began to pace the room, followed by his unfortunate visitor, on whom he imposed silence, and whom he overwhelmed with good and bad, but more often good arguments, then, indeed, he was terrible. His voice was heard in the antechamber. His secret

[1] Gritti to the Doge, December 7, 1588.

cameriere, Monsignor Sangaletto—that faithful but indiscreet friend of Frà Felice—remained at the door of his room, his ear to the keyhole, trembling with emotion, curiosity, and fear, but reassured, however, knowing as he did that the calm would soon follow the tempest. No one could resist the old man. No one dared hold out against him, except, perhaps, and only to a certain degree, Cardinal de' Medici, who knew that he was heir-presumptive to a throne, and Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was supported by his character: he was born in Gascony. Of all who came near him, Olivarès was the only one who had never given way before the Pope's wrath.

The recriminations of the ambassador had little influence over the mind, or rather the conduct, of his master. Ever reserved and silent, Philip never betrayed his temper, but allowed his representatives the odious privilege of waging war against the Pontiff, to whom he personally always showed all the submission of a deferential son of the Church. Sixtus, on the other hand, always prayed that the precious life of Philip might be spared.[1] But the failure of the expedition against England altered for ever the relations which had existed between them.

Everyone understood how important would be the results of the disaster. Elizabeth affected to be modest, Philip to be proud. 'Deus flavit et dissipati sunt'—such is the motto on the English medal which was struck in commemoration of the victory. 'I sent my

[1] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, June 3, 1589.

fleet against men, and not against the elements,'[1] said Philip. Both victor and vanquished attributed the result of the event to Providence. Sixtus attributed it to man: to the courage of the woman whom he admired, while he hated her; to the want of resolution and of practical sense in Philip, who henceforth fell in his opinion.

[1] 'Yo la mandaba contra los hombres, no contra los vientos y huracanes.'

CHAPTER III.

RELATIONS OF THE POPE WITH THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC AND OTHER ITALIAN STATES.

THE state of Italy gave great anxiety to Sixtus V. Peace reigned, but it was a precarious peace. Secondary, and even petty, interests engrossed the attention of the several princes, produced an uncomfortable feeling, encouraged intrigue, and opened a field for foreigners to satisfy their ambition. The great sovereigns were then otherwise engaged. They had neither leisure nor time to pay attention to the affairs of the Peninsula, which had always been the object of their desire. Rodolph II., who was the least ambitious of the then reigning sovereigns, was paralysed in his action by the consequences of the Reformation, by the state of Germany and of his hereditary dominions. Henry III. was engaged with the League and the Huguenots. Philip II. had the wars of England and Flanders on his hands. The Sultan was at war with Persia. In order, therefore, to obtain her independence, the moment was a favourable one for Italy. To confirm that temporary peace, it was necessary to profit by circumstances, to create an Italian policy, to form a centre by uniting Venice and Florence, and to make them both cluster round Rome. As has been seen, Sixtus was in close

intimacy with the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. At Venice he had left a bad name as an Inquisitor, and when there he had been somewhat harshly treated. He had to efface the memory of the one, and himself to forget the latter. He set to work. A lucky circumstance helped him. The ambassador of the Republic, who enjoyed among the politicians of his country a great reputation, and had the confidence of the Senate, being similarly disposed to the Pope, forestalled the wishes of the Pontiff.

Lorenzo Priuli was born in 1538, had studied at Padua, gone rapidly through all the careers which it was necessary for a patrician to follow, and obtained high positions at an age when he was comparatively young. At the time of the league against the Turks, he was ambassador at Madrid. He next resided in the same capacity at the Courts of Gregory XIII. and of Sixtus V. He became afterwards Patriarch of Aquila, was made a cardinal by Clement VIII., and died in 1600, much regretted and esteemed by his countrymen. It was chiefly to his embassies in Madrid and in Rome that he owed his great reputation. These high functions were not much sought after. The Senate was even at times in difficulty to find men who would undertake them. The salary was insufficient, the duties onerous, and the transactions of such a nature as often to excite private hatreds, or give rise to the suspicions of the Senate. Diplomatic agents were expressly forbidden to receive any presents, and the Government of Venice, who in this respect, as in many others, anticipated the following century, took care that the prohibition should be strictly enforced. The am-

bassadors were elected by the Senate, and if those who were chosen to fill such posts were anxious to avoid the honour, they were liable to considerable fines, which were determined by law.[1] To be named ambassador, it was necessary to have an acknowledged capacity to fill the post, to enjoy public credit, and to possess some fortune. In other words, it was necessary to be an important personage. The representatives of the Republic all satisfied these conditions, and therein lies the secret of their constant successes and often brilliant victories at the time which now engages our attention. Priuli in a very few days won the confidence and friendship of Sixtus V. The past was soon forgotten, and the relations between the two States were all that could be wished.

When the new Nuncio, the Archbishop of Capua, presented his letters of credence to the Senate, he made a speech which did not resemble the ordinary reticent and prudent official discourses. 'If His Holiness Sixtus the Fifth,' said he, 'most illustrious signori, could have

[1] In 1589 an ambassador-extraordinary was named to Rome, and as usual elected to the post. The senate fixed his salary at 300 gold ducats a month, without the obligation of accounting for its expenditure: 300 ducats more were allowed for horses and stabling; the ducat being worth 6 lire and 4 grossi. The secretary received once for all 100 ducats as a donation. Should the ambassador not set out for his post before six days were over, he had to pay a forfeit of 1,000 ducats: if he refused the embassy altogether, he was liable to the penalties prescribed by law.—The Doge to Badoer, October 11, 1589.—The Pope's Nuncios were less well paid than the Venetian ambassadors, but they were authorised to receive presents from those sovereign princes at whose Courts they resided. Till the year 1868 all the expenses of the Roman Nuncio in Madrid were paid by the Court of Spain. The Nuncio at the Court of Rodolph received 230 scudi; at Venice, which was the dearest town in Europe, 230 scudi; in Savoy 115; in Tuscany 57; in Germany 115 and 130; in Poland 230.—*Tesoro Politico.*

expressed himself what he feels, you might yourselves have noticed in his words, in his countenance, in his gestures, how real is the paternal love which he entertains for you, how true are the wishes he forms for the greatness of your country, for the prosperity and splendour of the Republic. The Pontiff will never cease, either to give you proofs of his friendship, or to call down upon you the blessings of heaven. It is with extreme pain, as well as parental anxiety, that he sees you surrounded by powerful enemies; and that you may defend yourselves against the incursions of the barbarians, against the hostilities of the infidel, he offers you the treasures of the Church, the revenues of the Holy See, and even his own life. He expects from you in return a filial love of, and ardent zeal for, the Catholic religion, which must never be judged according to the measure of State reasons, but must be received with a right spirit and an entire faith, for it never varies, and neither events nor the will of man can change it. It is owing to its obedience to the Holy See, to the observance of the sacred canons, that this illustrious Republic is indebted for having risen out of nothing into grandeur, power, and celebrity. It is by its union with the Holy See that it will consolidate, not only its own tranquillity at home, but also its prestige in Italy.'

To this speech, which was remarkable as exposing, under commonplace observations, the whole of the Italian programme of the Pope, the Doge replied: 'For centuries the Republic has never had so much cause for rejoicing at the good understanding which at present

exists between it and the Holy See. Under Gregory it never was met except by refusals and prejudices. Now it only has cause for rejoicing.' This was not an exchange of compliments, but of just appreciation and true sentiments, seldom found on similar occasions.

Acts follow words. The Doge observed to the Roman representative that he had been received with unusual honours. The Pope in return gave the most flattering reception to the embassy that went to congratulate him on his accession.[1] The latter was composed of statesmen of high rank, and each bearing a great name. One of them, Leonardo Donato, had represented the Republic at the Court of Gregory XIII. The others were Marcantonio Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini, and Marino Groniani. They brought for the grand-nephews of the Pope, Alexandro Montalto and Michel Peretti, titles of Venetian noblemen. Sixtus V. had recommended the Roman barons and prelates to escort the ambassadors on the occasion of their solemn entrance, which took place with extraordinary pomp. Michel Peretti went to meet them, and introduced them in the Sala Regia, where they were received most graciously in public audience. Donato made the customary speech, and moved the Pope to tears. These Sixtus could shed easily, but was not accustomed to shed in public. Everyone was astonished, and the diplomatic body, who were curious to know the cause of this emotion, were unsuccessful in their endeavours to hide the anxiety which this growing intimacy with

[1] October, 1585. The four Ambassadors-Extraordinary and Lorenzo Priuli to the Doge, October 12, October 19, October 28, 1585.

Venice awakened in them. During their short stay in Rome, the Ambassadors-Extraordinary, accompanied on every occasion by Lorenzo Priuli, were several times admitted to an audience of the Pope. They had pleased him from the first, by congratulating him on the security which travellers now enjoyed upon the roads on which lately they could not travel without danger of losing their lives. This was flattering a weakness of the Pope, who was not only proud of having got rid of the banditti, but was also flattered by the comparison with his predecessor. Italy and Turkey, the vulnerable part in the Venetian policy, were then spoken of. They feared that the irascible Pontiff would induce them to adopt an aggressive policy towards their terrible neighbours. He reassured them on this score. 'We do not wish,' he said, 'that the Republic should compromise itself. We know that it must act cautiously with the Sultan; that it has not forces enough to fight him alone and unaided, and that he leaves us alone for the present because he is occupied elsewhere, but that he will do us a deal of harm as soon as his hands are free of Persia. What you require is, to profit by the time which he gives you to prepare yourselves, and to wait until I am ready. The Republic is therefore right not to open hostilities at the risk of being afterwards abandoned by the other Christian princes, who, alas! think only of satisfying their own ambition, and even worse than that. They really do not care if they lose one eye, provided they can tear out two of another. They mutually prevent each other from doing good, and allow the common enemy to

profit by their dissensions. Let the Republic be careful, therefore, not to come to open warfare with Turkey, but let it co-operate with us secretly, well and good, and wait until the other Christian princes are well bound to the cause. Then only must it join. This was always the opinion we held when cardinal, but which, as we were new in the office, was not listened to. All we ask of the Republic is to be prudent. Its captains at sea are often guilty of violent acts against the Mussulmans; let the Republic give Turkey the satisfaction of punishing those pirates, but not too severely. This is what in our time, when we were in Venice, those good old senators used to do, who, whenever a case of the kind occurred, gave out that they would punish the criminal, but who never were harsh upon their own people, and took care not to give the Turk the satisfaction of beheading a Christian.'

Then, talking of the affairs of Italy, he recommended them to visit Florence, and to effect a good understanding with the Grand-Duke. 'It is in your interest,' he said, 'that you should be in good relations with him, for he is a great prince in Italy, and has the Republic in high esteem, as indeed his marriage has proved. He could choose a wife wherever he pleased, in Italy or elsewhere, but he preferred marrying a Venetian lady and a daughter of the Republic.[1] We desire, also, to live in good harmony with Savoy, Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence. We hope that all the princes of Italy will live in good harmony with each other, not for the purpose

[1] Bianca Capello was honoured with the title of Daughter of the Republic on the occasion of her marriage with Francis de' Medici.

of a league, for we wish to offend nobody, but because, if we live in such good understanding, no one will dare molest us, but all, on the contrary, will have a great respect for Italy, and we shall all enjoy the most perfect tranquillity. We hope that the Republic will be more careful to keep its affairs secret. All that it does is known. Our agents send us whole sheets full of reports of the deliberations of the Government. It is the truth. We tell it you because we like the Republic; but we do not like that all we say to you confidentially, through your ambassador, should be known at once by all the other princes, who then at once suppose that we have a great partiality for the Republic, which we love, it is true, but in favour of which we should not do anything displeasing to Spain or to other sovereigns.'

This want of secrecy, which made the Venetian envoys despair (and they complained even more than did the Pope), often gave rise on the part of Sixtus V. to amicable remonstrances. 'Your gentlemen,' he said, 'know everything that takes place in the Senate, and go and report the secrets of the State in public places and in certain churches. They are not like the gentlemen of other countries. They are almost princes. Their words carry weight; they ought, therefore, to act as princes—they ought to be silent.'[1]

The Ambassadors-Extraordinary, much pleased also with the result of other matters upon which they had had to treat, left Rome with the best impressions, having themselves produced the same upon others. The customary banquet at the Palace San Marco had

[1] Badoer to the Doge, 1589.

been magnificent. The four cardinal-princes, Farnese, D'Este, Gonzaga, and Medici, the Venetian Cardinals Castagna and Fachinetti, both formerly nuncios, had been invited. The little Cardinal Montalto had not been forgotten, nor had his brother Michel, for whom the Pope showed so much tenderness.[1] The Roman public, then, as now, jealous of being honoured by the pomp which foreign ambassadors display in their receptions, and liking to revenge itself by sarcasm whenever the luxury of the entertainment had not come up to its expectations, admired the splendour of the four ambassadors of the Republic. The Pope himself was not insensible to this display, when he calculated how much it cost them to do him honour. Notwithstanding the simplicity of his habits, the Pope liked official pomp. Cardinal d'Este was wont to reproach him with this taste. 'He was,' he said to Villeroy, 'a pope envious of such vain glory and incense, which were much esteemed by him.'[2] He created the ambassadors Knights of Holy Church, and knighted them himself in the Sala Costantina. Two of them, who were already knights, had some scruples (it was the sixteenth century) as to whether they should accept such an honour; but the Pope removed the difficulty by saying that the two dignities did not destroy one another, and that, besides, the dignity of Knight of the Church was as superior to the other orders as the authority of the Pope was to that of other princes. On

[1] 'Il papa è molto tenero delle carni sue.'—Babbi to the Grand-Duke, June 22, 1585.

[2] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, March 10, 1586.

both sides these good feelings were appreciated. Sixtus had sometimes recourse to the intervention of non-official people, either to maintain the Government of Venice in its amicable disposition towards the Holy See, or to drive away the causes which might have brought on a coolness. These causes were easily furnished by the Pope's irascible temper and freedom of expression, as well as by the attitude of the Nuncio at Venice, who tried, more than was prudent, to adopt the tone of his master. Cardinal Cornaro was then wont to interfere, in order to calm the susceptibilities of the Republic. 'The Pope,' he used to say, 'is of an impressionable nature, but has a kind heart, as is often the case with hasty tempers. He likes the Venetians. They are children, he had said; they want toys; they shall have them. In small things we will easily satisfy them by giving them concessions, bishoprics, livings, churches, in order to prove to the world how much we care for them.' Then came the grievances: how little regard was shown at Venice for the Inquisition and the religious orders; how the secrets of the State were divulged; what excesses were committed by the *Capelletti*; the Albanian 'gendarmerie;' the robbery of his messengers' effects;[1] but, on the whole, there was nothing wanting in the good understanding between them. The Republic gave a signal proof of its respect for Sixtus V. in presenting him with a palace at Venice, to buy which the Senate had paid 20,000 or 25,000 ducats, and which was destined as a residence for the Nuncio.

The mission of Lorenzo Priuli came to an end

[1] May 22, 1586; June 24, 1588.

one year after the election of Sixtus. Giovanni Gritti replaced him during the three subsequent years. He was not of so high an order of intellect, but had some valuable qualities. The same may be said, and more, of his successor Alberto Badoer, who was still ambassador at the time that the Pope died.

The ambassadors used to see His Holiness once a week. He was wont to converse with them for hours, and they sent the Doge the substance of their conversations, often even the very words of the Pontiff, who in preference to the others liked to open himself to them and to indulge his uncontrollable desire to speak. The affairs of Italy took up the greater part of his conversations. He was for ever recurring to them. With no less frankness, though with less effusion, he was wont to speak upon the subject with the other ambassadors; but his language was invariably the same. 'Confederacies are odious to us,' he once said to Giovanni Gritti;[1] 'the only league we can be brought to conclude is this: if a prince wages war against the Turks, we will help him; if another does the same against the heretics, we will likewise help him: but leagues between several princes we have never approved of.' The whole of his policy lies therein. 'What profit did you derive from your league in '37 with Pope Paul III. and Charles V.? It lost you the Morea and a great portion of Dalmatia. With half the expenses of the war, the Republic might have settled matters with Turkey and not lost an inch of ground. When we, in '59, were in Venice, you were fortifying the island of Cyprus, and the good Franciscan Fathers, who were

[1] Giovanni Gritti, October 15, 1588.

wise men, said to me, "The Republic is buying war with Turkey."' Whenever it was rumoured that the Venetians were negotiating some confederation, the Pope always hastened to deny it. When he learnt that the Republic had gone too far in European politics, he reprimanded it strongly. 'We hear on all sides,' he told Gritti, 'that Venice is jealous of the greatness of Spain, that she is not rendering her good service, and that, on the plea of wishing for peace, she favours the King of France and promotes a war in Italy. Let the French come! If it is to attack Spain, Spain will defend herself: if it is against Italy, thank God we are strong enough to receive them. We think that the Republic would do well not to meddle with other people's affairs, but look to her own, and keep her men and her money for her own requirements.'[1] 'We are asked to join a confederation of Italian princes, to defend ourselves against the foreigner. We shall do nothing of the sort, for that would suffice to bring on, instead of repelling, a war on Italian ground.' It was only towards the end of his pontificate, that, alarmed by Count Olivarès, who threatened him with a war with Spain,[2] he suggested to the Venetian envoy the idea of an Italian confederation, an idea thoroughly contrary to the principles which had constantly guided his policy. Apart from this moment of weakness, Sixtus V. never gave up his fundamental principle of opposition to any system of coalition in the Italian States.[3]

[1] Gritti to the Doge, February 4, 1589.

[2] Nicolini to the Grand-Duke, March 2, 1590. Alberto Badoer to the Doge, February 24, 1589.

[3] The Doge to Badoer, October 7 and October 22, 1588.

During the whole of his reign, he never wearied in his endeavour to establish good relations between Florence and Venice, between Venice and Ferrara, between Ferrara and Mantua, between Venice and the Order of Malta. His object was to consolidate peace among the Italian princes, to keep within bounds their local ambition, to bring them more together, not for any purpose, but for the sake of the common attitude they might eventually take; to render them all sufficiently powerful to counterbalance, under his supreme direction, the preponderance in Italy, not in Europe, of Spain one day, of France another, or of the Emperor, should the German branch of the Hapsburgs supplant that of Spain at the death of Philip II., which he believed to be near. The maintenance of the territorial *status quo* formed the basis of his essentially conservative and pacific policy, while he was anxious to preserve as much as possible [1] the independence of Italy, that is to say, of part of it, since one-third of Italy belonged to the Crown of Spain. That Sixtus V. ever thought of conquering territory, or of going to war with Philip II., or of remodelling the map of Italy, is altogether untrue.[2] His fighting propensities were all for a war against the Turks, the Huguenots, the enemies of the Church; but not against the sovereign who was its most devoted and most powerful protector.

[1] Several authors have supposed that Sixtus V. had ambitious projects, which he wished to realise with the help of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. I have seen many official documents, and a series of the Pope's letters to the Grand-Duke, and have found nothing that could justify such a supposition.

[2] Lorenzo Priuli to the Doge, October 5, 1585.

CHAPTER IV.

SIXTUS V. AND THE DUKEDOM OF SAVOY.

CHARLES EMMANUEL, of Savoy, the son of the celebrated Emmanuel Philibert, had from the time of his accession gained the affection of the Pope. On the occasion of his dispute with the Duke of Mantua respecting Montferrat, he wrote to Sixtus, that he would always regulate his conduct according to his advice and commands.

This young prince had just celebrated his marriage with the Infanta Catherine, youngest daughter of Philip II., at Saragossa, where the Court of Spain was then residing. The Italian princes took umbrage at this, and in Paris such an alliance between the Catholic King and the sovereign who was master of the Alpine passes, was not looked upon with pleasure. Every eye was fixed on the old city of Aragon, which was then resplendent with all the great but dull magnificence of Philip, gay with popular fêtes, and filled with strangers whom curiosity and Court duties had brought within its walls. Europe followed anxiously the celebration of a marriage which foreboded important results, and an increase of Spanish influence in Italy, perhaps even fresh undertakings either against Switzerland or in the direction of France. On this account the nuptials of Charles Emmanuel possess an historic interest.

On Sunday, March 10, 1585,[1] the Duke of Savoy was to make his entry into Saragossa. At four o'clock in the afternoon the King went to meet him. Don Diego of Cordova had been commissioned to measure the exact distance of 400 paces, and to mark the spot where the interview was to take place. It took place near the Monastery of the Franciscans called the 'Jesú.' The King was accompanied by the whole of his Court and by the nobility of the town. Among the Spanish grandees, the High Admiral, Duke Pastrana, the Prince of Ascoli, Marshal Denia (Borja), Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Don Alonzo de Leyva, Count of Valentia, Count Cienfuegos and his brothers Don Francisco and Don Diego, were remarkable for their costly and elegant accoutrements. When the place of rendezvous had been reached, the Dukes of Albuquerque and Medina Celi, the Constable of Navarre, Marshal Aguilar, Prince Arsoli, the High Admiral, and other grandees, their heads covered with the cap, took their seats round the Sovereign. At forty paces off, and to the right of the King, the titled gentlemen,[2] with their caps in their hands, together with the Spanish guard, formed a large square. The German guard and the archers surrounded the person of the King. More than an hour had passed in waiting, when the Duke and his suite appeared. The carrying away of a bridge by a torrent, as often happens in Spain, had stopped his progress. He was preceded by a hundred postilions on horseback, each blowing a horn. In the midst of this noise—which

[1] Vin. Gradenigo to the Doge, March 18, 1585.

[2] 'Los titulos de Castilla,' who are not grandees.

was thought rather fine—everyone alighted. Charles Emmanuel advanced, and, kneeling, requested permission to kiss the King's hand; but Philip made him get up, and embraced him. A long discussion, as to who should show most politeness, ensued. The King insisted on his future son-in-law taking his right, but the latter persistently refused. As they were returning to Saragossa, he often stopped his horse, not wishing to go before his father-in-law, who did the same, so that the palace was not reached before sunset. By way of an exception, the King seemed lively and pleased. He called his son-in-law first 'Duke,' then 'My son,' and the conversation never tarried on the way. As they were about to alight from their horses another amiable contest occurred, as the Duke refused to take precedence of the King.

In the evening, the nuptials took place, in the great hall of the castle. Cardinal Granvella married the couple, in the presence of all the Court. The Nuncio and the Venetian ambassador, Gradenigo, were present as witnesses. On a platform, upon which a gold carpet had been spread, were to be seen all the presents of the bride—jewels and pearls valued at 50,000 ducats. When the ceremony was over, the Cardinal of Seville, the Archbishop of Saragossa, the ladies, each accompanied by her 'gallant,' came to kiss hands, and passed before the King—who was standing all the while—the Prince of Asturias, and the Infantas. Philip II. wore the simple and sombre dress which has been reproduced in so many engravings, as well as in the celebrated picture of him in the gallery at Madrid—a

doublet of black cloth, a cloak of the same colour, trimmed with rare furs. The Infantas wore gowns of white and silver. A single diamond of enormous size fixed to the body of the bride's gown attracted the attention of everybody. The bridegroom had adopted the same colour, except his cloak, which was of black velvet. All the costumes, except that of Philip, were resplendent with pearls and precious stones. A ball ended the day. During the dancing, the King was seated on a raised platform, under a canopy, having on his right the future Duchess of Savoy and her affianced husband, on his left the Infanta Isabella and the heir-presumptive, seated on stools. The assembly was composed of all the ladies, the grandees, and other notables and equerries in waiting, as well as the suite of the Duke. At the request of the King, six ladies danced a minuet, which had great success. Towards the end of the ball, which lasted two hours, the Infanta Isabella danced with her young brother, and the Infanta Catherine with the Duke of Savoy. When they had done they returned to the platform, and the King got up. It was the signal for departure; everyone left, and the princes and princesses had supper each alone in their apartments.

The following day, March 11, the marriage was performed in the Cathedral. The King, clad in black[1] even on that day, but dressed with studied elegance, went to the church with the Infantas, the hereditary Prince, and the Duke of Savoy, all of whom were in

[1] 'Vestito di nero e molto polito.' Philip II. was excessively clean. A speck was sufficient to produce physical pain.

pink, with gold embroideries. His Majesty was preceded by Cardinal Granvella and the Cardinal of Seville, by the Nuncio, the Venetian Envoy, and the whole Court. The archbishop received them at the entrance of the church. The marriage took place in the principal chapel, Philip being his son-in-law's witness, and Donna Isabella that of her sister. The procession returned to the palace in the order in which it came, and to the sound of music, and in the midst of the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. A sumptuous repast was afterwards served by twenty-four knights in the big room. At seven dancing commenced. The order of the evening was the same as on the preceding night. It was remarked that the Duke was most attentive to his young bride, who sat by his side, was very silent, and kept her head turned a little the other way. When the ball was nearly over, the Infantas left the platform, and danced, very gracefully, 'the high and the low step.' While the princesses danced, the King, with his cap in his hand, was standing on the platform. When the Court retired, a herald announced that Don Juan of Rodaxi was ready to fight anyone who would accept a combat with him, in the name of the town of Saragossa, and was prepared to break four spears in that cause.

The young Duke profited by his stay with Philip to ingratiate himself with him. He adopted all the seriousness of Spanish ways, and treated his followers, who were accustomed to the familiar manners of their country, with a stiffness which offended them. The grandees of Spain, though polite, in order to

please the King, saw with a jealous eye the distinguished welcome which Philip had given to the Duke. When the latter left for his States, he was completely Spanish, and it was no longer doubted that, with the help of his ambassador, Baron Sfrondrati, Philip henceforth would reign at Turin, as he did at Milan and at Naples.[1]

Immediately on his return, Charles Emmanuel conceived the idea of an expedition against Geneva. That town was then the rendezvous of the Protestant refugees, and one of the great centres of the Reformation. The Duke caused the Pope to be informed of the risk to which religion was exposed in his States, which were open to the invasion of the heretics, and how urgent it was to oppose a barrier against the evil, and even to root it out. Nothing was easier. He was already in communication with agents in that town. The guardian of one of the gates had been bribed. Switzerland, divided as it was by religious strife, was not in a position to come to the rescue of Geneva. The Catholic Cantons would not lend their assistance. France was in the same position. His father-in-law approved of the undertaking, and the Pope's co-operation would ensure success.

However peaceful had been the designs of Sixtus V. as regards Italy, he seized with eagerness the fine opportunity which was thus offered him of drawing the sword, at the very outset of his reign, in the cause of religion. Such a campaign, on a small scale, pleased him, until his treasures, which were not yet consider-

[1] Antonio Tornimbene to the Doge, Barcelona, June 13, 1585.

able, allowed him to execute designs of a greater importance, such as re-converting England, or breaking the power of the Sultan. He shared the views of the young Duke, who knew so well how to veil his ambitious designs under the pretence of anxiety for the maintenance of the faith in all its purity, and it was in vain that Monsignor Ottinello, the Nuncio in Turin, called the attention of the Pope to the afterthoughts of Charles Emmanuel in this design. Sixtus was determined to associate his name with this pious war, granted monetary help, levied soldiers in his own States, and gave the command of these troops to two renowned officers, Antonio Orsini and Count Sarno.[1] He even asked that the expedition might be made in the name of the Holy See; but this request was allowed to drop, because it did not please the Duke. Statesmen, aware of the state of Europe, regretted that the Pope, who was not yet acquainted with it, should engage himself in an expedition which, according to them, could only end in a compromise.[2]

Facts proved that they were right. In France, the news of what was going to take place gave rise to loud expostulations, which were communicated to Turin in unmeasured expressions of disapprobation, and to Rome in language which, while it was respectful, was nevertheless peremptory. Sixtus V. thought it best to listen to this remonstrance, and to calm the natural suscep-

[1] He gave the Duke a letter of credit for 24,000 scudi, and levied 400 horsemen and 2,000 infantry. He also authorised a levy of men in his States, in the name of the King of Spain.

[2] Such was the Nuncio's opinion. Vincenzo Gradenigo to the Doge, Madrid, Feb. 22, 1585.

tibilities of the Paris Cabinet. From the very first Cardinal d'Este spoke to the Pope on the subject. Seeing that they who were near his Holiness tried to bring him under the sole influence of Philip II.—not an unlikely hope on their part—the Cardinal suggested to Henry III. that he should write to the Pope, and ask him to postpone the expedition against Geneva until the war against the French heretics was over, and give him to understand 'that at the present time a gathering of troops on his frontier would give rise to suspicions; but that if once the Huguenots should be beaten, he might himself perhaps join in the war against the heretics of Geneva.'[1]

The Pope tried to calm him. If Geneva were conquered by the Duke, he said, it would be given neither to Philip nor to his son-in-law. It would be constituted into an independent State, and placed under the suzerainty of the bishop. These remarks had no effect in Paris, and the expedition had to be abandoned. Sixtus consoled himself by withdrawing the account he had opened in favour of Charles Emmanuel. Later, the Duke resumed hostilities, occupied certain portions of the territory of Geneva, but could never penetrate into the town. He had no longer the help of the Pontifical treasury, and the Pope regretted—in fact denied—that he had ever engaged himself to take a part in the expedition. Thus ended the incident which at one time had seriously jeopardised the peace of Italy.[2]

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, October 29, 1585.

[2] Gritti to the Doge, October 29 and February 4, 1588. Lippomano to the Doge, April 4, 1587; August 12, 1588.

The young Duke had vainly endeavoured to obtain the title of King of Sardinia. He hoped to receive that island from his father-in-law, in exchange for some territory near the Milanese. But his Catholic Majesty, notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of his daughter, who found that the modest title of Duchess was unworthy of her position as an Infanta of Spain, peremptorily declined to have a hand in that transaction, fearing, apparently, that similar pretensions might be raised at Florence.

Devoured by ambition, Charles Emmanuel then conceived another plan. Again he sought the assent and co-operation of the Pope. His ambassador in Rome had several interviews with the Pontiff. He was constantly seen at the Vatican. Sometimes he had been caught on his way through a private door into the Pope's cabinet, and was supposed, therefore, to be negotiating some important matters. What was their object? How would all these secret audiences end? What was the purport of the incessant exchange of messages which was going on between Rome and Turin? People asked these questions, but the Pope and the ambassador were mysteriously silent. At last the secret was known. People learnt that, without the slightest provocation, and while at peace, the Duke of Savoy had, without any plausible motive, directed his forces, which it was believed were before Geneva, against the Marquisate of Saluzzo, which belonged to France.[1]

[1] November, 1588. Alberto Badoer to the Doge, June 9, 1590.

In Paris, as in the rest of Europe, the Duke of Guise was suspected of having been the instigator of that sudden attack. The suspicion was erroneous. The head of the League favoured the expedition secretly, but the initiative was that of Charles Emmanuel, who had prepared the attack, with the knowledge and approbation of the Pope.[1] The Duke had made him believe that the Marquisate was full of Huguenots, that Savoy was in danger of being overrun by heretics, that Henry III. was not able to maintain the Catholic religion there, and that he would take that duty upon himself.

The Holy Father shared these opinions, but made the Duke give him a written declaration, by which he undertook to restore that small State to the King of France, provided His Majesty should send a Catholic to take possession of it.

By a verbal announcement through his ambassador, Charles Emmanuel made known to Henry III., who was then at Blois, that he intended to occupy the fortified places of the Marquisate of Saluzzo, in order to

[1] Tempesti tries to prove, from the correspondence which he has published, that Sixtus V. took no part in the preparations for this war, but merely approved it. This is an error, for here are the Pope's own words to the Venetian envoy some time after: 'When the Duke undertook the expedition against Saluzzo, he did so with our consent, inasmuch as he told us that the Marquisate of Saluzzo was daily increasing in the number of its heretical inhabitants, and that he had the means of saving it from the possession of the Huguenots. We replied that if matters stood in the light in which he had represented them to us, he would do well to take possession of the Marquisate, and to restore it to the King of France as soon as the latter sent a Catholic to take charge of it. The Duke, by a written engagement in our possession, has promised to do this, but since the capture of Saluzzo we have never counselled him to push further.'

shelter them against an attack of Marshal de Lesdiguières, and thus to preserve them for the King. The next day a French courier, whom he had detained for three days, arrived at Blois. His despatches brought the news that the invasion of the marquisate was an accomplished fact. The King was furious. He told the Cardinal Legate, Morosini,[1] 'that never in his life had he received news which vexed him more, not only on account of the insult offered to him by a cousin and intimate ally, and an inferior in position, but also by the loss of reputation and of territory,' adding that he was determined to avenge his outraged dignity, and that of his subjects. Before having recourse to arms, Henry III. resolved to try what persuasion could do. Negotiations were begun, but without result. The King, who was deeply mortified, declared that he would rather die than submit to such an humiliation.

When the States of Blois implored him to send an army against Savoy, he cried with joy. The truth then came out, and Sixtus V. was accused of having encouraged the Duke in this adventure. The Duke's indiscretion, and the language of the Spanish ambassadors, who everywhere declared that their king highly disapproved the conduct of his son-in-law, seemed to justify this supposition.

Philip II., anxious and displeased—for at that time he wanted to be at peace with France—thanked the Pope for the kindness he had shown to the husband of his daughter; but he begged of him to restrain the

[1] Tempesti quotes extracts from the report of Cardinal Morosini, of which the authenticity cannot be questioned.

ambition of the Duke, and not to let him run to his ruin.[1] In Madrid opinions were divided in the councils of state.[2] Some accused Venice and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany of favouring the French, because they wanted France to leave the passage by Saluzzo open to them. Others, on the contrary, maintained that, if the marquisate could not be occupied by Spanish troops, it was better to restore it to France, and thus to put an end to the envy of Europe; that nothing could be worse than to leave it in the hands of the Duke of Savoy, for it would make him more difficult to be kept within bounds. But all praised the Pope for wishing to preserve Italy from the invasion of heresy.

Thus reduced, threatened by France, blamed by Spain, and half condemned by Sixtus V., Charles Emmanuel published a declaration, or, as we might call it, a circular, which his ministers were instructed to communicate to the respective Courts to which they were accredited, and which gave an account of his conduct which compromised the Pope greatly. His Holiness prohibited the publication of the document in Rome, saying that such justifications were not worthy of princes.

At Blois the Legate tried his best to restrain the martial humour of the King. In Rome Sixtus had to discuss the matter with Pisany and Cardinal de Joyeuse, who had become Protector of France since the death of Cardinal d'Este, and even with his friend

[1] The Pope himself gave these details to the Venetian ambassador. Alberto Badoer to the Doge, June 9, 1590.

[2] Lippomano to the Doge. Madrid, January 7, 1588.

Gritti. He made the best defence he could; and, while he showed himself irritable and sarcastic with the French, he was gentle and confiding with the Venetian envoy.

The French cardinal, on reporting his interview, gave the substance of this conversation:[1] 'We would wish,' said the Pope, 'that the King did not take the Saluzzo affair so much to heart. It is unusual that so great a king should trouble himself so much about so little.' The Cardinal answered that there were no Catholics in France who would not fight for so just a cause. 'Yes,' replied the Pope, in an ironical tone; 'Marshal Montmorency will gladly fight against a relative from whom he expects support, and the Duke of Guise against the son-in-law of the King of Spain! I don't know how the Duke of Guise stands with the King—I don't know that, when the Duke of Guise took Paris, the King of Spain gave him 4,000 scudi—I don't know whether now the Duke of Guise dances higher or lower than the King of Spain wishes it! I have no nuncios; and my nuncios inquire into nothing, and warn me of nothing!'

In these days of excitement, when everybody foresaw a war with Italy, Gritti never approached the Pontiff without respectfully remonstrating with him on the part of the Government of Venice.[2]

The Pope replied by the arguments already known to the reader. Without acknowledging as yet, as he

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., November 14, 1588.

[2] Gritti to the Doge, October 25, 1588. The Doge to Gritti, October 7, October 22, November 12, 1588.

afterwards did, that he had advised the expedition, he stood on the defensive. 'Lesdiguières threatened the marquisate. If he invaded it with his heretics, the souls of its population would be lost. What an irreparable loss! Means must be taken to provide against such an emergency. When Catholics enter a fortress they at the same time bring salvation with them.' For him one question was paramount in importance, nor did he drop that line of argument. 'Saluzzo,' he added, 'will be given back, if not to-day another day. The Very Christian King is wrong in going to war;[1] he should trust the Duke, who is his relative, and also the son-in-law of the Catholic King, who, if necessary, would come to his rescue.' The ambassador then told him of the complaints which Henry III. had addressed to Venice through his diplomatic agent there.[2] 'Thank the signori in my name,' said the Pope; 'but tell them that matters are not so serious as the French envoy puts them. All will be arranged; do not let the signori trouble themselves so much about it. In all Italy, at Florence and at Venice, they say that the Government of the Republic envenoms the matter. Do not be afraid of writing to them on the subject. We believe that the Government of Venice wishes no harm, but, on the contrary, good to the King of France. The King's interest is to exterminate heresy; this he should do, as we have told Cardinal de Joyeuse and the French ambassador, who daily come and weary us with requests. What does

[1] Gritti to the Doge, November 12, 1588.
[2] *Ibid.*, November 19, 1588.

the King intend to do, now that he is so indignant with the Duke of Savoy—send his armies against him? But his kingdom is very well as it is; everyone can do in it what he pleases—seize with impunity the wife and property of his neighbour. The kingdom is not anxious for a war. And, besides, what are the King's forces? He has no more than two thousand infantry of his own. Formerly this was his excuse when he allowed the German cavalry (reiters[1]) to retreat without punishing them. As for Guise, the King knows what to think of him, since he has told us so often that he was subsidised by Spain. Can he then believe that the King of Spain will go to war against Charles Emmanuel? But, it will be said that the Very Christian King will have the help of the Huguenots. He ally himself to heretics! We really do not see what he can do. Does he think that there is no one who would like to be King of France? There are many who would care to reign over that country. But, supposing the Venetians and the Duke of Mantua, who offers to be general of the army, or that Florence—for there are no others—wish to help the King, would the Republic of Venice, which is suspected of being allied with the Turks, wage war at the request of France against the Duke of Savoy, son-in-law of the Catholic King? What are the States of the Duke of Mantua—what strength, what finances can he dispose of? He lent 300,000 scudi to the

[1] 'Reiters' (riders) were German cavalry troops which were pressed into the French service during the reign of Catherine of Medici. They disappeared in the sixteenth century.

King of Spain, and he would now attack that King's relative? Would Florence, surrounded as it is by Orbitello, Porto Ercole, and those other fortresses which belong to the King of Spain, dare to go against Savoy? Let the King of France get rid of the Huguenots, and he will resume his possession of the marquisate. The Duke then will not oppose him; and, if he does, we will ourselves oblige him to surrender the marquisate, for, as Pope, we will not allow the property of another to be retained, and we will cause that which belongs to the King of France to be restored to him. Should he resist we can excommunicate him, lay an interdict upon him, and declare his States free to belong to whosoever will take possession of them. We have a good deal of money, we have soldiers at our command, and we will have the marquisate restored to the King. No one wishes more than we do that the kingdom of France may be preserved entire. The people of that country are as dear to us as our own. We must defend and govern them well. The abbeys, bishoprics, and ecclesiastical property of France belong to us; and we care particularly also, as a temporal sovereign ourselves, that there should not be on earth one prince only, but that each sovereign shall find a counterpoise in another. We have said thus much that you may repeat it to the signori. Let them consider the state of Italy, the discontented in the Milanese and in the kingdom of Naples, in Switzerland and in your own Republic. If the Huguenots were at Saluzzo they would call these to their help, which would be too

dangerous a thing to do; but, as long as Saluzzo is in the hands of the Duke of Savoy, we are sure that the heretics will not be able to penetrate into Italy.'

He was never tired of speaking in this sense; and congratulated himself on finding that the King was getting calmer—that, at least, he was not acting, which was a great blessing. 'When a man is in a passion he does well,' he said, 'to recite the alphabet once at least.'[1]

His conversations with Gritti were endless. They were good opportunities for the Pope to satisfy his desire of speaking, and he seldom missed them. 'King Louis XII.,' he said, on one occasion, 'did great injury to the Holy See. He was punished for it by having no posterity. King Francis I., instead of obeying, as he should have done, the commands of the Church, tried to make her sign concordats; God, for this reason, deprived him of the duchy of Milan, allowed him to be made a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, and carried off his son, the Duke of Orleans, who had given great promise. In the same way, Henry II. died miserably in a tournament, and none of his sons have had children. God punished him thus for his sins.' The ambassador observed, respectfully, that if God sometimes punishes the faults of kings by visiting them with misfortune, calamities often serve, when it pleases Him to drive them away, to show His mercy. The Holy Father admitted that it is, in truth, a difficult matter to sound God's

[1] Gritti to the Doge, December 7, 1588.

designs with respect to man, and to discover whether misfortunes are really a punishment or a means of glorifying God.

The pressing demands of the French agents, of Gondi, who had been sent specially, of Joyeuse and of Pisany, 'that obstinate man, who will not get out of the groove of his known arguments,' were particularly odious to him. 'For the last three months[1] they speak of war,' he said to Gritti, 'and what have they done? Nothing. It was far better not to say anything. Charles VIII., Louis XII., Lautrec, King Francis, Guise, in the time of Paul IV., all came here at the head of an army. What did they do? How many of their men returned to France? Do they not know that Italy is the tomb of the French? We do not fear the Duke of Savoy. Let the King send the Duke of Maine or the Duke of Guise, and Saluzzo will be at once handed over to them, whether by the Duke of Savoy or, if he refused, by ourselves. Do we not see how matters are getting on out there? Dauphiné, Languedoc, Guienne, Metz, and most of the other provinces are in the possession of the Huguenots. They only want Saluzzo to enable them to penetrate into Italy.'

On another occasion, Pisany and the Duke's agent met in the Pope's anteroom. He called them both in, and requested the latter to write to the Duke in his name, saying that he should abstain from any further proceedings against the King of France. 'Let him beware,' he said, 'of injuring a hair of the King. Let him confine himself to guarding Saluzzo, and pre-

[1] Gritti to the Doge, December 17, 1588.

venting the heretics from getting in.' The Duke's agent promised to write in this sense, as he had already done; but Pisany said he might spare himself the trouble, as his master was not afraid that the Duke wished to deprive him of France. Whereupon the irascible envoy thought it prudent to retire hastily, but the Pope ran after him in a passion, and called out, 'Let the King think well on it! He would see whether the Duke would or would not make progress in France, the day we no longer kept back.'

The Duke of Parma, who was still in Flanders, remonstrated at Rome through his uncle the cardinal. He was one of those most directly interested in the non-extension of the dukedom of Savoy. Old Farnese overcame his repugnance to appear again before Sixtus V., went to the Vatican, and spoke to the Pope with all the frankness and freedom of a man who personally hopes and asks for nothing but peace. He said that it was not right to throw Henry III. into the arms of the Huguenots; that it was important, from the Roman point of view, that the kingdom of France should be preserved, that the French should have an entrance into Italy; and that this was a principle of the school which might be considered of the past, but to which he still belonged. He added a remark which shows that he knew France well. 'France,' he said, 'is now torn inwardly by factions; but let the common enemy attack her, and all parties will unite in defending the country against him.' He considered that it was ridiculous to talk so much of Lesdiguières. He knew him of old. He was unim-

portant, and people were wrong to be afraid of him. Sixtus replied by complaints against the Venetians. 'Holy Father,' answered the old man with a smile, 'the Venetians respect religion, but they respect other things also; their lordships govern the State according to political rules, and not according to those of the Inquisition.' [1]

The interminable affair of Saluzzo was still being discussed, when the murder of the Guises filled Europe with horror, embittered the relations between Henry III. and Philip II., and essentially modified the conduct and secret plans of the Court of Spain [2] with respect to many things besides the Saluzzo affair. As to the latter point, Philip had concerted with the Duke of Guise, who, while appearing to goad Henry III. on to a war, and affecting before the Legate feelings of hostility towards Charles Emmanuel, had secretly engaged himself to prevent the King of France from undertaking the war which he meditated for the recovery of the marquisate. Lippomano, who was Venetian ambassador in Madrid, flattered himself that he had discovered the real views of the Catholic King. Saluzzo, the key to Italy, was to be taken from the French, but without going to war, through diplomatic means—through the Pope's intervention, with the help of the Duke of Guise, and especially with the help of those internal troubles which paralysed the Government of Henry III. The death of the head of the League destroyed all these plans.

[1] Gritti to the Doge, December 10, 1588.
[2] Lippomano to the Doge, January 18, 1588.

Lippomano soon perceived it. The language of Ydiaquez became more imperative than it had been. He blamed the conduct of the Republic in somewhat harsh and significant words. 'His Majesty,' said Ydiaquez, 'finds the present attitude of the Republic strange. Whence its suspicions as regards his Catholic Majesty? By what right is he accused of wishing to disturb the peace of Italy? Does the Republic wish Saluzzo to be open to the French? Does it intend to call them into Italy against Spain? Is it true that the Doge does not fear a French intervention, as is publicly said in the Senate, and in the public thoroughfares of Venice? Is it to be wondered at that His Majesty and his advisers deeply resent such conduct?' The ambassador, who was much moved, requested an audience, which he could not obtain, as the King had the gout. At that time Philip was almost inaccessible. Lippomano wrote to the Doge, and begged of him to spare the susceptibility of the powerful monarch.

The latter, foreseeing a rupture with France, was resolved in future to take openly the part of his son-in-law. Philip had no longer then the same motives to spare the feelings of the French Court. The taking of Saluzzo was no longer a source of annoyance to him. He resolved even to profit by it. Meanwhile he promised eventually his support to Charles Emmanuel, on the condition that Carmagnola, one of the fortresses of the marquisate, should be handed over to the Duke of Terranuova. The murder of the chiefs of the League had brought about this change in his views respecting Henry III. Foreseeing a war with France, he prepared

for it, whether he should accept or even provoke it, as circumstances might determine. From that moment the affair of Saluzzo ceased to be more than an incident, and the diplomatic imbroglio which had alarmed the whole of Europe was soon forgotten in the midst of more serious preoccupations.[1]

[1] Saluzzo in the following century was definitively annexed to Piedmont, in exchange for a portion of Savoy, which was ceded to France.

CHAPTER V.

SIXTUS V. AND THE EMPIRE.

THE Emperor's embassy to congratulate the Pope arrived in Rome in the summer of 1586, and was composed of Count Daun of Zimbern, Dr. Curtius, and a numerous suite. Difficulties arising out of questions of etiquette, and the customary slowness of the Imperial chanceries, had occasioned the delay in departure from Prague. Once on their way, however, they accelerated their journey as much as the indifferent postal service at that time, the deplorable state of the roads, and the extreme stoutness of the principal ambassador, would allow. In Florence, the embassy met with the most flattering welcome. At the request of Rodolph II., Francis hastened to give Curtius the model of a machine which he used to cut diamonds.

Daun and Curtius had, besides the complimentary portion of their mission, to treat with the Holy See about a matter to which the Emperor attached great importance. It referred to the Vale of Tar,[1] which was held by Count Claudio Landi in fief of the Empire, and

[1] Alberti to the Grand-Duke, 1586. Gerino to the Grand-Duke, 1586. Urbani to the Grand-Duke of Prague, 1586. Philip II. to Duke Alexander of Parma, 1590.

which the Duke of Parma, father of General Alexander Farnese, had confiscated, on the ground that he was Duke of Parma and of Piacenza.

High political considerations complicated the matter, which was not already very clear as a question of right. Prince Alexander Farnese, who was to succeed his father that year, was then at the zenith of his glory. In Rome, as in Madrid, there were a hundred reasons for humouring him. He was the general both of Philip and of the Church. From his camp before Neuss, which he was about to take from the Protestants, he had written to the Pope to recommend this siege to his prayers. Both the Pope and the King of Spain inclined in his favour. Besides which, it was only a matter of secondary importance; but it gave rise to anxiety, for at all times Italian questions have easily brought about European complications.

Rodolph II., who was not easily moved, but who, once roused, was still less easily appeased, often perplexed his ministers by his tenacity whenever an idea had taken possession of his mind. In the usurpation of a fief belonging to the Empire, he saw an outrage to his authority as well as to his person, and, counting on the intervention of Sixtus V., instructed his ambassadors not to appear before him unless they could bring him a favourable reply. Daun and Curtius, therefore, set out on their journey, and were well received; but the Holy Father's embarrassment was plain.

Situated, as he was, between his sincere deference for the head of the House of Austria, and that which

he owed to Philip II. and his great General, Alexander Farnese, he vainly sought a solution in the law, and long hesitated before he took a decision. When, however, the ambassadors insisted on his deciding, he gave them a farewell audience.

He said he could not admit that the Church had any rights over the Vale of Tar, and that, if it had (of which he was not aware), he ceded those rights to the Emperor. His Majesty was undoubtedly obliged to protect the interests of Count Landi, his subject, just as the Holy See could not prevent the Duke of Parma, its vassal, putting forth his claim. The King of Spain offered to have the territory neutralised until the question of legality were decided. This proposition, added the Pope, which was dictated by the desire of His Catholic Majesty to preserve peace in Italy, met with his entire approbation. He ended by a peroration in honour of the Emperor, imploring him to associate his own views in the matter with those of his near relative the King of Spain.

The envoys replied with dignity, and retired without endeavouring to disguise their anger. To calm them, Sixtus sent Cardinal Azzolino to them. The Pope, he told them, knew that the young Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg were endeavouring to ensure to the King of Denmark the succession to the Empire. He was sure that he could thwart this plan. To this piece of news, which was intended to console them, the ambassadors replied by a burst of laughter; and Curtius exclaimed that these were German matters, which concerned the Emperor; that

the Emperor would see to them; and that the Pope knew what to do if he wished to be agreeable to His Majesty.

Baron Khevenhüller had no better success in Madrid, and Cardinal Granvella's losing his voice put a stop for a time to the conferences between the Courts of Prague and Madrid.

Other events, of more importance, called for the attention of the Imperial Government. Neuss, a town situated opposite Cologne, had fallen into the hands of Truchsess, formerly Archbishop of Cologne, who had embraced the doctrines of Calvin. That town was considered to be the key to Flanders. It was, therefore, of the highest importance that it should be rescued from those who had taken possession of it, and who maintained themselves in it, notwithstanding the efforts of the new Archbishop of Cologne, Ernest, and his brother William of Bavaria. Both these princes had applied to Rome for money aid. Sixtus replied by amiable words, and compared the House of Bavaria, which was faithful to Catholicism, though surrounded by heretics, to a rose blooming among thorns; promised his diplomatic intervention with Rodolph, through Monsignor Sega, his former Nuncio at Madrid; but was silent on the subject of money. To anyone who was acquainted with the state of feeling in Germany, with the susceptibilities and fears of the Protestant princes, and therefore with the troubles of Rodolph II., nothing could appear more inappropriate and dangerous at that moment than the appearance of a great Roman personage. Supported, in the name of

the Emperor, by Cardinal Madruccio, the two dukes of Bavaria made strong, but vain, representations.

'The Archbishop of Cologne,' said the Pope to Gritti,[1] 'asks us for money. We refuse it because he has five bishoprics, but has not yet taken orders, and has not even asked us for the "pallium." How can we hope that matters will prosper if he behaves in this wise? He must be contented with his archbishopric, give up the other bishoprics, become a priest, and live as a prelate; then God and man will help him.' Finally, he sent a nuncio, but sent no money.

With his usual clearsightedness he had understood that, like all German affairs, this question of Neuss would be delayed until it positively injured the Catholic cause. He appreciated also the strategical importance of that fortress. As long as it remained in the hands of the Calvinists, considering the state of things in France, the Spanish army of Prince Alexander was threatened in flank. This consideration was evident. It was not difficult to make it prevail at Madrid and at Brussels, and for the Pope it was the means of hastening the end without his spending a scudo. Farnese, with the King's authority, made a rapid advance upon Neuss, appeared suddenly under its walls, was congratulated in his own camp by Monsignor Grimani, whom Sixtus V. had sent expressly, and took possession of the town and fortress after a siege which lasted only a few days.

In Prague the news was hailed with a delight not

[1] Gritti to the Doge, July 12, 1586.

altogether unalloyed. As a Catholic, Rodolph II. was pleased that the enemies of religion should have been defeated. As Emperor he regretted it. A passive and powerless witness of the Spaniards' victory on German soil in the name of religion, he could but reflect sadly over his weakness, which was the result of circumstances, no less than of his want of initiative; over the deep and unhappily irreparable disasters which the Reformation had caused in the heart of the Empire; over the paling prestige of his crown, the greatest though it were in Christendom. He had lost a true friend, one of the most eminent men of his time, a prince who was generally looked upon as the arbiter of Germany, Duke Augustus of Saxony, who was devoted to the House of Austria, a clever and enlightened personage as well as a lover of peace. Though a Lutheran, he had, by the mere prestige of his authority, kept the Margrave of Brandenburg from giving his adherence to Archbishop Truchsess of Cologne, and had thus rendered a great service to the Emperor. At Rodolph's Court, it was asked how the young Duke who succeeded was disposed towards the Empire. His intentions were not known; all that was known was that, contrary to his father's wishes, he inclined to the Calvinists, and listened to the advice of his uncle, the King of Denmark. There was, therefore, the more cause for alarm, since the evident connexion between the events in France and those that were preparing in Germany could not be denied. Even the most superficial observers felt how important was the question at issue. Those who, by their position,

could see behind the scenes, were justified in asking themselves whether all was not lost.[1]

At the outset of the reign of Sixtus V., the Protestant princes, with Duke Augustus of Saxony at their head, had expressed a fear lest the Pope should act towards them as he had already done towards the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. To calm his powerful friend, and, through him, the other princes who had embraced the new religious doctrines, the Emperor had tried to dissuade the Holy Father from adopting a similar measure. The latter had at once reassured Rodolph, without, however, taking any engagement as to the future. His bull therefore did not please altogether, and the Emperor instructed the brothers Madruccio to ask that the conditional promise for the future might be changed into a promise for the future without any condition attached to it.[2] They were met by a refusal. 'At present,' said Sixtus, 'we do not intend to make a declaration against the Protestant Electors; but Germany wants a good reform.' Such was the ascendancy which Protestant princes still believed the Pope to possess, that they trembled at the idea that he could send forth a bull depriving them of their sovereign rights, and liberating their subjects from their allegiance to them.

The French Huguenots profited by the not very explicit language of the Pontiff to influence the

[1] The diplomatic correspondence of the time proves it. The courage of the Catholic princes comes out prominently, and one sees that in politics one should never despair.

[2] The bull said 'non incommodaremus,' while the Emperor asked that the words should be changed into 'non incommodabimus.'

Lutheran princes, who wanted peace, and were more or less devoted to the Emperor. To shake their allegiance they declared that the cause of Calvinism was that of the Reformation; that if the Pope succeeded in France, he would at once turn against Germany; that he would then publish the bull against the Protestant princes which so alarmed them; that time was pressing; that they should coalesce; that the cause of the Reformation and their political power were at stake. The Calvinistic princes put forward even the prospect of conquering France with the help of the German confederates, of Queen Elizabeth, and of the Netherlands Protestants, reserving until after the victory the question of dividing the spoils. A quantity of pamphlets were published, directed against the Emperor, and said to be printed in France. Satire opened the war, until actual war implements were put into requisition. The Emperor did not keep back from the Nuncio how powerless he was. He confessed to him that he was wholly unable to prevent the Calvinist princes sending aid to the Huguenots in small detachments, and again insisted that the Pope should declare categorically that he would remain neutral as regards German affairs in the future, as he was then and had been in the past. Sixtus replied by a 'non possumus,' and maintained the conditional promise for the future contained in his famous bull.

Relations with Rome cooled little by little. Count Daun's unsuccessful mission had turned the Emperor against the Pope. The attitude and language of the Nuncio wounded him. Though grown old in the manage-

ment of affairs, Monsignor Sega was often wanting in tact and discretion. He loudly blamed the policy followed by the Prague Cabinet, maintained that Rodolph allowed the Protestants to arrogate privileges to which they had no right in the time of Maximilian II., and asked to be informed of the instructions given to an agent sent by the Emperor to Saxony and Brandenburg. The Vice-Chancellor complained of the Nuncio's curiosity, hastiness, and delay in returning his visit. Other causes of disagreement were rife between them, so that Monsignor Sega henceforth only communicated with him through a third person.

Sixtus regretted what he called the decay of the German branch of Hapsburg, as well as his inability to do anything for the head of the Empire. 'Rodolph,' he said, 'has not shoulders broad enough to support the weight of the plans we conceive.'[1]

The Chevalier Urbani, the ambassador of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, has given the following picture of the Imperial Court at that time. 'Never,' says he,[2] 'was union between the head of the house and its members more necessary. Harmony, however, is far from existing, since the archdukes are fighting among themselves as to who shall be King of the Romans. Each one offers himself as a candidate. The Emperor hesitates. His predilection is for Ernest; but Ferdinand intrigues, and Archduke Charles of Styria[3] is the most popular candidate with the Protestant princes. He brought home no

[1] Gerini to the Grand-Duke, February 22, 1586.
[2] Urbani to the Grand-Duke, October 28, 1586.
[3] Father of Ferdinand II.

favourable impression of his sojourn in Spain. He is tolerant, and reminds one in this respect of Maximilian II., who knew so well how to maintain both Protestants and Catholics in his allegiance. The wife of Charles, the Archduchess Mary, revives the ambition of her husband, and declares that he and his brother the Duke of Bavaria are alone capable of some day wearing the Imperial crown. She is so convinced of his future greatness, that she speaks of it often and always thinks of it.' The other princes had less chance. Ernest was looked upon as too intimate with the Court of Spain, Maximilian too Catholic, and Ferdinand as a madcap. Would that election of a successor take place? When? No one knew, for the Emperor was silent. Rodolph, who was still anxiously bent on his marriage with the Infanta of Spain, though at times he thought of asking her for Ernest, continued his secret negotiations with the Catholic King in that view. The letters of the King of Spain on the subject were not shown to any of the ministers. He opened them himself, and replied through his private secretary. But the great question was that of the election of the King of the Romans. 'If the Protestants,' says Urbani, 'turn their eyes, as it is believed, towards the King of Denmark, no one thinks that they can seriously hope that the choice will fall upon a heretic, seeing how hostile the Catholics would be to such an issue, and how divided their camp is by different sects. What they want is the Empire to be maintained in the hands of a Catholic, provided it be a weak prince, so that the Empire may die away little by little, as people

die of fever, while they themselves have time to gain daily in strength, in power, and in authority.'

This deplorable statement of the case was but too true. Rodolph thought of nothing but of his projected marriage and of the election of the King of Rome. These two ideas haunted him, and poisoned his life. The interests of his family required him to provide for the succession to the Empire; but the hope, which he had not given up, of having children if he married, made the thought of having a successor in the person of one of his brothers odious to him. He therefore adjourned the election which was pressing, and urged his marriage with the Infanta, which was but a fancy. In this groove of ideas was the mind of that unfortunate prince imprisoned. Out of it he seldom issued. Hunting and shooting were his favourite pastimes. He used to give himself up to them for weeks; but whenever he returned from his country house at Brandeis, he fell back into his perplexity, running for ever after a phantom, and shutting his eyes to the requirements of reality.

Around him the archdukes stirred themselves, and in their wake followed their confidants and the councillors of the Empire, all divided among each other, and each favouring one or other of the candidates to the throne. Enmities and rivalries among the ministers and great personages of the realm had created a host of coteries, in which those who had any business to transact were lost. The good graces of the Vice-Chancellor were to be won. This could only be done on the condition of displeasing old Trauzen and

Rumpff, and the latter could not be satisfied without awakening the suspicion of the influential Curtius. The Bohemian lords, who were jealous of their country's prerogatives, were often openly at feud with the dignitaries of the Empire. Baron Rosenberg was at variance with the majordomo, and it needed a long negotiation before they were reconciled even in appearance. Difficulties arising out of etiquette often prevented matters from taking their regular course. Thus the Emperor had been obliged to interfere before Curtius could be made to accept, on the occasion of the embassy to Rome, a position inferior to that of Count Daun.[1]

The deplorable state of the finances, if one may talk of the finances of a Government of which the treasury is always empty, and which has no means of filling it, added to the existing evil. Frequently messengers could not be sent because there was not ready money enough to pay their expenses, and the offer of the banking house of Fugger at Augsburg to send the imperial correspondence to Madrid and to Paris by its own messengers was gratefully accepted. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany used similar means to keep well with the Emperor and his ministers.[2]

Rodolph was not wanting, however, in sterling qualities—at that period of his life, at all events, when his mind had not yet been assailed by the malady which was soon to visit him. He had a deep and quick sense of his position and of the duties incumbent upon him.

[1] Urbani to the Grand-Duke, April 22, 1586.

[2] The murder of Henry III. was known at Prague only through the German papers. The King was killed on August 1: it was only known positively on the 31st, by a letter from Venice. Lenzoni, 1589.

His mind was clear and apt to work; but he judged of things imperfectly, mixed up matters of great and small moment, and attached too much importance to detail. His passive energy and his power of resisting would have been virtues had they not so frequently degenerated into obstinacy. His characteristic slowness and want of resolution made him incapable of acting when action was necessary, and only served his purpose when abstention was requisite. Abstention was the policy of the Imperial Court in the midst of circumstances which threatened even the existence of the Empire, which allowed the enemy to dare as much as he could hope, and he could hope everything, and which condemned the friend to become a mere spectator.

We may readily conceive the impatience, the anger, the distress of Sixtus V., who felt the necessity of a 'good reform,' according to his own idea of reform, but who felt also that he could not depend upon the aid of the sovereign most interested in affording him help and support. Hence the expressions of contempt which he often broke out into when speaking of Rodolph. It may seem strange, but it often happens in history, that a man is constrained to admire his adversary and to deplore the weakness or thoughtlessness of his friend. Courage, ability, energy, success, all belonged to Henry of Navarre or Elizabeth of England; but the reverse was to be found in the allied camp—namely in Rodolph, whom we have described, at Prague; in Philip II., at Madrid, who possessed great qualities undoubtedly, but the effects of which were paralysed by procrastination, by excessive

prudence, by too strong a desire to grasp everything, to do everything himself, by age, infirmity, and an adverse fortune, which, though it had not yet broken his iron will, had led his judgment astray, and increased that fatal illusion in sovereigns which consists in their believing that they should not grant their confidence to anyone, just as if political credit were not, like commercial credit, an indispensable element of success. Sixtus sighed: he should have had the Emperor Ferdinand II., who was then barely eight years old, but who was destined to undertake in Germany that reform which the Pope was meditating—that reform which he himself was wont to say was a dream, which was in truth a mere dream during his lifetime, but which was to be partly realised in the succeeding century, long after his death.

CHAPTER VI.

SIXTUS V. AND THE KINGDOM OF POLAND.

FROM the time of his accession Sixtus had shown particular interest in the affairs of Poland. King Stephen Bathori was a man according to his own heart, and Father Possevin, of the order of the Jesuits, who was the agent of both sovereigns, was the confidant of each. To make of Poland, under Bathori, a rampart against the Turk, to open a field in the direction of Russia to the ambition of that prince, to annihilate the infidels, bring back the schismatics to their allegiance to the Church—such were the bold projects[1] which had sprung up in the ardent mind of the Pope as well as in the adventurous spirit of the King. No one was dearer to Sixtus V. than the chivalrous and courageous King of Poland. When, at the beginning of 1587, the Holy Father received the tidings of his death, the news deeply affected him both as a man and as a politician. He gave way to his sorrow in a funeral oration, which he delivered before the Consistory. 'Great,' said he, 'is the grief which fills our heart since we have heard of the death of a magnanimous prince, equally Catholic and powerful. He was mag-

[1] Gritti to the Doge, September 27, 1586.

nanimous, for he always aimed at great objects, and only a short time since he entertained great and noble projects. He was powerful, for he never shrunk from danger, nor allowed himself to be conquered by adversity. He was Catholic, for he had declared at the Diet, with his sword turned against himself, that rather than see the faith abandoned he would prefer to die, and that he was resolved to defend religion with all his might, and with the co-operation of his States, and, if these failed, with his sword alone. Such a prince have we lost, and with him our best hopes; for with the money we had sent him he was preparing to fight the Turks, to invade Russia, and thus to effect a junction with the Tartars and the Persians.'

The Pope was delicately situated. He had but one object—to preserve intact the jeopardised interests of the Church in Poland. The two pretenders to the throne of Bathori, Archduke Maximilian and Sigismund of Sweden, both protested their devotion to the Church, while they asked the Pope for his support. The Prince of Sweden even gave out hopes of the return of Sweden to the Catholic faith. But, though the sympathies of the Pope went with the latter, Sixtus remained neutral. He took up an expectant position, and at least had the advantage of being able to refuse the subsidies which the Court of Prague asked of him with much persistence. He complained of it in conversation, with all that freedom and fluency of words which marked his private intercourse with people. 'He told me,' wrote Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III.,[1] 'a deal on that

[1] March 2, 1588.

subject, as he willingly speaks on every occasion. Among other things he said, in allusion to the defeat and imprisonment of Archduke Maximilian, that the sins of the House of Austria were the cause of what had occurred; that the Emperor was a sovereign who possessed not one good quality, and was a very lukewarm Catholic; that his father had been a very bad prince, who had no religion at all; that in his Polish expedition he had shown neither justice nor foresight; that one election having taken place, another should not have been intrigued for; but that, having caused it to be renewed, sufficient courage and discretion should have been shown to maintain that election and make it prevail; that he had been asked for money, but had declined because he knew there was as much chance of its being ill spent as of its being ill returned, besides which the Prince of Sweden would have been offended, and therefore less partial to the Catholic cause. Now he hoped that the latter prince would help, not only against the heretics, but also in bringing back Sweden to Catholicism after the death of his father.' Cardinal Madruccio, who had been instructed to obtain monetary aid, could obtain nothing; and, while the diplomatic parleys were prolonged, events took a rapid course. The Diet at Cracow was divided between two competitors. Hostilities having broken out, Maximilian, after some partial success, was defeated before Cracow, and made a prisoner. Sigismund, who thus became King *de facto*, at once entered into relations with Rome, wrote to the Pope a letter expressive of his submission, and, for the reason we have given, as well as through

success, that most powerful of arguments, he managed to gain the Pope's favour.

Matters stood thus when the Pope received letters from the dowager Empress, who had retired to Spain, from Philip II., and from the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. The Empress implored his intervention to obtain the release of her son. Philip, indignant at the outrage which a member of his family had received, announced his intention of having recourse to arms, not only to deliver the Archduke, but also to place him on the throne of Poland. The Grand-Duke, out of respect for the Emperor, pleaded warmly in favour of the captive prince. Sixtus V., who was moved by the grief of the mother, as well as obliged to defer to the wishes of the King of Spain, and who, though unmindful of what he said against them, was yet full of regard for the Imperial family, hastened to comply with the wishes expressed. In order not to wound the Emperor nor the King of Spain, he did not answer Sigismund's letter, but sent him a verbal message through the Nuncio at Cracow to satisfy him, and at the same time to accelerate the liberation of the Archduke.

The affairs of Poland were discussed in several Consistories. Cardinal de Joyeuse strenuously upheld the rights of Henry III., which he had not given up. The opinion of the other cardinals was divided as to whether the Holy See should or should not intervene. Sixtus adopted a middle course. He decided upon sending a legate to Cracow who should not be accredited at the Court of Sigismund, but who should have to treat with

all the interested parties respecting the pacification of Poland.[1] This difficult mission was offered to Cardinal Farnese. He was then living in the country, surrounded by a few religious men, and spending his time in pious practices. Disgusted with the world, he thought of nothing but the salvation of his soul. He declined the honour, giving as an excuse his old age and the state of his health. The Pope then chose Cardinal Aldobrandini. To Farnese, who disappears from the stage of the world, Aldobrandini, who now appears on it, owes his greatness. For the second time the great Cardinal had exercised a decisive influence over his destiny. Ippolito Aldobrandini was the youngest son of many children. His father was a celebrated lawyer in Florence, who afterwards became auditor of Cardinal di Ravenna, and his lieutenant-governor when the latter was governor at Fano. Here Ippolito was born. His brothers were all successfully employed in the army, in the Church, and in the law. The future cardinal and future pope had been placed in a banking house in Rome. His father regretted it much, but, as there were no means of giving the child a classical education, Ippolito was condemned to earn his livelihood as a copyist. Aldobrandini was inconsolable, and having one day spoken to Cardinal Farnese of his grief, he obtained a pension for his son out of the revenues of the bishopric of Spoleto, which allowed him to follow the lectures on theology. The young man made rapid progress, became 'auditore della rota,'

[1] 'Ad omnes ad quos opportuerit.'

accompanied Cardinal Buoncompagni to Spain, and was made a cardinal by Sixtus V. Farnese had, by his liberality, pushed him into the line which was to lead him to a cardinalship. By refusing the embassy to Poland, he prepared the way for him to become Pope, for by this mission Aldobrandini acquired not only powerful and useful acquaintances, but also the reputation of a statesman, and a glory which dazzled the crowd while it did not offend his colleagues. They saw him too intimately to be mistaken as to his commonplace qualities. The turn of his mind, which was somewhat heavy, corresponded to his physique. He was stout and bilious, but robust, and as indefatigable at work as he was slow at it. He appeared as one not likely to live long.[1]

Such was the man who was entrusted with this important mission, the ostensible purpose of which was to pacify the Sarmatian kingdom, while its real object was to maintain Catholicism in Poland and restore it

[1] Belonging to the zealous party, he was in intimate relations with Philip Neri, and together with that Saint, and his friends Panfili and Cusano, often deplored the scandal of nepotism. Philip Neri, who was always fighting against this evil of the Papacy, had one day caused these three cardinals to swear that whoever of the three should become Pope would put a stop to it for ever. Aldobrandini engaged himself so to do, and never ceased speaking against these abuses. A saying of his at dinner at the Archduke Ferdinand's at Innsprück, against Sixtus, was afterwards remembered. But alas! the conduct of Clement VIII. was not to harmonize with the promises of the Cardinal Aldobrandini. Few of his predecessors showed themselves so subservient to the wishes of his family. 'We are all so made,' exclaimed his friend Panfili; 'as long as we are at the bottom of the tree we form the best resolutions, but we are no longer the same men when we reach the top of the ladder.' Few Popes of that comparatively recent period have survived in the memory of the Roman people: Aldobrandini has, owing rather to the death of Beatrice Cenci than to the acts of his Pontificate.

in Sweden. Maximilian's liberation was also to be obtained, as an essential condition of the cessation of hostilities with the House of Austria. The vast designs of the enterprise in the north and in the east were abandoned since the death of Stephen Bathori. Instead of attacking, a defensive policy was resolved upon; and fortunate it would be if Poland could be maintained in its allegiance to the Holy See, and rendered sufficiently strong to oppose a barrier to the propagation of the schism and to the encroachments of the Crescent. This was what the Legate would have to do. A sufficient salary was granted to him; and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, to be agreeable both to Rome and to the Emperor, increased it and paid it out of his own income.[1]

Aldobrandini at once set out on his journey;[2] went to Vienna, and thence to Poland, without calling at Prague, where the Emperor had expressed no wish to see him.

The young Duke of Saxony, who was less deferential to the wishes of Rodolph than his father had been, recognised Sigismund as King of Poland, in concert with the Margrave of Brandenburg. This was a bad augury for the success of the Legate's mission. The Abbé Resca, whose mission to Rome had been delayed out of respect for Philip II., arrived at last[3] as the King of Poland's internuncio, and had a private audience with the Pope. He tried to justify Maximilian's captivity by the refusal of the archdukes to treat with his

[1] Aldobrandini was to receive 1,000 scudi for travelling expenses, and 500 scudi a month. Ferdinand raised it to 6,000 scudi the one, and 1,000 scudi a month the other.

[2] Beginning of June 1588.

[3] January 1589.

master, or to recognise his election, or to clear the territory and places still held by their troops. In consequence, however, of the opposition made to it by Cardinal Madruccio, and of the unfavourable news received from the Legate, the solemn reception of the internuncio was adjourned, and Aldobrandini received instructions to return unless he could hope for an early success.

He had met with serious difficulties at Cracow. Sigismund gave him a magnificent welcome, but declared that he could do nothing without the consent of the Senate. The Senate decreed the prolongation of Maximilian's captivity, because he refused to give up his pretensions. To conquer these difficulties Aldobrandini went to Prague, and, after a long delay, it was agreed that a mixed commission, presided over by the Cardinal, and composed of ten Austrian persons of distinction, of whom Rosenberg was one, and as many Poles, should meet on the frontier of Silesia and of Poland. Hostilities were to be suspended while the conference lasted. It began in September, but lagged considerably. Rodolph was so displeased with the delay that he withdrew the powers of his delegates, but subsequently he restored them. Other incidents complicated the frequently stormy transactions, which ended by peace[1] being signed between the House of Austria, the King of Poland, and the Queen-dowager, the widow of Stephen Bathori.

The news reached Rome on Good-Friday,[2] just at the

[1] March 1589.

[2] March 31, 1589.

time when the Pope was going down the stairs to the Sala Ducale, there to hold a Consistory. Having dismissed everybody present except the cardinals, and the ambassadors of Savoy and of Venice, who were there accidentally, he said one ought to rejoice over good news on Good-Friday, although a day of grief, since it was also a day of peace, as the death of Christ represented peace and reconciliation between the world and the Eternal Father. On this account he had no hesitation in communicating to them the news he had that moment received, of the peace which had been concluded with Poland; and read to them the Legate's despatches, as well as the text of the treaty. Here are the principal clauses of that document, the prolixity of which so shocked the Venetian ambassador.

The contracting parties recognised the Pope as mediator, and declared peace made between the House of Austria, the King of Poland, and the Queen of the House of the Jagellons.

In the particular clauses it was agreed: that Maximilian should give up his rights to the title of King of Poland from deference to the wishes of the Pope; that he should be set at liberty, and that the territories in Poland still in the hands of the invading armies should be evacuated by the Austrians. Another article, and the most important in the eyes of Sixtus V., obliged the Emperor to make no stipulation in his future truces with the Turks that might be prejudicial to Poland. On the other hand, King Sigismund entered into a similar engagement. This conception was a

pre-eminently political one; for, with respect to the Turks, it created a kind of alliance between the two neighbouring Powers against them.

This very clause was displeasing at Prague, because it interfered with the liberty of action of the Emperor in the event of Sigismund going to war with the Russians. Rodolph maintained that he could not tie himself and eventually abandon the Russians, with whom he was in good relationship; and it was with great difficulty that his consent was obtained. Cardinal Aldobrandini, when passing through Vienna, said to the Archduke Ernest, 'Is the Emperor prepared to go to war with King Sigismund? for, if he is not, is he not afraid of losing what little remains to him of Hungary and the whole of Silesia?' The argument was felt to be a powerful one, and Rodolph declared himself ready to accept peace. One last difficulty remained to be settled. The treaty had to be sworn; that is, to be ratified, as we would now call it. On such occasions the emperors did not swear upon the Bible, but only gave their royal word (*in verbo Cæsaris*). After much wrangling Rodolph gave way on this point also; not, however, without deploring his weak state which obliged him to submit to such an humiliation.

An embassy from King Sigismund, which was composed of Cardinal Radziwill and of the Palatine of Cracow, left for Prague. The Emperor received them, seated under a canopy, which had been raised, not in the large apartments, but in his closet. The Nuncio, Dr. Curtius, Rumpff, Baron Rosenberg, and the major-

domo of Bohemia were alone admitted as witnesses of this act, which was very repugnant to Rodolph. He got up to kneel before a crucifix which was near his chair, and, putting his hand on the Bible, he took the oath. The speeches spoken by the Polish cardinal and Dr. Curtius, in the name of their respective sovereigns, had been settled beforehand; but the Cardinal allowed himself to make a few impromptu remarks, to which the German doctor quickly retorted. Both sides began to be suspicious the one of the other, and the prompt release of Maximilian was questioned. In Madrid the treaty had given much dissatisfaction, and, to show his sovereign's disapprobation, the Spanish ambassador refused to be present at the taking of the oath, and had even that day left Prague.

It had been settled that the Archduke, accompanied by the Palatine and an escort of six thousand mounted cavalry, should be taken to the extreme frontier of Poland, and should only cross it after swearing that he would observe the treaty. But Maximilian, finding himself, on his arrival at the Silesian frontier, surrounded by a superior force of Austrian cavalry to that which had escorted him, refused to take the oath, and passed on. He soon learned that the Pope and the Emperor disapproved his conduct, which, if it had no other result, hindered the accomplishment of the plan which Sixtus V. had formed of marrying King Sigismund to an Austrian arch-duchess, always in the interest of religion.

Cardinal Aldobrandini, upon whom every honour was showered, made a splendid entry into Rome, and

was received by the Pope in the new Palace of Laterano, which was scarcely finished, and has never since been used for a similar ceremony.[1]

For Sixtus V. the re-establishment of peace between the Houses of Austria and Poland was a great and good diplomatic result. He had done good service to the latter by consolidating its incipient power, and to the former by restoring to it one of its members. At this moment he resumed his old plans, which we might have thought were buried with the chivalrous Bathori, but which presented themselves again to his mind. Their execution no longer appeared impossible to him if the young Sigismund could realise the hopes he had conceived, and, with the help of the Hapsburgs—who, though temporarily paralysed, were always formidable—succeed in making his kingdom the great barrier against which, as the Pope hoped, the power of the Mussulmans and the schism of the North would break. Events partially proved that conception to be just. Eighty-four years after the solemn reception at the Lateran of the Apostolic Legate who had signed the act of perpetual alliance, by which Austria and Poland were to unite in a common defence against the Crescent, King Sobieski relieved Vienna, which was on the eve of surrendering, notwithstanding the heroic defence of Roger Stahremberg, and this preserved Central Europe from the horrors of an invasion of the Turks.

[1] Gritti to the Doge, September 1586 to March 11, 1589. A. Badoer to the Doge, April 15, 1589, to May 15, 1590. Doge to Gritti, 1586. Olivarès to Philip II. Card. de Joyeuse to Henry III., March 7, 1588. Pisany to Henry III., 1588. Henry III. to Card. de Joyeuse, 1588. Sixtus V. to Ferdinand of Tuscany. Alberti Lenzoni to the Grand-Duke.

To re-establish the unity of faith in the Christian world, and to do so, if possible, without injuring the European equilibrium, and to support his intervention by the excellent state of his finances—such were the fundamental notions of the policy of Sixtus the Fifth. The reader has seen how he worked in Italy, in Spain, in England, in Germany, and in Poland. He will now see how he pursued the same ideas with regard to France, which was, during his pontificate, the principal theatre of the great struggle between the Church and the Reformation.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

BY

BARON HÜBNER,

FORMERLY AMBASSADOR OF AUSTRIA IN PARIS
AND IN ROME.

FROM UNPUBLISHED DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE IN THE STATE ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN, SIMANCAS, VENICE, PARIS, VIENNA, AND FLORENCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH

BY

HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

PART THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONGREGATIONS.

At the time of which we write the Pope ruled with the advice of the cardinals. They assembled for the purpose in a Consistory, wherein, with the assistance of other prelates of different grades and positions, matters concerning the Church throughout the world were treated. The Pope submitted to them those questions which they had to examine, and, after hearing what they had to say, gave his final decision. In former times this mode of proceeding sufficed to meet the requirements of the moment, and enabled the members of the Consistory to have constantly before their eyes the spiritual necessities of the world, and to be well informed of the great political questions which are so often intimately connected with religious interests. It also insured their taking a part in the government of the Church; for an opinion once adopted unanimously

or by a strong majority, and expressed with eloquence and erudition, must necessarily constitute an important element in the deliberations and final resolves of the Pontiff. Since, however, Christianity had extended its rule, and since matters of ecclesiastical interest had multiplied in proportion with the growth of the Christian populations, with the hopes and requirements resulting from the progress of society, this primitive manner of transacting business in open courts gave rise to serious inconveniences, if not to insurmountable difficulties. Many of the predecessors of Sixtus V. had considered it advisable, whenever there was a pressing or important question, to ask, before submitting it to the Consistory, the opinion of a few cardinals, whose experience, knowledge, and antecedents warranted their being consulted on such matters. Under Gregory XIII. there were Congregations that treated severally of the affairs of Germany, of France, of the Index, of bishops, &c. But these limited gatherings were of an essentially intimate and transitory character. They did not form a part of the general administration of the Church, nor did they satisfy, except momentarily, requirements of a permanent nature.[1] Paul III. was the first who instituted a permanent Congregation. The Protestant Reformation was the cause of it. It was called the Congregation of the Holy Office, or of the Inquisition. Apart from the questions of dogma which specially concerned it, the immense weight of ecclesiastical government fell entirely upon the Consistories, which,

[1] Antonio Tiepolo, 1578.

even with the help of the imperfectly constituted Congregations of Gregory XIII., were not able to cope with the pressure of business.

Sixtus V. resolved that the evil should be remedied. He gave the Church, with regard to its spiritual direction, the constitution which is now in force. The principal reason which urged him to this organisation was, undoubtedly, as he said himself, a desire to obviate the inconveniences which we have noticed, and to promote the administrative working of the Church. Another consideration had influenced him—the composition of the Sacred College. In that college sat men belonging to reigning families, who were naturally devoted to their house; protectors of Germany, France, Spain, Poland, Venice, Savoy, who were officially called upon to plead the causes of their sovereigns; and, lastly, vassals and foreign subjects, who were obliged, or, at least, induced, to remain faithful to the prince to whom they owed their preferments. Next to religious interests, therefore, came interests of a dynastic, or political, or personal character, which were foreign, and often opposed to those with which the Consistory had to deal. Hence many cardinals were placed in a false position, not to say in a dependence which, at times, was incompatible with their dignity as senators of the Church. If the work could be divided, if the members of the Congregations could be selected with discretion, all these inconveniences would either disappear, or, at least, be considerably reduced.

Did Sixtus V. mean more, and wish to break the

opposition which he might meet in general assemblies to the consolidation and enhancement of the Pope's absolute power? He has often been accused of it, and even now-a-days it is sometimes maintained that the institution of the Congregations was an attempt to break the legitimate influence of the Sacred College, by unduly concentrating in the hands of a restricted number of individuals not so much the decision, which it always belongs to the Pope to give, as the preliminary labour upon which that decision naturally rests. This opinion is seldom expressed in words, but it subsists, and is, perhaps, connected with wider and more radical views. It forms one of the elements of the opposition to be met with in the ecclesiastical world, as, indeed, everywhere else, and which has a real cause, for life means a struggle. When the struggle ceases, life ends. Opposition is, therefore, a sign of vitality; and woe be to the Governments which, not contented with being able to master the opposition, wish to pursue their victory even to its annihilation. Apart, then, from questions of dogma, Rome, which alone has overriden the storms of eighteen centuries, has never struggled to excess, but has always left a large margin to imagination, and more than once has declined to express that opinion which was asked for by contending parties.[1]

Sixtus V., who was eminently an autocratic sovereign, and had a cardinal camerlingo put under arrest for insubordination, never punished those who opposed him in the Consistory, or who loudly complained in these

[1] We may here recall the celebrated cause which gave rise to Padre Molina's book, 'De Concordia Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii,' which was published in Lisbon, in 1585.

assemblies of the measures which he had adopted as Head of the Church. It is not very likely, therefore, that he wished, by means of the Congregations, to extend or facilitate the exercise of his supreme power. To the advantages of his position, to his energetic will, and to the prestige of his name, he joined an unquestionable superiority in intelligence, in learning, and in common practical sense. He had no reason to avoid, nor did he avoid, discussion. On the contrary, he brought it on, and all the more so that he felt the want of, and had a passion for, public speaking.

In the Consistories he loved to fire up, and overwhelm those who contradicted him, by speeches, not to say by sermons, wherein numerous quotations from the Scriptures recalled the former Cordelier monk, but which, replete with witty remarks and sarcasms, subdued an adversary, unless the irresistible logic of the latter could silence him. These oratorical tilts were as necessary to his health as bodily exercise is for men who lead a sedentary existence. His conduct proved what importance he attached to these assemblies. Up to the time of his death he never failed to hold a Consistory once a week, and to put before it important questions of either ecclesiastical or financial or political interest. When secrecy was absolutely necessary, he preferred having recourse to the Congregations, or intrusted the matter to the secret consideration of the cardinals in Consistory, under penalty of excommunication, or of the loss of their cardinalships, or even of their lives.[1]

[1] Badoer to the Doge, July 1, 1589.

Whenever his proposals were met by silence he became impatient, and insisted that each should express himself freely. On one occasion [1] he announced his intention of appointing two new cardinals, and gave their names. Everyone was silent. The Pope several times asked the cardinals to express their opinion. At last silence was broken, and there ensued a general outcry, not against the two candidates mentioned by the Pope, but against the frequent nominations made by His Holiness. One of the cardinals, Paleotto, was remarkable for his vehement opposition. The Pope listened to him, gave his reasons, and said that he was not like Pius IV., who made twenty-five cardinals at once, of whom one was the cardinal who now so strenuously opposed the appointment of only two.

We know by the echoes from the Sacred College, by the correspondence of the ambassadors, how little Sixtus gave heed to the advice of his cardinals. It is nevertheless certain that he listened to them, discussed matters with them, often modified his own views after hearing theirs, without, however, allowing it, and was very anxious, when it was a question of taking an important decision, to secure the adhesion of the Consistory. The cardinals, on the other hand, were not so alarmed as it has been said. Whenever questions of a difficult nature arose in the Consistory, the ambassadors, who besides were often present, easily obtained reports of the discussion which had taken place upon them. These documents clearly prove that these

[1] Gritti to the Doge, December 17, 1588.

meetings were not assemblies composed of men easily led, or even ready to bow before the official oracle. Certainly all the members of a numerous assembly are not equally gifted with rare qualities, and are not all heroes; but before that fiery old man, who could so well inspire terror, all the cardinals, with at least very few exceptions, gave frequent proofs of a laudable independence.

On entering the Sala Ducale, where the Consistories were generally held, the Pope used to hear such of the cardinals as might wish to speak to him in private. The others, however, could indulge in an 'a parte' among themselves, and change places if necessary, but resumed their own always when the Pontiff had opened the meeting.[1] The latter, all the while that he was talking, followed with his eye the movements of the cardinals, and especially those who, like Medici, De Joyeuse, and De Sens, were always the most active. His eyesight was excellent; he could guess with a rare acuteness all the little plots that were being devised. He could judge at a glance with a rapidity and a justness which was astonishing. It is said that on entering the room he saw who were absent. Woe to those who could not explain their absence. He attacked them with his customary vehemence, calling forth the murmurs or the mirth of the assembly according to the tone which he adopted. Such were the Consistories.

A brief exposition may here be given of the new system of the Congregations established by the cele-

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., March 30, 1588.

brated bull of Sixtus V., 'Immensa æterni Dei.' There is no doubt that the document was written out by himself. God, it is said in it, has implanted an admirable harmony in the works of the creation, each helping the other, and mutually completing one another. Then follows a comparison between the celestial and earthly Jerusalem. In the one the beatified spirits are classified into categories, God's will being that the most gifted among them should come to the help of those inferior to them, whereas here below Providence has instituted a hierarchy composed of men of various positions who are all called upon to group themselves, each according to his rank, around the sovereign Pontiff. He it is who sends the missionaries to the distant lands, where they are to look after his flock, but who keeps by him, as Moses did, the old men, as Our Lord did the Apostles—seventy cardinals who are the most illustrious members of the Church, and who have to aid him by their advice, and to bear with him the immense weight of the interests of Christianity. To him alone has God given the power of binding or unbinding. After this exordium, which secures for the Pope the full absolute power, and points to the advising character of the votes of the cardinals, the bull gives as a reason why Congregations should be created, with the consent of the Sacred College, and how necessary it is that business should be accelerated.

The established Congregations, of which those that relate to the spiritual power of the Pope still exist, were fifteen in number. The first, the Congregation of the Holy Office, instituted by Paul III., was confirmed

by a bull of Sixtus V., which reorganised it. To it were referred all the questions relating to faith, to manifest heresies, to schisms, apostasies, sacrilege, or abuse of the sacraments. Of all the Congregations it is the only one that has the power and attributes of a tribunal. It is presided over by the Pope himself, and extends its jurisdiction all over the globe, wherever the Catholic religion exists. It was and still is the most important of the Congregations.

To the 'signature' of graces belongs the inquiry into the request made for favours or grace whenever they cannot be granted by the ordinary tribunals. To the Congregation 'for the Erection of Churches and Consistorial Provisions' are referred all requests for building patriarchal or metropolitan churches, cathedrals, or chapters, according to the decree of the Council of Trent.

The Congregation called 'The Abundance of the Ecclesiastical State,' has the supreme direction of all that relates to the provisioning of Rome and its provinces, especially in the interest of the poorer classes. Sixtus V. gave this Congregation 200,000 scudi, which, as he said, were the result of his savings, and were destined to be the inheritance of the poor. By a special bull he recommended that his successors should keep this sum whole, if they could not increase it.

The Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies had to see that the established customs observed in the ceremonies of the Church should be upheld, and to reform the abuses that might have crept in. The

pontifical chapel, and all the churches of the universe are under its control, and questions of canonisation come within its scope.

The Pope had conceived the idea of having a pontifical navy. The Congregation of the Naval Army was intrusted with the management of all that concerned naval work. 'After having exterminated, with the help of God,' says the bull, 'the brigands that infested the Mediterranean lands, so that now every man can live quietly at home in his vineyard, and under the shade of his fig-tree, we intend to sweep the pirates from the sea, in order that we may afford security not only to our own subjects, but also to the numerous strangers who visit Rome.' The fleet was to be composed of ten galleys.

The Congregation of the Index has charge of the list of books prohibited on the ground that they contain heretical doctrines. It is in communication with the Universities of Paris, Bologna, Salamanca, and Louvain. By establishing these relations, the Pope intended to attack the evil at its root. He was evidently less desirous of preparing lists, which must necessarily be incomplete, of books not allowed to be read, than of preventing, with the help of those Universities, the adoption and propagation of doctrines which the Church condemned.

The Congregation of the Council of Trent had to interpret all the acts of that council relating to the reform of manners and of ecclesiastical discipline. It had the whole world to deal with. But as regards all questions of dogma treated in that council, the Pope

reserved to himself the absolute right of interpretation.

Other Congregations were established, to come in aid of ecclesiastics, and to govern the University called the Sapienza, which Leo X. had instituted. Sixtus V. liquidated the debts of that establishment, and added the two wings of the building which still exist.

The Congregation of the 'Regulars' is entrusted with all matters relating to litigation between convents, excepting quarrels between individuals, which are settled by the superiors of the convent in which they occur.

The Congregation of the Bishops takes notice of all the requests and proposals made by patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and non-regular prelates, and intervenes in the event of a contest between them.

A Congregation looks after the roads, bridges, and aqueducts of the Pontifical State.

Another presides over the printing establishment of the Vatican, which, instituted by Pius IV., was added to and enriched by Sixtus V., who made use of it for the publication of his edition of the 'Fathers of the Church,' and of the 'Vulgate.'

Finally, there was the Congregation for State Consultations, a kind of tribunal of appeal, which revised, subject to the Pontiff's final decision, all suits, whether civil or criminal.

The Congregations were thus of two classes. Seven had charge of the Pontifical administration, of public instruction, of justice, of marine, of poor law, of the supply of provisions, of public works, roads, bridges

and aqueducts, and, lastly, of printing. With the exception of the Congregation now called 'degli studii,' and which, according to the wish of Sixtus V., was to control the teaching in the University, they have all been merged in the 'dicasterii' of the State, which are of recent creation. The other eight relate to the whole world, and comprise every branch of Church government: dogma, indulgences, the disposal of a diocese and all that relates to it, rites and ceremonies, censure of the press, interpretation of the acts of the Council, the relation between the bishops and the Holy See, and the litigation between monastic orders.

The Pope's intention was to change annually, or at least every two years, the composition of these Congregations, so that all the members of the Sacred College should pass successively through each of them, and thus acquire a practical acquaintance with all the affairs relating to the State or to the Church.[1]

Sixtus V. had the greatest respect for the opinions expressed by the Congregations, and very seldom followed a course different to that which they recommended. The absolution of the Comte de Soissons, which had been asked by Henry III. and the Cardinal de Bourbon, constitutes one exception. The Congregation to which he had referred the question with a strong recommendation in favour of the Count, had unanimously voted against the absolution. To the great astonishment of the Sacred College, the Pope

[1] G. Gritti to the Doge, April 2, 1588. He points to the use of such a regulation, but fears that it may generalise in the cardinals a superficial knowledge of each matter.

on this occasion, moved by political considerations of a high character, disregarded the vote.[1]

The establishment of these restricted but permanent assemblies was variously appreciated; but the criticism of cardinals and prelates, as well as of the public, fell especially upon their composition. Many wounded susceptibilities or questions of self-love came into play, but no principle was attacked.[2] As an institution the Congregations have shown what they were worth. They still subsist,[3] though they have been modified and increased in number according to the requirements of the times. Sixtus has the honour of having organised the work of the Church.

He took particular interest in the manner in which the Sacred College was composed. Following precedents, which happily had become less frequent and were generally condemned, he had had the weakness to yield to his love for his family, and to make a cardinal of a boy of thirteen. The remarks of some cardinals and the significant silence of others, as well as the reproaches of his own conscience, soon proved to him that he had committed an error, and that his authority as Pope would be much shaken if he persevered in the unfortunate line of turning the Papacy to

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., September 20, 1588.

[2] G. Gritti to the Doge, January 30, 1587.

[3] Here is the list of the Congregations that exist nowadays:—Romana ed universale Inquisizione, Consistoriale, Visita Apostolica, Vescovi e Regolari, Concilio, Residenza de' Vescovi, Sopra lo stato de' Regolari, Immunità ecclesiastica, De propaganda fide, Indice, Sacri Riti, Ceremoniale, Disciplina regolare, Indulgenze e sacre reliquie, Esame de' Vescovi, Fabbrica di San Pietro, Lauretana, Affari ecclesiastici straordinarii, Studii.

the advantage of his family. From that moment he selected his cardinals with the utmost care. He did not, however, escape criticism on that head, and was much blamed because he promoted his former cup-bearer, Galli. Those whom he made cardinals were generally all of them pious men, who belonged to the reformed section, and who in every respect were worthy of the high appointment conferred upon them. One of them, Aldobrandini, was to become Pope. Hugh de Verdates was Grand Master of the Knights of Malta. Alan, an Englishman, was remarkable for his noble character; Cusani for his learning; Morosini, a Venetian, as a diplomatist; Pierbenedetti, for the energy and severity of his administration as Governor of Rome. Gaëtani figured in the history of the League as the Pope's legate in France, and the very last name on the last list of the Pope's appointments to cardinalships is that of Pepoli, a member of that family whose chief had been put to death by his orders. It is said that Pepoli owed his cardinal's hat to the Pope's wish to appear impartial. It may be that Sixtus, who was now near his end, looked back with regret to the death of a noble old man who had been the victim of the requirements of an extreme case.

Nothing displeased him more than to find that foreign cardinals of recent creation sought to avoid the obligation of coming to Rome. He declared in a Consistory that they should not receive the cardinal's hat nor enjoy their prerogatives before doing so. The delay of Cardinal Draskovich gave rise to an angry correspondence between the Courts of Rome and of

Prague. The ever-important question relative to foreign cardinals was often discussed in the Consistories. The Pope complained[1] that he was beset by requests from foreign princes, who seemed as if they wanted to force him to promote individuals who were not worthy of the honour. He appointed a Congregation to determine what qualities were needed in those who were to be made cardinals. According to the terms of the bull 'Postquam verus ille,'[2] the number of cardinals is limited to seventy. The appointments of those who exceeded this number were to be considered null and void. Cardinals were as much as possible to be chosen among all the Christian nations; deacons must be at least twenty-two years of age before they could be eligible as cardinals. There must be at least four doctors in theology among the seventy cardinals, belonging to the regular mendicant orders. To be a cardinal a man must have received the minor orders, and have worn the cassock and tonsure for at least a year. Cardinals not in Rome at the time of their appointment are bound to be in Rome some time during the year which follows the date of their appointment.

In one of the last letters which he wrote before his death, Cardinal d'Este[3] presents certain considerations to M. de Villeroy's appreciation, which have not lost the interest of reality. 'I know not,' he said, 'what idea will be formed of a cardinal, nor whether those whom he (Sixtus V.) has appointed will come up to that standard; but I do know this that the Council of

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, December 17, 1585.
[2] December 1585. [3] November 17, 1586.

Trent has very wisely decreed that cardinals should as much as possible be chosen from among all the Christian nations. Now it would be reasonable if France, which is the first and chief kingdom of Christendom (after the Holy Empire), should have a number of cardinals in proportion to its extent of territory and its greatness and merit before the Holy See. But they should also remember that they are advisers of the Holy See and of the Universal Church, and should sometimes come and reside in Rome. This residence in Rome has brought about, in my opinion, a result which would otherwise be considered intolerable, namely, that Italy, which is one of the smallest countries in the Catholic world, supplies more than two-thirds and almost three-fourths of the present number of cardinals. It follows that it is *ipso facto* impossible for any other nation to have one of its natives Pope. Be it understood that the Pope is Pope of all Christendom and not of the Italians only. The dignities of a cardinal and of a Pope should be open to men of merit of all nations, and in proportion to the importance of each community.'

When a promotion took place, Sixtus V. liked to set off the grounds on which their election was based. He took pleasure in mentioning the merits of the various cardinals to Gritti, saying that he did not do as Gregory XIII. did, who could not come to a decision, but at the end of a Consistory suddenly pulled out of his pocket a paper on which nineteen names were written, and merely read the names over, adding: 'Ad sedandas murmurationes creamus cardinalem primum ad

instantiam Cæsaris . . .' 'While we have the greatest difficulty in finding a few rare individuals who are worthy of the honour, and who possess the qualities necessary for discharging the duties of a cardinal, we do not make a sweeping election of nineteen, as Gregory did, who only thought of benefiting his family and his favourites.' He wished to show thereby that numerous appointments at the end of a pontificate always indicate, on the part of their author, a hope that after him some Pope will be elected who will be favourable to his family. 'There is no greater mistake,' says he, 'than to wish to influence the choice of a successor for the sake of personal interests. Before his death, Paul IV. created a great number of cardinals, so as to ensure the election of Carpi as Pope; but, instead of Carpi, Medichino (Pius XIV.) was elected, and he had all the nephews of his predecessor strangled. Pius IV. wanted the Cardinal of Pisa to be his successor, but it did not come to pass. Pius V. wanted Morone to succeed him, but Gregory was appointed, who, of all the cardinals, was the one for whom he had the least sympathy. Gregory wanted as his successor a cardinal who is still alive, and whom we shall not name, and to insure his election he appointed nineteen cardinals at one time. We were elected, and everybody knows how hostile he was to us. But what is the good of speaking of it? St. Peter wanted Clement to be Pope after him, and Linus was his successor. Yet St. Peter could only commit venial sin, for he had been visited by the Holy Ghost, who confirmed him in a state of grace. We are the vicars of Christ, and Christ is our Bishop; and as it

would be a great stupidity on the part of a dying vicar to name his successor, instead of leaving the choice of it to the bishop, so would it be folly if the Popes imagined that they could make the vicars of Christ. This task must be left entirely to the Bishop, who is Christ, 'qui est episcopus animæ nostræ,' for He knows what Pope to elect. He wishes to elect them, and does not wish others to do so for Him.'

CHAPTER II.

THE POPE AND THE KING OF SPAIN.

As regards the interests of religion, no country gave the Pope so much pleasure as Spain, for the Reformation, which at one time seemed likely to invade it, was completely vanquished. On this point there was not the slightest doubt. Philip II. deserved the title of Catholic King. His devotion to the cause of the faith and of the Holy See could not be doubted. No other sovereign showed more zeal in the defence of the dogmas of the Church, and no one, whatever his political motives, or the extent of his ambition, had done more to combat heresy. No prince was more interested in conquering it, for, by the force of circumstances alone, and all religious opinions set aside, his power was identified with the cause of religion.[1] If Germany, France, Poland, and Sweden gave great anxiety to the Holy Father, and if the state of England filled him with grief and sorrow, Spain afforded him

[1] 'I cattolici (of France), si dice, non spendono in questa guerra altri denari che reali di Spagna. E se è vero il re fa bene; perchè non sarebbe punto suo servizio che Francia diventasse luterana, per rispetto delle cose di Fiandra, e ancora per quelle di Spagna, le quali in tal caso farebbero qualche novità; e si crede che quei popoli di Spagna aspettino e desiderino una occasione tale.'—Babbi to the Grand-Duke, May 25, 1585. Arch. flor. f. 3,604.

great consolation. And yet no country gave him more trouble, or more cause for irritation and anger.

As we have said, Philip II. believed himself called upon by Providence not only to defend the Church and to protect it, but also to watch over it, and, in a measure, to share with the Pope the somewhat difficult task of being the Apostle of Christendom. Everyone knows how numerous were the quarrels with respect to ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and other similar questions, which divided the two Courts; but we are too prone to see in them the ever-recurring conflict between the temporal and spiritual power of the Popes. Philip was equally jealous of his royal prerogatives, but his greatest fears were not awakened by the encroachments of the Holy See upon his sovereign rights. In this respect even he was, as a true submissive son of the Church, ever ready to make concessions. What he would not admit was that the Pope should exercise his full ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Spain without his intervention. He claimed his share as a protector of the Church—as responsible before God not only for the temporal good, but also for the salvation of the souls of his subjects; and this spiritual mission he was rather disposed to believe he could extend to the whole Catholic world. There is, however, a marked distinction between these pretensions and the usual conflicts between the Church and the State. Sovereigns who are at feud with Rome defend, according to their own view, the interests of the State against what is called the encroachments of the Holy See, or seek to maintain, without being separated from Rome, principles which Rome secretly

abhors if she does not openly condemn them. Philip, on the contrary, fought in the interests of the Church, as he understood them; for he looked upon himself as a kind of civil vicar of Christ. Whenever, in the fulfilment of this imaginary mission, he met with a doubt, he sometimes laid it before his ministers, but he preferred to submit it to his confessor or to theologians, or to committees specially appointed to examine it, or to congregations composed of doctors of theology. He believed he had two missions to fulfil. He was king, and also a little of a pontiff; just as the Pope is first a pontiff, then king. In this groove ran all his ideas. Sixtus V. indignantly rejected such pretensions.

'He says,' writes Philip to the Duke of Sessa,[1] then his special ambassador in Rome, 'that secular princes must take no part in ecclesiastical matters. He might be answered that in reality that is so, but they have always had the right to submit to the Pope their counsels and their requests as to what they ought to do in the interest and for the preservation of the Christian religion; and the Popes have always shown deference to their advice. In the anxious state in which the Church finds itself nowadays, there are many reasons why His Holiness should believe my words, admit my observations, and listen to my advice with that readiness and deference which his predecessors have in similar cases shown to mine.'

The deeply-rooted conviction that he was the civil

[1] Philip II. to Sessa, June 12, 1590.

vicar of Christ on earth can be frequently traced in his letters, and is reproduced in the language of his agents. When the Duke of Sessa was on his way to Rome, he was complimented at Livorno by the Ministers of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand. To their complaint of the reserved attitude of the Spanish envoy at Florence,[1] he replied, 'What His Majesty does is done for the service of Our Lord, and for the universal good of Christendom and of the Catholic religion. This is a known fact. The Grand-Duke has only to afford him his sincere co-operation, and he will act in the just cause. It will be the means of doing away with any distrust which His Majesty may entertain with regard to him.' It is always for this reason that the diplomatists of Philip II. were never weary of writing to him on matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature. Their complaints as to the abuse and arbitrary acts of Sixtus V. in regard to provisions are endless. Olivarès, who hated the Pope, even went so far as to insinuate the idea of a General Council, and besides this a National Council, to be convoked at Toledo, which should inquire into abuses—that is to say, should constitute itself into a tribunal and judge the Pope.

He wrote to the King[2] that, after taking the advice of a well-informed and learned person, whose name must not be mentioned, 'he has called attention to the scandalous proceedings of the Pontifical Court in regard to provisions, preferments, and indulgences, which are so prejudicial to the good in general, and especially

[1] Sessa to Ydiaquez, August 1, 1590.
[2] Olivarès to Philip II., April 14, 1590.

to the subjects of His Majesty. That person is of opinion that the Cardinal of Toledo, as Primate of Spain, might, without the King's intervention, convoke a National Council, composed of all the prelates of the kingdom, and treat with them of the remedies which such evils require. This would only be following the example of other councils at Toledo, which have been called, to the great benefit of the Church and of God's cause.' This opinion he hastened to lay before the King.

The Duke of Sessa had no sooner arrived than he adopted Count Olivarès' way of thinking. 'To leave matters as they now are,' he wrote to Ydiaquez (1590), 'is to lose our reputation here, and with it all that belongs to it; for, to tell the truth, the Pope does not like us because we do not satisfy his cupidity' (as if it were not Philip II. who was always asking money of Sixtus V.), 'and he does not fear us because we tolerate the unjust acts which he commits, and the harm he does to the world in general and to Spain in particular. Everyone is unanimous in saying that what takes place under this pontificate is unheard of.'

The two Spanish ambassadors thought that Sixtus intended to modify by a bull the rules which regulate the election of pontiffs. 'For upwards of four hundred years,' writes Olivarès to the King (May 29, 1590), 'the election of the Pope has always required a majority of two-thirds of the electors. This rule, which has been dictated by the Holy Ghost, is the work of the Council of Lateran, which was held in the time of Alexander III.; and to this rule is due the

cessation of scandal and disorder which had formerly attended such elections. There is now reason to believe that His Holiness intends to proclaim by a bull that half the votes shall be sufficient. His intention would be thus to facilitate the election of his nephew as the next Pope.' The ambassador dilated on the evil consequences of such a resolution, which was beforehand condemned by every member of the Sacred College, who would, however, in the event of his proposing it, for the most part vote for his proposal. He feared that, with the aid of Cardinal Montalto, the Grand-Duke Ferdinand would succeed at the next Conclave in determining the election of a cardinal 'who would be hostile to the cause of Our Lord and of your Majesty.' The Duke of Sessa was also afraid of the Grand-Duke's influence, which, he said, was very great in Rome, owing to his intimacy with the nephew of Sixtus V., with many cardinals, and most of the Roman nobility. 'As His Holiness,' writes Olivarès, 'is in the habit of clearing ditches when not too wide, it may be useful that your Majesty should write to him of your own hand, declaring that a Pope who is elected by a majority less than that which is at present required shall not be recognised in Spain; and that, moreover, the property of such Spanish cardinals as may have joined in such an election would be confiscated until another choice had been made according to law. We must,' he added, 'make use of strong threats, and not of requests, which would have a contrary effect.' He had consulted Cardinals Madruccio and Deza on this subject. The former had replied that he deferred to

the opinion expressed by the theologians; the latter, that obedience is not due to those Popes who act contrarily to the interests of the Church. The state of the Pope's health, who had only a few more months to live, seemed to give anxiety to the ambassador, inasmuch as he found that his illness did not make sufficiently rapid progress. He therefore recommended the King to write eventually, and in the same sense, to the Sacred College a letter, which should be given to it in the event of a vacancy of the Holy See occurring. In a postscript the ambassador added, that by his bull the Pope intended to do away with the election by 'adoration,' and to prescribe that henceforth elections should be exclusively carried by ballot. Olivarès was obliged to allow that such a measure would be contrary to the interests of the Pope's nephew and of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. He also informed the King, though evidently against his will, of the motives which had suggested such a plan. It was with the view of destroying the influence which cardinal-nephews of Popes generally exercise in the Conclave, in their capacity of heads of factions, to the prejudice of other cardinals, who are often obliged to vote against what their own conscience suggests to them, and are thus deprived of any real part in the election.

With his usual reserve, and the prudence with which he always transacted business, the King shared but feebly the views of his ambassador. He wrote to the Duke of Sessa, not to Olivarès, whose violence had somewhat discredited him in the eyes of the King, that he had learned with regret the proposed plan; that

innovations, especially in serious matters, were always dangerous; that, even were the good to result from such change evident, great caution would still be necessary; that a long experience and the short duration of the last Conclaves pleaded in favour of the existing laws and customs; and that such an innovation would considerably add to the existing confusion as well as to the dangers which surrounded the Church, already so compromised. The King expected that the Pope's zeal and learning would make him appreciate advice, which he said was inspired only by his devotion and his duty to the common cause of Christendom, in which he had so great a share.[1] Sessa was instructed to concert with Olivarès as to the language he should hold to the Pope in conformity with his instructions. The two ambassadors were likewise authorised to add to the arguments which he suggested other considerations which would be likely to produce an effect. But the passage saying this is scratched out in the draft of the despatch, and is evidently in the King's own hand. He was clearly afraid lest his representatives should go beyond the limits within which he wished them to act, and within which he knew so well how to maintain himself. If, on the arrival of these instructions, the Pope had given up his project they were to make no representation whatever, so as not to warn His Holiness, or to treat the rumour as false. There is not a threat, or anything that could be interpreted as an attempt at intimidation, in the whole letter.

[1] 'De que tanta parte me cabe.'

Another innovation, respecting a far less important matter—the costume of the bishops—had alarmed the King. He found that the long black cassock of the Spanish prelates was dignified, grave, and in harmony with the ministry of a priest. No change could alter it for the better. To shorten it, or change the black, which he loved, for violet, would be to lessen the authority of the high clergy, and open the way to other inconveniences, which he enumerated at length. 'No doubt,' he said, 'the cassock is not the most important thing in a priest, but it has its importance.' The King, therefore, was most anxious that the Pope should reconsider his decision, at least as regarded Spain. He instructed Olivarès to observe to the Pope that some regard must be shown to the customs and ideas of each country, and that everything does not suit everybody. He asked that outside the church the Spanish bishops should preserve their actual dress, but made no objection to their adopting in church the usages of Rome.[1]

Olivarès and, following his example, the Duke of Sessa watched, criticised, and condemned every measure of the Pope's personal government, gave an exact account of the facts, but put the worst interpretation upon them. Their pen is steeped in vinegar. To their system of provocation, which was dictated by a blind hatred of the Pope, Philip opposed a great freedom of spirit and calmness which nothing could move. He never lost sight of his supposed mission, nor ever forgot the respect he owed to the Pontiff. Lost

[1] Philip II. to Olivarès, 1588.

in his daily work, he, for all that, never ceased looking at the general interests of the Catholic world, for which he was ready to sacrifice any personal susceptibility, and even his own dignity, of which he was so jealous. When we examine him closely in his correspondence, either written by himself or corrected by him, and in his unceasing labours, we cannot but render justice to the firmness of his character and incline to an appreciation of the man very different from that which we have seen in the writings of numerous historians.

The publication of a new edition of the Bible [1] gave rise to some sharp discussions and criticisms in the ecclesiastical world. The Council of Trent had ordered that the Vulgate should be revised. This work, which had been entrusted by Pius IV. to a few cardinals, had been continued under Pius V., and almost abandoned under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., was taken up by Sixtus V., who worked at it himself, and succeeded so well, with the co-operation of Padre Toledo and a few learned monks, that its printing was commenced in the last year of his life. Walking, on one occasion, with the Venetian envoy Badoer at his country house, he told him that, 'notwithstanding the desire of the Council, the work had never been seriously undertaken; that he had, therefore, intrusted it to some cardinals, with whose work, however, he had been dissatisfied, and had then been obliged to work at it himself; that he was near the end of his troubles, since he had already come

[1] It was only finished during the pontificate of Clement VIII., under the title of 'Biblia Sacra Vulgata editionis, Sixti V. pont. max. jussa recognita et Clementis auctoritate edita.'

to the Apocalypse, and that the Book of Wisdom was then under publication.' He added that, when his (the ambassador's) visit was announced, he was then at work at the book, in which occupation he delighted, and in the framing of which he proceeded thus: as soon as he had done a sheet, he passed it over to Padre Toledo and to a few Austin friars who were very learned in these matters, and these reviewed and corrected the sheets, which were then sent to the printers.[1]

A biography of Pius V. had been published under the auspices of Sixtus V. The sale of the book was prohibited in Milan. 'The Spaniards,' wrote Cardinal d'Este to M. de Villeroy (October 6, 1586), 'would like

[1] Cardinal Santa Severina, who is quoted by Tempesti, gives other motives for the discontent expressed by Sixtus V. According to him, the Pope, on examining the edition, fifty copies of which had been published, discovered that it was full of faults of printing, and found himself obliged to forbid the sale. Some copies had been already distributed. The Barberini Library possessed one already. This version deserves more credence than the details given to Olivarès by his friend, Cardinal Caraffa, who had been personally injured by the Pope. 'His Holiness,' said the Spanish ambassador to Philip, 'has just published a Bible. He had a quarrel with Cardinal Caraffa, whom he has even threatened to send before the tribunal of the Inquisition, because he had contested his right to alter anything whatsoever in the text of the Bible. Since then the Pope has withdrawn his power to revise, and has taken the task upon himself, consulting Dr. Toledo upon the most difficult passages, but without telling him that he intended to adhere to his opinion. Padre Toledo knows, on the contrary, that in many places he has not followed his version, and that at other times he has modified it. In one passage he actually suppressed five lines, so that Toledo thinks that the edition will benefit the heretics more than the faithful, and that, if no other reason existed, this fact alone would prove how necessary was the convocation of a General Council. (It was then much recommended.) The Holy Father is to give copies to the cardinals, and to send one to your Majesty; but I shall put you in the way, sire, of previously having the work examined.'—Olivarès to Philip II., May 7, 1590.

all things in the world to submit to them. They are put out that history, as concerns them, should have obeyed the first law, which is truth, and told it about them as well as about others when the opportunity offered: So they have forbidden the sale and publication of the book in Milan and other places where they command.' The Pope, who was angry at this, said that 'to forbid the publication of the life of so holy a Pontiff is an act worse than any which could be committed by a heretic.'

To put an end to deplorable abuses, Sixtus V. had published a decree declaring that henceforth no holder of a preferment should resign his living in favour of anyone unless the case had been examined by a committee of three cardinals. This measure was looked upon, both in Paris and in Madrid, as an encroachment upon the rights of the Crown.[1] When Count Olivarès offered, according to custom, the 'ghinea,' which represented the tribute which Naples paid to the Holy See, and which the latter exacted from the former as a fief of the Church, but which the Court of Spain treated merely as an old custom, Sixtus V. exclaimed: 'We accept it as a thing which is due to us.'[2] These words gave rise to a violent scene during the private audience which followed the above-mentioned ceremony. The voices of the two disputants might be heard in the antechamber, and the Pope, on dismissing Olivarès from his presence, was so

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, June 2, 1586.
[2] 'Acceptamus prout contingit.'

irritated that he threw down his napkin and his pocket-handkerchief.

The causes of displeasure went on increasing. The Holy Father required that the bishops should all come to Rome at least once. This injunction was particularly disagreeable to the Spanish bishops. They sought a pretext not to come, but their excuses were severely criticised by the Nuncio, who recalled the example shown to them by the bishops of Poland, who, though less rich, and further off from Rome, and having a much more painful journey before them, fulfilled, however, this duty with pleasure. The angry feelings of those high in office at Madrid burst forth into complaints against the Pope, whom they accused of being uneasy and intractable, and even of following the errors of Paul IV.[1]

The Council of Castile held that, in conformity with the canonical laws, the revenues of the vacant livings did not belong to the Apostolic Chamber, as was supposed in Rome. This gave rise to a long debate. The Pope made a violent speech in a Consistory against the Council of Castile, and indirectly against the person of the King. Philip, who in a particular case had just made a concession on this point, asked for the return of the document conveying the intelligence which had been remitted to the Nuncio, and instructed the President of the Council to take possession of it at any cost. The Nuncio, on the other hand, declared that he would rather die than endure such an humiliation.

[1] Tomasino Contarini to the Doge. Madrid, October 3, 1589.

The affair was noised about, and the King let it drop.[1]

The Nuncio complained constantly of the difficulty he had in obtaining access to the King. He was finally obliged by an order from Rome to insist on being received once a week. All innovations were odious to Philip, who, feeling how inconvenient it is for a sovereign to treat of a matter personally with a foreign representative, had a great repugnance to granting an audience. He, however, was resigned on this occasion, and acceded to the Pope's request.[2]

The bull published towards the end of 1589, and ordering a jubilee in consequence of the affairs in France, gave every priest the right of absolving from the crime of heresy.

This clause was opposed in Madrid. The Archbishop of Toledo found that it infringed the privileges of the Inquisition, while the King's ministers discovered that it was prejudicial to the revenue, which largely profited by condemnations for heresy. Philip disapproved of it because it was an indirect means of facilitating the return of the King of Navarre to the fold of the Catholic Church, and at the same time his entrance to the Louvre. This last consideration had not escaped the notice of Count Olivarès, who, without waiting for instructions, had vehemently protested. This time he was approved by his master. The Nuncio, who had been requested by the King to ask for further instructions from Rome before the publication of the bull,

[1] H. Lippomano to the Doge. Madrid, August 12, 1588.
[2] T. Contarini to the Doge, September 3, 1589.

gave way to these solicitations, and Philip hastened to place his objections in the hands of his ambassador. They were the following:—To forgive so easily so great a fault would be to encourage its committal: the authority of the Inquisition would thereby be lessened, and, after the divine mercy, it was to the tribunal of the Inquisition that the preservation of the faith in all its purity in Spain was due. In France, facilities for absolution from heresy might engender two evils: heretics would profit by a feigned conversion, and so would the lukewarm, who put their interests and religion on the same level. Besides which it is a dangerous thing to intrust ignorant and dissolute men, like most of the French priests, with the power of absolving heresy. The essential point, however, was to obtain that the French clergy should expressly be forbidden to give absolution to Henry 'the Béarnais.' 'This is the principal end,' says the King in his despatch, 'on which you must bring all your power to bear. It is the one important point. On the success of your endeavours depends the salvation or the loss of the kingdom of France, and of so great a portion of the Christian world.'

The somewhat lavish use of excommunication in Spain had produced great indifference to it. It was no longer noticed; for while it was so easily encurred, it might with equal ease be removed. The civil authorities began to refuse to lend their co-operation to the bishops. Hence the Nuncio's complaints, and at Court a general outcry against what was called the encroachments and bad character of the Pope. The King's

intervention always aimed at appeasing matters and preventing a rupture.[1] His conduct was explained by the fear which he was supposed to entertain, that Sixtus V. would have recourse to extreme measures, especially with regard to the kingdom of Naples, whose disaffection might at once have been turned into open rebellion had Sixtus chosen to free the Italian subjects of Spain from their allegiance to Philip. But the latter had better and more important grounds for humouring the Pontiff. Contarini, who was Venetian Envoy in Madrid, was often the witness of Philip's outbursts of anger against Rome. 'They so exaggerate their grievances,' he wrote to the Doge, 'that one would think that they want the Pope to be hated by everybody; but though I do not approve all the evil they speak of him, I let them talk, for the more they occupy themselves about him, the less they think of your Serenity's supposed sympathies for the King of Navarre, of which so much was said here.'

The celebrated convent of the nuns of 'las Huelgas,' near Burgos, also gave rise to an angry discussion. In consequence of a visit, which, from his great anxiety for the maintenance of discipline in the religious orders, had been ordered by the King, certain changes had been introduced into the convent. The Pope asked for an official report of the visit, which had been authorised by the Nuncio in Madrid, who withdrew from the

[1] 'Nondimeno qui conoscendosi la natura del papa altiera, come dicono, e volendosi troncare ogni matiera di scandalo e di romore, si va con gran destrezza sollevando i motivi che si fanno e temporeggiando i disordini che succedono.' — Tomaso Contarini to the Doge. Madrid, December 18, 1589. Arch. Ven. Disp. Espagne, fil. 21.

Bishop of Osma the authorisation he had given him for the purpose. The King was much displeased, and informed the Nuncio that he would not receive him any longer in private audience, except in cases of special importance, and that for all other business he should address him in writing. On the other hand Sixtus V. declared the visit to be null and void.[1]

The abbreviator (Secretary of the Nuncio), on whom the dignity of king's chaplain had been conferred, believing that he would have some credit in the eyes of the Pope for doing so, conceived the unfortunate idea of informing the Papal Government of the appointment. The answer came back in the form of an order that the Nuncio should at once withdraw that honour from him.

The King bore all this ill-treatment in silence, but the Court and the town were much annoyed.

Such was in ecclesiastical matters the nature of the relations between Sixtus V. and Philip II. If a complete rupture was not declared, it was owing to the King's prudence and to the similarity of the interests of both. This solidarity of interests, which is always the strongest possible link whenever the interests in question are not intrusted to madmen, allowed Sixtus to act as he pleased, and Philip to endure everything without loss of dignity. He could even blame his ambassador when the latter asked, not for a breaking off of relations with Rome, but for the humiliation of the Pope and the convocation of a General Council

[1] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, July 1, 1589. T. Contarini, Madrid, February 3, 1589.

which should deal with all Church matters, and depose the Pope who was so little inclined to Spain, or at least paralyse his liberty of action, which was so important and so much to be dreaded at a time when France was engaged in so deadly a struggle. From his own point of view, Olivarès was not mistaken as to the Pope's object, for, we repeat it, he did not want a schism; but he was deceived as to the measures which he advised the King to adopt, and which that sovereign was wise enough to repudiate. Among sovereigns, as among individuals, there are no more inconvenient links than those which are formed by a similarity of interests combined with incompatibility of temper. Such links become insupportable chains which a man may long and yet not dare to break, because he knows that to break them is to lose himself. It then almost always happens that one of the parties so linked adopts a high tone, while the other maintains silence. The one appears to be the master, the other the slave; but in reality both are equally strong, because both are equally powerless in throwing off the yoke which constitutes at the same time their security and their martyrdom. Sixtus V. concealed no after-thought. He only wished the good of the Church. Philip's wishes were of a more complex nature. He aimed at the maintenance of the Catholic religion, which had become the moral basis of his power. He also aimed at satisfying his ambition, which was not inordinate, but necessarily unlimited, if only because his interests were mixed up with those of the Church whose mission is to conquer the universe. The Pope and the King

wanted the same thing; they both wished for unity of faith. Sixtus saw in it the triumph of the Church in the world, and Philip the establishment of a universal monarchy under the sceptre of one of his family. In analysing the relations between these two men, we are struck by a curious contrast,—on the one side, too passionate a nature, too impetuous a character, a complete absence of tact or manner; and on the other a calm, prudent, and dignified attitude. In this respect the comparison is all in Philip's favour. But the case is reversed when matters are sifted to the bottom. The ambition of Sixtus was the sense of his first duty; that of the King, a dream which circumstances can explain, which history notes, and should condemn if illusions and errors of judgment were not open to indulgent criticism.

CHAPTER III.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

WE have already spoken of the great position which the Society of Jesus held in the Catholic world.[1] 'It is marvellous,' Montaigne writes in his journal at Rome, 'how great is the part which that society plays in the Christian world, and I believe there never was an association or corporation among us which ever held such a rank, or produced such results as these will effect if they persevere in their designs. They will soon have power over the whole of Christendom. It is a nursery of men great in every kind of greatness. It is the body among all our orders that most threatens the heretics of our day.' 'In the matter of doctrine and worth,' wrote Tiepolo on his return from his embassy to Pius V. and Gregory XIII., 'the Jesuits hold the first place among all the religious orders.' 'Those fathers,' wrote the Tuscan ambassador to the Grand-Duke Francis, 'are the sinews of our religion.'

Such was the prevalent opinion. It was based upon successes, the marvellous character of which no one could contest, but which are easily explained. The

[1] 'Historia Societatis Jesu, quinta pars' (Romæ, 1661). Tiepolo, 1576. Alberti, 1587. Lenzoni, 1589. Montaigne, 'Journal de son voyage en Italie.' Avissi, 1588. Babbi, 1585.

reactionary movement which followed the Reformation had given birth to the order at the very time that a change in the world had taken place.

The Protestant religion had succeeded in England and in Scandinavia, and the sovereigns of both these countries were Protestants. In Germany the 'recess' of Augsburg (1555) had legitimised all the conquests of the Reformation. The freedom of individual judgment in matters of religion, which had been recognised in principle, was granted in reality only to those who had vindicated their right to it by the power of the sword, to sovereign princes, free towns, and 'immediate' nobles. The 'confession' of Augsburg, which has also been called the 'peace of religion at Augsburg,' proclaimed the monstrous principle, contrary also to the liberty of conscience which it sought to establish, that subjects were to follow the religion of their territorial chief—'cujus regio ejus religio.' When a prince or a free town, or an 'immediate' noble, adopted the Reformed creed, his subjects were obliged to do the same, or to migrate and sell their property. The double link of spiritual and temporal unity was broken. Until then, that unity had constituted the basis of the Christian world. It is true that political unity under the sceptre of the Emperor had long ceased to exist. It had never even been completely realised, but the kingdoms which had been formed outside of the Empire had all remained within the obedience of the Church. The citizen who denied that obedience was *ipso facto* banished from society, became an outlaw, and was exposed to prosecution by the ecclesiastical authorities, who could always

depend upon the co-operation of the civil authorities. The curate in his parish, and the religious orders on a vaster field, combated heresy in the confessional and in the pulpit, while theologians carried on the war by their writings, and from their professorial chairs in those universities in which Catholic doctrines were exclusively taught. Whenever a religious teacher met with opposition, he called for the help of the civil power, and in the event of resistance the prefect could call for the intervention of the police or of the soldiery. Henceforth division existed not only among individuals but in the State itself. To oppose the enemy there was no longer the secular power to depend upon, which in half of Europe belonged precisely to the opposite side. It was necessary to adopt new measures and a new mode of proceeding. Attention must be paid to altered times and circumstances. The state of the country in which a man resided was to be taken into consideration, as well as a study to be made of men and things. It was necessary to know how to temporise, to take the offensive, to choose the time when to act and when to expect, to take a comprehensive view of the situation, not to give in in matters of principle, but to make great allowances for circumstances. This mission of the counter-reaction offers some resemblance to the activity of the diplomatist as compared with that of the administrator. The establishment of Protestantism in Germany, in England, and in the Scandinavian States, and the religious peace of Augsburg, had changed the aspect of the world. The most radical revolution that Europe had seen since the introduction of Christianity

had taken place, and created a totally new position of affairs. It required on the part of the defenders of the Church new tactics, a new strategy, new arms, and fresh combatants. Is it therefore surprising that the great monastic orders of the Middle Ages, which had been formed under other circumstances, should, though still full of life, be unequal to their task? It was evident that to cope with totally new difficulties entirely new elements were necessary. Out of this necessity was born the Society of Jesus. To its organisation, and to the remarkable men that enlisted in its ranks, the order owed its great success. By its organisation it became a powerful instrument in the hands of its chiefs, and those chiefs were eminent men, such as a great crisis ever produces; for a crisis stirs up society, calls forth its latent strength, brings it to the rescue of an idea, attracts, inflames, carries it on, and discovers the seductive prospects of success. At such moments, which history from time to time recalls, men come forth from the ranks of the multitude, who display, either in the cause of good or of evil, faculties of an extraordinary power, astonish the world by the greatness of their efforts, after surprising it by the boldness of their conceptions. In the midst of this struggle between convictions, if only they are sincere, genius starts up, the fire of enthusiasm is lit, and the power of intelligence, strength of mind, and firmness of character shine forth. Then are great men born and great things done. Other changes take place in the life of a people, which are attempted and achieved under false pretences by actors who simulate an enthusiasm which

they cannot experience, who cover their interested motives under the mask of high-sounding phrases, who are surrounded by accomplices and followed by a crowd of dupes, able only to destroy, and remarkable for the absence of either genius or virtues, but who also astonish the world, inasmuch as the world wonders how such small people could produce such evil results. This was not the case in the struggles of the sixteenth century. It cannot be denied that in the Protestant camp there were, side by side with interested motives, sincere and deep convictions.

The Reformation began the attack. The Catholic world, taken unawares, armed hastily. On both sides the struggle was carried on with extreme ardour. The arsenals of the Middle Ages were empty, or, if arms remained, the arquebuse and the ordinary gun were no longer sufficient. More powerful engines of war were required, and these were the Jesuits. They entered the ranks armed with piety, with knowledge, and especially with obedience. They were disciplined and capable of holding their own against the great Protestant Reformers. Hence their success, the ever-increasing esteem in which they were held, and the support which the Popes gave them.

Sixtus V. alone was cold and reserved towards them. The prestige of the incipient order, and the prerogatives which it owed to Paul III., had excited jealousy, and wounded many susceptibilities, as well as created much envy. It was especially among the other religious orders that the fathers of the Society of Jesus had many and powerful adversaries. Sixtus V.,

the old friar, also objected to some of the rules of Ignatius, which were so different from those of other monastic institutions, and so contrary to his ideas, his tastes and ordinary habits. In the first years of his pontificate, however, he did not show his dislike by any outward act, recognised on various occasions the merits of the order, and once even took up its defence. Some of the fathers were much liked by him. The celebrated Padre Toledo, 'that rare man,' as Montaigne says, 'profound in learning and in character,' continued, as in the time of Gregory, to preach often at the Vatican in the Sala Costantina. But these were exceptions. Some remarks of the Holy Father respecting them made men reflect. Thus he had scarcely ascended the pontifical throne when, to meet certain pressing wants, he suppressed the pensions which had been granted by his predecessor to certain colleges in Rome and in Italy, and exhorted the fathers who had charge of these colleges to be patient; adding that he could not, as far as the Jesuits were concerned, have any regret, for they were rich enough. The order, spread as it was throughout the world, was naturally influenced by the political and religious state of the various countries. In Germany, where religious difficulties were scarcely and very imperfectly ended, where peace between the several creeds was more like a truce upon which no dependence could be placed, the Jesuits were looked upon by the Catholic princes as the spiritual staff of their army, and by the Catholic populations as the rampart of the faith. Princes and people equally

favoured the society, followed anxiously its strategic movements, and blended their own interests with theirs, since they both fought for the same cause.

In Spain and in Italy, however, their position was very different. There the dangers of the Reformation, which had given rise to the order, had disappeared, or were no longer threatening. The religious innovations of Germany and of the South of France had for a time threatened to invade both peninsulas; but, thanks to repressive measures of extreme severity, thanks also to the Pyrenees, which even now-a-days railways have not been able to level, Spain had maintained its unity of faith. By less violent, though not less efficacious means, Rome had also succeeded in averting the danger from Italy. The anxious times of the Council of Trent had gone by; the suits instituted against high dignitaries of the Church accused of heresy had ceased. But, although men no longer felt the vague fears which made Cardinal Morone exclaim, 'It is all up with the Catholic religion!' all signs of danger had not really disappeared. If Dauphiné remained in the hands of the Huguenots, if Saluzzo were delivered up to them, if the Reformation should be established in Styria and in Carniola, and if it became mistress of the Alpine passes, Italy would again be exposed to the invasion of heresy. But things had not come to such a pass. In Madrid and in Rome there was in this respect a degree of security which was unknown to the two preceding generations, and such security made men forget the merit of those to whom mostly it was due. In both countries there was, side by side

with the great majority of those who favoured the Jesuits, a party that was opposed to them. The Dominicans in Spain were at the head of the latter, so were the King and Inquisition, but only to a certain degree, and for other reasons. In Italy their principal opponents were the old monastic orders, who were jealous of their prerogatives, of their successes, and of their officially declared intention to persevere in the new line they had traced for themselves. Underhand struggles took place, but the Jesuits, with the support of the Head of the Church and of Catholic opinion, which was in their favour, always got the best of it. The first real blow which they received was in Spain.

Charles V. did not like them. His antipathy, however, came only from his dislike to all innovations. Philip II. never forgave them the great influence they had exercised in Portugal under the two last kings, and which they still retained. The Inquisition complained that the General and Superiors of the order enjoyed too much power over the other members of the society. It was in the eyes of the Inquisition an encroachment upon its prerogatives, and in those of the King a means of depriving him of the influence and control which he believed himself called upon to exercise over the clergy in general. He therefore embraced the cause of the Inquisition against the Jesuits, and instructed Olivarès to demand that the regulations of Ignatius should be revised. He also insisted upon a Provincial being appointed for Spain. It would be the means of weakening the influence of the General of the order, who resided in Rome, and

therefore of strengthening his own. Another complaint referred to the refusal of the Spanish Jesuits to accept the bull of the 'cruzada.' They refused to profit by the dispensations and favours which it conferred, but were ready to pay the money which was to be given in return. After personally listening to the objections of Padre Acquaviva, then General of the order, Sixtus V. referred the matter for consideration to the cardinals of the Holy Office, who gave their decision in favour of the Jesuits, and offered to make known their decision themselves to the Archbishop of Toledo; but the Pope preferred diplomatic communications, and instructed his Nuncio in Madrid to dismiss the petition of the Inquisition. Through the intervention of the Pope, who found that the Spanish pretensions were as much an attempt against the rights of the Holy See as against the privileges of the society, the storm was allayed.

At the Gesù men had begun to breathe freely, when serious intelligence arrived from Spain. The Inquisition had ordered the colleges of the order to remit into its hands all the copies of their constitution. One of the rectors, Padre de Villagarzoni, a celebrated preacher, having refused, was arrested and thrown into prison. Other fathers who were slow in obeying the order shared the same fate. Meantime the King issued an ordinance forbidding any Jesuit to leave the kingdom without his authority. This was indirectly depriving the General of the company of the power of disposing of the members of the society, and in this case of calling to Rome some of the fathers who had

been gained over by court influence and who openly spoke in favour of the pretensions of the Inquisition.

At Rome Olivarès became the spokesman of the Inquisition. Backed by the peremptory orders of his sovereign, he never ceased to importune Sixtus V., who, though he complained, still listened to the ambassador. It was soon perceived that his inclinations, which had never been very favourable to the Jesuits, were positively against them. About a year before his death he called for Cardinal Caraffa, and requested him to examine the rules of their society, pointing out to him at the same time what points needed revision. These points were the too extensive powers of the General and Superiors of the order, the appointment by the General and Assisting Fathers, and not by the Chapter as in other communities, to the various dignities of the order, the numerous degrees in the order, the name of the order, the too long duration of the novitiate, the fraternal corrections and blind obedience, &c. He also regretted that the Jesuits had no choir.

To all these accusations against the founder of his order, the able and courageous Padre Acquaviva replied by arguments which carried the Sacred College in his favour. He succeeded in converting to his cause the most important member, Cardinal Caraffa himself, but could do nothing with the Holy Father.

Through him colleges abroad had been informed of the danger which threatened them. The echo of their complaints was soon heard from every part of Europe. Everywhere, but nowhere so much as in Germany, the event caused a deep sensation. The

Catholic princes of the Empire, Duke William of Bavaria, King Sigismund of Poland, archbishops, prelates, zealous noblemen, all remonstrated with the Pontiff, and implored him not to destroy an order which was so useful both in defending the faith and attacking its enemies, and which was so indispensable at that time. The Emperor, whose Council was entirely devoted to the company, was asked by the German princes to join in their representations, but he declined any interference. All his sympathies, he said, were for the Jesuits; but, as the question was for the Pope's decision, it must be left with him. Cardinal Madruccio was, however, authorised to support in Rome the steps taken on behalf of the order. The protestation was therefore universal. It came from the north, from those countries of which Protestantism had half possessed itself, and was directed against the Superiors of the great monastic orders, against the Catholic King, and in a certain measure against the Pope himself—a curious state of things, by which Sixtus V. and Philip II., who were the chief defenders of the faith, seemed, according to the testimony of the society's apologists to have gone astray, being deceived as to the true nature of things, and having lost sight of what was essential in order to look to secondary matters—the one forgetting that he was Pope, and remembering only that he had been a monk; the other wanting to act as Pope. Thus the German princes seemed, through their intervention, to compromise the very cause which they wished to serve, and to which Padre Acquaviva alone remained faithful,

fighting courageously for the rules, that is for the very existence of his order, which he could not, however, have saved if fate had not served him.

Sixtus V., who was indignant that civilians should interfere with purely ecclesiastical matters, merely answered that he did not intend to do away with the order, nor even modify its constitution, but wished to correct its defects. These corrections certainly went far. To deprive a society of its principal rules is to destroy it. To deprive it of its name is to confirm its demise. If from the rules of St. Ignatius Loyola, those of blind obedience and the powers of the Superiors were cut off, the society would be levelled to the position of other orders, which were found to be inadequate to cope with the new evil. In other words, the precious instrument would be broken, which force of circumstances and the necessities of the moment had created, and which had rendered, and could still render, such important services.

Meanwhile in Rome the current of public opinion was daily becoming more favourable to the Jesuits. Even Cardinal Caraffa tried to save them by prolonging the inquest. The Pope perceived it. 'You wish to gain time,' he said, 'but you are mistaken. Our decision is formed: we shall soon make it known.' He withdrew his commission, and transferred it to the Congregation of the Cardinals of the Holy Office, with orders that the final decision should be drawn up by four theologians.

While this was going on, an incident which was much to be regretted by those in favour of the order

took place in Spain, and was notified by the Nuncio in Madrid. The reader has seen how high party spirit ran against the Pope in that capital. His quarrels with the King, and his supposed sympathy with Henry of Navarre, had produced a great effervescence of public spirit, which Philip's ministers took care not to allay. Everywhere, in the streets, at the 'Puerta del Sol,' at the 'tertulias,' in the ante-rooms of the grandees, there were loud cries against the Pope and the Government of Venice, which was likewise supposed to favour 'the Béarnais.' Even from the pulpit there were preachers who dared to attack the Pope most violently. A young Jesuit—one of those 'enfants terribles' who are never wanting, whether in religious communities or in families—Padre Juan Geronimo, ventured to use these words while preaching: 'Cry, oh! cry, all of you, for a republic, princes, a Pope . . (then placing his finger on his mouth) but hush! hush! . . . all favour and help the heretical King of Navarre.'

The Pope was furious. He told the fact to Badoer, the Venetian envoy, who, in his report to the Doge, added 'that he tried as much as possible to excite the Pope's anger against those preachers, upon whom, in the times they were in, it was even more necessary to keep a sharp look-out than on the forces of a declared enemy.'[1] The commotion which this incident produced in the diplomatic circle of Madrid may be conceived. The rector of the college threw himself at the feet of the Venetian envoy; the indiscreet preacher

[1] A. Badoer, July 28, 1590.

made a written and verbal apology; and Contarini, on writing to the Doge, declared himself satisfied with the repentance of the culprit, and especially with the conduct of the rector and of the other fathers. But the Pope was not so easily appeased. He ordered Padre Acquaviva to send for Padre Juan, intending to punish him as he deserved. He even went so far as to ask whether the Jesuits had become the enemies of the Gospel! In a Consistory which he held a fortnight before his death, on August 13, he thus spoke of the incident: 'To mention it is to increase our sorrow. Matters have come to such a pass that in Madrid a father of the Society actually accused us of being a promoter of heresy.'[1] He then passed in review the day, the place, and occasion on which these words had been uttered, and the person who had spoken them. To preach such things at such a time was to give scandal and to speak against facts, for since the death of Henry III., as before that event, he (the Pope) had done his utmost to extirpate heresy from France. A man who held that the Holy Father could favour heresy could not be a Catholic; for if the Pope, who is the head of the Catholics, favoured heresy, then he would cease to be Pope; but by the express avowal of all the Fathers of the Church and of the Councils, the solution of the question whether the Pope is Pope belongs to God alone, and he who maintains the contrary cannot be a Catholic. He quoted, in support of his opinion, the words of the Council which declared

[1] 'Decifrado: lo que passó en el consistorio de los 13 de agosto de 1590.'

to Pope Marcellus: 'Tuo te ore condemnas,' and 'Suprema sedes a nemine judicatur.' The aid of the Holy Ghost having been promised to the Popes, they could not be promoters of heresy. And it was clear from the words: '*Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua*,' and '*Ego ero vobiscum usque ad consummationem sæculi*.' After many other quotations from the Scriptures, he at last came to an examination of the character of the person who had accused him of heresy. It was, he said, a father of the Society of Jesus, which was under such obligations to the Holy See, and to him particularly that he could justly say that it was a viper which he had fostered. He was, however, happy to say that there were a great many good men in that order, and that some of the fathers had taken a great part in the recent conversion of the Margrave of Baden. Then he broke forth against Philip. 'And where,' he exclaimed, 'did one dare not only give out, but preach such a calumny? In Madrid—in the Catholic capital of so Christian a prince—without its having even been considered necessary to punish the preacher, whose only penance had been the secret one ordered by his rector of making him eat in private, so as to secure him from the punishments which other tribunals might inflict upon him.' He compared the lukewarmness of the Spanish Court in a matter which so nearly concerned the Head of the Church with the zeal which it habitually displayed in ecclesiastical matters when its own interests were at stake, adding—for sarcasm was seldom left out of his harangues—that the Court would have been

otherwise moved if the Jesuit father had preached against the 'cruzada.'

Then it was that he made his wishes known with respect to the rules of the order. Cardinals Santa Severina and Castagna (the latter was to be Pope within a month) went to see Padre Acquaviva. He received them at the Roman College, and learnt from them the final decision to which the theologians had come, under the direct inspiration of the Pope. On some points Sixtus V. had admitted the observations of the Padre Generale; but on others, and the chief ones (such especially as the name), he would not give in. He insisted that the order should cease to be styled the Society of Jesus. The name, he urged, was prejudicial to other religious institutions, and to the faithful in general. It was not proper, as the holy name of Jesus might be dragged before a tribunal; nor convenient, because each time the name of the society was brought into conversation, the respectful and pious would have to leave their occupation, make the sign of the cross, and uncover. Padre Acquaviva saw that all further resistance was useless, and promised that he would forbid the members of the society henceforth to call themselves by their present name.

From regard, perhaps, for those princes who had interceded in favour of the society, the Pope asked that, in the decree abolishing the name, the General should make no mention of his intervention, and that the document should bear a date anterior to that of the decision. But this Padre Acquaviva steadfastly refused to do. His conscience did not allow him, of

his own accord, to violate the rules laid down by the founder of his order: he submitted, as was his duty, to the wishes of the Head of the Church, but such an act of submission, which alone could justify his conduct, must be inscribed in the Circular. These arguments were unanswerable, and the two cardinals did not insist. The General prepared his decree, and though ordered to present it without delay, he asked that it might be first submitted to the Pope, for the approval of His Holiness. This was at the beginning of August. On the 27th Sixtus V. died. The document was found among his papers. It has never seen the light of day. The Jesuits kept their name and their rules; and Gregory XIV., who ascended the Pontifical throne at the end of the year, hastened to confirm the institutions of St. Ignatius Loyola.

CHAPTER IV.

CHANGES IN THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

SINCE the election of Sixtus V., death had caused many vacancies among the cardinals. Sirletto only survived a few months his disappointed expectations, but left behind him the reputation of a real saint, as well as universal regret, besides a few debts, which his unlimited charity had caused him to incur, and a fine library, which Olivarès wished to purchase, but which the Pope bought for the Vatican.[1]

In Cardinal Cessi, who died a year after Sirletto, the Pope lost one of the few friends he had in the Sacred College; Donna Camilla, a useful adviser and a friend, ever disposed to recommend that her brother should be liberal towards her; and the Court of Tuscany one of its most devoted adherents.[2]

Cardinal d'Este, who had been long ailing, was occupied in the service of his king, and was dictating a letter to M. de Villeroy, when he felt the approach of death.[3] Having received the sacrament during the night, he at

[1] Babbi to the Grand-Duke, October 7, 1585.

[2] Gritti to the Doge, October 4, 1586.

[3] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, December 30, 1586. There is no signature to the letter, but the Secretary added as a postscript, 'The accident which occurred to the cardinal my master, whom God absolve, ended fatally this day, December 31.'

daybreak called for Pisany, to tell him, as he was breathing his last, that in him the King lost a good and faithful servant.[1] He was only forty-seven years of age. This premature death, though foreseen, not only deprived Henry III. of a tried friend, and of the only support he had at Rome, but created a vacancy in the Sacred College which it was difficult to fill.

Cardinal de Joyeuse took the place of Cardinal d'Este as Protector of France. He had been made cardinal by Gregory XIII., and owed the honour to the favour in which his brother, the Duc de Joyeuse, was held by Henry III. On arriving in Rome, several months after the death of his predecessor, he was only twenty-five years of age. In Rome the choice made of him was not liked, because he could not speak the language, and because the cardinal-protectors were always chosen from among the Italian prelates. In the end he was accepted. He was a clever man. His letters prove it even if they were, as often alleged, written by his abbé-secretary, afterwards the celebrated D'Orsat. Joyeuse originated them. His vivacity, his boasting, and his worldliness displeased the Pope, who never lost an opportunity of treating him harshly, of making him feel how little he cared for him and his master; but Sixtus seldom succeeded in intimidating him. When Cardinal de Joyeuse received the news of the death of the Duke, his brother, and of another brother, both killed at the battle of Coutras, he retired to Ostia. The Holy Father ordered him to return and to be pre-

[1] Pisany to Henry III., March 10, 1587.

sent at the ceremonies in the chapel in his red garments, though the other Cardinals were in violet, owing to its being Advent. He told Pisany that mourning was out of place, and that 'the Cardinal ought to be much pleased and thank God that his brother had spent his life in the defence of so just a cause;' but the ambassador found the message somewhat extravagant. The cardinal begged to be excused, and did not appear in chapel.[1] In the consistories this young man dared oppose the old Pontiff, almost always preserved his presence of mind and coolness, and, to the secret delight of the cardinals, often replied wittily to the sarcasms and syllogisms of the Pope. He was neither the soul nor the head, but the spokesman of the Opposition. What a great and celebrated theatre was that upon which these individual combats took place! The most delicate questions were there discussed: the League, the murder of the Guises, the fate of France, the compromised interests of that country, the fate of the Catholic religion there, and the succession to the French throne. The Cardinal was of high stature, with black hair and beard. One of his eyes was blear, which gave him a savage aspect. It is said that later, after the death of Sixtus V., when three Pontiffs had succeeded each other in less than two years, fate would have it that Joyeuse, who was constantly travelling, should arrive in Rome immediately before the death of the Pope. This gave him the reputation of possessing the evil eye, and eligible cardinals were much afraid of him.[2]

[1] Pisany to Henry III., December 1, 1587.

[2] Amayden. 'Summorum Pontificum et omnium Cardinalium elogia.'

The two nephews of Gregory, San Sisto and the camerlingo Guastavillani, who were both still young, died also shortly after their retirement from public life, in which, during their uncle's pontificate, or during the Conclave, they had played a considerable part.

Cardinal Savello, who was so near becoming Pope, and who, with Farnese, was the last survivor of the creatures of Paul III., died, at the age of sixty-five years, on December 5, 1587. He had long been the Pope's vicar, and was buried with great pomp at the Gesù in the chapel which he had built there, and which is now the magnificent chapel of St. Ignatius.

Decio Azzolino also died, being only thirty-eight years old, and a cardinal of two years' standing. Sixtus V. was much grieved at his loss. His former secretary, he wrote under the Pope's direct dictation all the despatches to the Nuncio, and other diplomatic correspondence.

The fatal hour at last came for Farnese, 'the great cardinal,' who was seventy years of age (March 1589). Although in the reign of Sixtus V. Farnese had completely retired into private life, and at the last from all intercourse with the world, his death caused nevertheless a painful sensation in Rome. The Venetian ambassador, Badoer, wrote to the Doge that 'the most illustrious Cardinal Farnese, after having last Tuesday called his treasurer and given orders that 4,000 scudi should be given to the Orphan Hospital, 2,000 to the "converts," and 4,000 to various pious institutions, sat down to breakfast as well and as lively as his state would allow, when in the midst of breakfast he had an

attack of apoplexy. Though consciousness returned, and even gave hope of recovery for a while, a fresh attack took place during the night of Wednesday to Thursday, and since then his state has always gone from bad to worse. He received the sacraments, settled his affairs, and, full of confidence in the Divine mercy, spent his last moments in uninterrupted acts of devotion and piety. On Thursday, towards the twentieth hour, he gave up his soul to his Creator and Redeemer, consoling all present by his edifying death. Thus Rome has lost a cardinal who, from his experience, his judgment, his liberality, his charity to the poor, and his kindness to everyone, had no equal. It is also impossible to describe how universal is the public grief, and how great is the loss for the town and for those impartial men who were able to appreciate the noble and royal qualities of the deceased.'[1] His funeral took place in presence of an immense concourse of people, and, what had never been seen before, forty-two cardinals followed the hearse. His body lies buried at the Gesù, before the high altar. The people attributed his death, we hope wrongly for his own sake, to the grief which he experienced at finding himself deprived, by a general bull concerning governments, of those of Viterbo and other places, which he had held during the two preceding pontificates.

Another vacancy had taken place in the Sacred College, not by the death of a cardinal, but by that of a sovereign. On October 19, 1587, the Grand-Duke

[1] Badoer to the Doge, March 3, 1589.

of Tuscany died, after a short illness. He was at his country house of Pozzo, with his wife Bianca Capello, his brother, the cardinal, who had just arrived from Rome, and the Cardinal of Florence. On October 8, after dinner, he was seized with vomiting and shivering fits. Not wishing, however, to alarm the Grand-Duchess, he played piquet with Ferdinand, took then the fashionable remedy, called the 'bézoard,' and spent the remainder of the afternoon in the drawing-room with his wife, the cardinals, and several noblemen. At the hour of the 'Ave Maria,' he felt worse, and his brother's doctor was called in. He went to bed, took manna in broth, and was twice bled. The doctors believed it to be an attack of 'tierce' fever, occasioned by an indigestion after eating mushrooms. The doctors, who were four in number, treated the illness according to the ideas of the day, by administering emetics and purgatives, and by bleeding him. The Nuncio, who gave all these details to the Pope, began to fear a fatal termination. The treatment of the patient, who was notwithstanding allowed to continue eating ices, justified such sinister forebodings. The Grand-Duke, however, continued to work with his secretaries of state. On October 18, he sent for his confessor from Florence, received the sacraments, and died on the following day at about the nineteenth hour. Bianca Capello, who was ill a few days, died on October 20, and Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici ascended the throne of Tuscany. At Florence the people maintained that he had been poisoned, and that the Grand-Duchess had given him, by mistake, the poison which was destined for the

Cardinal. This story was not believed by those who mixed in the official circles, and who knew better the nature of the relations between Bianca and her brother-in-law. It is, however, remarkable that such an imputation could be laid to her charge.

The Pope was at supper, talking familiarly with his friends, when Monsignor Sangaletto entered the dining-room and announced the Tuscan envoy. Sixtus guessed what was the matter, and, being told of what had occurred by his private cameriere, burst into tears. Monsignor Alberti was at once admitted, and notified the decease of his sovereign at the same time that he announced the peaceful accession of the Cardinal. The Holy Father's grief was sincere and well founded. He lost in the Grand-Duke a tried friend, who had extended a hand to him during the worst days in his life, and had in a thousand ways made himself agreeable to him during his pontificate. Francis was wont to communicate to him the news from the various Courts: kept him acquainted with the course of events in Germany, in France, and in Spain—upon which Olivarès, to the Pope's great displeasure, was always silent—showed him endless attention, sent him the early fruits from his garden, and never asked him for money.[1] The question of capturing the brigand Malatesta had at one time clouded their intimacy, but both parties had soon renewed their good relations. The bad sovereign had proved a good friend, and the Pope deeply felt his loss.

[1] Sangaletto to the Grand-Duke, March 10, 1588. Pisany to Henry III., March 7, 1588.

Following on the steps of his father and of his brother, the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, after taking possession of his throne, with a sympathy on the part of his subjects which showed but little enthusiasm, sought his principal support in the person of the Pope. He took great care to ingratiate himself in a quarter so necessary to the fulfilment of his views, and to the game which he intended to play, by turning to his own advantage the antagonism which existed between France and Spain. Sixtus V. had occasional attacks of fever. His supernatural activity, his frequent irritation of temper, his almost perpetual quarrels with the Spanish ambassador, acted as a slow poison upon his powerful constitution, and were altogether to extinguish, at no distant period, the vital strength of the old man. This issue pre-occupied Ferdinand. His good relations with the Pope were a means of gaining for him the confidence of Cardinal Montalto, who was already very devoted to him, and through him, the leader of the reigning Pontiff's creatures, of insuring at the future Conclave the election of a Pope who would prove favourable to his interests. This, at the time of which we are speaking, was his dominant idea. In pursuing it, he displayed the defects and good points of his character. No one could be more amiable when he wished, and he wished to be so and was so with Sixtus V., except when his proud nature caused him to forget the precepts of prudence.

The Pope did not like him. He had at bottom remained a Cordelier monk, and the aristocratic ways, the worldly tastes, and independence of the cardinal-

prince had always displeased him, and he had made de' Medici feel the effects of his displeasure. Whether the Sovereign of Tuscany would remember the disappointments of the cardinal, was a question which the Holy Father had asked himself on hearing of the death of Francis. He, therefore, gracefully accepted his advances, and promised to cultivate his friendship; but he, even more perhaps than Ferdinand, allowed himself to be mastered by his defects of character. There resulted a general good understanding between Rome and Florence, occasionally broken by quarrels of rather violent character, but never of long duration.

The idea of seeing a member of the Sacred College give up the cardinal's hat and the ecclesiastical profession was already painful to Sixtus. That of seeing a prince of the Church marry deeply shocked him, although Ferdinand was only a deacon, and had received the minor orders only. Marriage was forced by state reasons, and the Pope unhesitatingly granted the necessary dispensation, though he did it with a bad grace. To the great displeasure of the Courts of Prague and Madrid, the Grand-Duke was about to marry Princess Christine of Lorraine. The Holy Father, on the contrary, approved the alliance, and had even lent his support in the negotiations which brought it about, though the marriage of one who had been a cardinal was not the less unpalatable to him. His indignation exploded when he learnt that the Grand-Duke was still wearing his purple garments while triumphal arches and porticoes were already being raised at Florence for the solemn entrance of the princess. He called

the Tuscan envoy, and told him that this was scandalous; that his master should send him back his cardinal's hat at once; that he could not allow Europe to laugh and talk on the subject of the nuptials of a cardinal. He forbade the cardinals to go who had been invited to the ceremonies, and among them were Joyeuse and Rusticucci. Ferdinand, who was deeply mortified, wrote a sharp letter to his agent, directing him to read it to the Pope. He ended the letter by saying that it was time His Holiness should cease to look upon him as a cardinal, and should begin to consider him Grand-Duke of Tuscany. Sixtus V. replied in his own handwriting:[1] 'Your ambassador has read me a very long letter, full of vain illusions. So far as it concerns me and my family, I must inform you that what you say is purely chimerical. You possess extensive States and a great people. You would therefore do well to give up innovations, and to occupy yourself with what is much more important. If I tell you these things roughly, believe me it is the great affection I have for you which makes me act thus. I have sent you word about certain matters. Since then I have neither written nor made you speak, because it was sufficient for me to let you know my opinion. I hope, therefore, that you will calm yourself. I have nothing more to say, and wish you all possible good.' The tone of this letter, as that of similar ones, justifies apparently the susceptibility of Ferdinand. Thus on the occasion of the creation of some cardinals Sixtus wrote: 'I shall try and satisfy you, but I do not like your versatility. It

[1] July 25, 1588.

does not appear to me to be well that you should behave with so little respect towards the Holy See.'[1]

After the storm came fine weather. The impetuosity of character which was common to both led them apart for a time, but the similarity of their positions always brought them together again. This intimacy, which no quarrel could break, gave matter for much reflection on the part of the Spanish diplomatists. 'There is nothing exaggerated in the account we give the King,' wrote Sessa to Ydiaquez (August 1, 1590), 'of the bad state in which matters stand here, and of the Pope's bad behaviour. On the contrary, we write in measured terms. He is extremely intimate with the Venetians and with the Grand-Duke, who loses no opportunity of gaining favour and consolidating his credit in Rome, as regards not only ecclesiastical but also temporal affairs. He aims at standing well with the present Pope as well as with the next, in order that the Pope who shall succeed may be as favourable to him as the present, if not more so.' Of the two, the one most interested in keeping up good relations was the Grand-Duke, but the Pope considered them desirable. He appreciated all the worth of Ferdinand, who was far cleverer than his brother, and took advantage of it when practicable.

He understood of course that the Grand-Duke was a different man from what the cardinal had been; that defects in a Sacred College might become virtues on a throne, and that clearly a crown better suited Ferdinand's head than did a cardinal's hat.[2]

[1] December 5, 1587.

[2] Gritti, 1588. Badoer, March 12, 1589. Lippomano, January 20, 1588. Pisany, November, 1587. Nicolini, November 25, 1588.

By the death of Savello, the vicarship of the Church had become vacant. It was an excellent opportunity for getting rid of Rusticucci. That cardinal, it may be remembered, had boasted on the election of Sixtus V. that he would govern the State under the sceptre of the 'good old man.' He had, on the contrary, been obliged to submit to the humiliation of being left in ignorance of the affairs of the department of which he was the head. He exchanged it for the vicarship of the Church, which the Pope hastened to offer to him, left the Vatican and established himself in the palace he had lately built on the Piazza St. Peter. The foreign affairs were given to young Montalto. Azzolino, before his death, had placed in his hands the charge of the department over which he had presided, so that this child was, in virtue of the two offices he held, practically at the head of the temporal Government. Yet the storm was gathering everywhere, and the sky was getting darker and darker. Speaking with a cardinal a year before his death, Sixtus V. said: 'I am much concerned that all the princes of the earth are against us.' He looked upon France as lost to the Church, and dreaded the disappointments which his other enemies were preparing for him, and complained bitterly of Spain. He astonished his interlocutor by the bitterness of his remarks against Philip II., the Spanish nation, and the little respect they showed the Holy Father. Of the Emperor he said that he wanted good advice, and that in the affairs of Poland he had almost destroyed the good effects of the Legate's laborious endeavours. The Duke of Savoy had turned against

him because he had refused to give him pecuniary help for his expedition against Geneva. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany (they were at that moment at feud) no longer communicated to him the news from abroad. Ferrara was ill-disposed, and Mantua not satisfied. Even Venice was not behaving well in the matter of the Slavonian barques, so that he foresaw the time when he would be obliged to break off relations with Venice.

These dark prospects preoccupied him, as he confessed, but did not frighten him. It is perhaps an unprecedented fact that an old man of nearly seventy and a young man barely sixteen years of age should have held, at the same time, the reins of the State, should have satisfied the wants of the moment, and been equal to their task; the one by his clear intellect, his strength of will, his courage, and the other by a devotion which was equal to the tenderness of which he was the object, by a reserve and a discretion which nothing could change, and by an attention to business surprisingly great for so young a man. In his dealings with the representatives of the great courts, the Pope naturally could not make use of his grand-nephew. He then had recourse to the intervention of various cardinals, especially of Santa Severina, of Gesualdo, and of Aragon. But these cases were rare, for to the last days of his life he saw the ambassadors himself. When the latter asked young Montalto to speak to his uncle about their affairs, he mildly declined, saying that he dared not do so, but assured them of his kind disposition towards their sovereign. His silence was only equal to his politeness, and at a later time to his

taste for the arts, his Christian virtues, and his piety. The young Secretary of State, whose old clothes had shocked the Venetian ambassador when he saw him for the first time in the humble abode of Donna Camilla, was fond of dress, wore his purple gown gracefully, did not disdain a good table, and was rather effeminate.

Some instructions, which were to guide the young cardinal, and which were supposed to have been written for that purpose, have been preserved. They define the duties of the Pope, of the Sacred College, of the Cardinal-nephew, and give certain details respecting the manner in which men should be treated and affairs conducted. The whole is mixed up with general maxims. Here are some respecting sovereigns and their representatives: 'Princes are proud, ambitious of acquiring territory and glory, and are jealous of the progress which others are capable of making. They like to be feared, do not stand reproach or freedom of expression, and never allow that they are in the wrong, although it be evident that they are. They raise many pretensions, which are not always justified, and are often illusive. They are afraid of a snare and of the fall of their power. They are suspicious of one another; watch each other jealously, observe each other's movements, especially when they are neighbours. Any concession of privileges, titles, help, or favour bestowed upon one causes the others to ask for similar favours. A refusal offends them, and even a little difficulty in the way or a slight hesitation is sufficient to wound their susceptibility. They seldom give proof of attachment or of

confidence. Few people exercise an influence over them. They look to their interests, are often obliged to feign and to dissemble, and are profuse in their protestations of devotion to the Holy See. They become allied and "disally," according to what suits them best individually. The ill-luck which attends others is not always displeasing to them. On the contrary, they profit by it to acquire for themselves and to increase the loss of others. They do not run after doubtful or distant success, nor even after that which it is difficult and expensive to obtain, and they object to referring to the arbitration of other princes. Interviews among them are not productive of friendship, but sometimes of spite and dissensions. They like excess in everything, and lend a willing ear to those who flatter them by exaggerating their greatness. They like to exhibit their power, and wish to appear liberal. They like presents, especially rare things or those of a perfect workmanship or useful for the preservation of life. They believe themselves free to do anything, when it is a question of adding to their power. . . . Ambassadors are generally able, sagacious, and insinuating men, who can talk well, are amiable in conversation, prudent when it is necessary to adopt a sudden plan, courageous in replying and in resisting, and indefatigable with their pen. They seek to know where affection lies, where hatreds exist, where lie the strength and purpose of the Prince and his Court. They observe everything, and, with the aid of conjectures and slight indications, they smell and rout out important facts. They take great notice of those who

give information, and seek to get at news by every means. In other courts their sole occupation is to increase the influence and consideration of their sovereign; but in Rome, which is a Republic common to all, they also look to their private interests. They like to be considered faithful to their masters and agreeable to the prince at whose court they reside. If there are several ambassadors, the same emulation exists among them that exists among the princes, and in Rome they always have an eye to the future.'

The young Cardinal is then recommended to avoid, as so many dangers, frequent and intimate conversations with many people, especially with public and inquisitive men; 'for we thereby give them the opportunity of observing and of penetrating a secret; besides, such familiarity is not in accordance with that dignity which you should maintain in their presence. Even before our servants too much kindness is often misplaced; for, if useful occasionally, it gives rise oftener to serious inconveniences. To great people we must communicate those motives which have made us act, but to the others it is only necessary to communicate our decisions. It is well to listen patiently to a long statement. It gives one time to reflect over the answers to be returned, and pleases the speaker, for everyone likes to be listened to. It is most useful to note afterwards the essential points of the conversation. We have heard it said that Queen Catharine of Poland did it. On leaving an audience or the Prince's closet we must be careful, even should we have cause to be displeased, not to change countenance, and to preserve our cus-

tomary look. It is the means by which we prevent the person to whom we talk or those who see us coming out, from penetrating our thoughts.'

'He who does not cease to reflect does not begin to act.' . . . 'It is in the interest of the Pope and in yours, to keep an eye open upon his intimate and favourite servants, to conciliate them, or to maintain them in their fidelity.' . . . 'Choose well your time when you want to transact business with the Pope. Do not importune him. Begin by the easy and pleasant things, then go on to the most serious ones requiring an immediate solution.'

Here is a picture of Rome drawn by Sixtus V.: 'The Court of Rome is the rendezvous and the common fatherland of all the Christian nations. Each has a share in it, each person can go there, hope, and aspire to all the honours which are conferred there, even that of the pontificate. The authority of princes is important for Rome, and so far as they are concerned private sympathies and likings are divided there. In consequence of this participation of everyone in the affairs of the State, the form of the government is that of a republic, dependent, however, upon the supreme and absolute regal authority of the Pope. In Rome a man succeeds by great virtue, by nobility, by servitude, by money, by favour, and by other means. Patience is encouraged by hope, which is a solid support, since it survives other disappointments. Much speculation goes on as to the frequent mutations in office and changeable favours of those who are in power. That is the only kind of perseverance to be met with in Rome,

which is full of cleverness and talent, but which knows more than it should. Rome is rich in livings, in great employments, in activity, in splendour, and is dear even to foreigners who are not yet tainted with heresy. Rome detests war at home and against her. She hates it less when others wage it. She likes the changes to which the government and the powers of each are liable, and does not like stability. Friendships are easily made, but as easily undone. It is with the Romans as with ships, that change their course according to the wind. True friends are rare. Rome is insinuating, courteous, grand in her promises, ready to help, but dexterous in avoiding an engagement, and prompt in demolishing. Owing to the frequent changes, each person must be taken into account, and, as the Pope's friends and servants are numerous, the customs and aspect of Rome change somewhat with the character of the new pontiff; but at bottom Rome is always Rome. She is anxious and curious to know what goes on in the world, sagacious and often quick-sighted as to the future, which is the constant object of all her thoughts.' [1]

[1] Istruzioni al cardinale Montalto. I found copies of these instructions, bearing the date of the 17th century, in the state archives at Florence, 'Carte Strozzane,' 368, and in the MS. collection of the late Prince de Santa Croce, in Rome. They were printed in the Tesoro Politico, Vicenza, 1602—that is, only twelve years after the death of the Pope. Is that document authentic? I cannot assert it. What is undoubted is that it bears the mark of the character of Sixtus V., and recalls even phrases employed by him when speaking to ambassadors, and which the latter quoted in their reports. If he is not the author of these instructions, he very probably inspired them; or perhaps one of his followers may have collected under that form what he had heard fall from the lips of his master.

PART THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

FEUDAL ROME AND ROME OF THE RENAISSANCE.

THE reorganisation of the government of souls, which we described at the outset of the preceding book, could only be appreciated by the generations which followed, when experience had shown the value of the innovations introduced by Sixtus the Fifth. The political action of that Pope, the great part which we shall show him to have taken in the solution of the vital questions which were then agitating France, were wrapped in a secrecy which during his life only a few of his contemporaries—members of the Sacred College, or a few public men of eminence—were allowed to share.

What, in the eyes of the people, served to envelop Sixtus, even during his pontificate, in a halo of glory, which has not yet faded, were, besides his re-establishment of public security, the immense works which he promoted. Is it necessary to say that a mere list of these works could not give the reader a just idea of their importance or of their value? We must take a

rapid glance at the development of art, and especially of architecture, during the preceding period—that is, since Rome had risen from her ashes—and at the aspect of the town; and to this digression we must add another. Before speaking of France, we must pass in review the social life of those who occupy the principal part in our narrative.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the great masters of the seventeenth, whose taste was not to equal that of the creative geniuses of the earlier age, had not yet imprinted on the capital of Christendom that character of bold, exaggerated, and whimsical magnificence which it has preserved ever since. Since the reigns of Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Alexander VI., however, the modern ideas, which are essentially methodical and love the straight line, had broken in upon the chaos of gigantic remains of the old world and mean-looking dwellings of a poverty-stricken population.[1]

The state in which the Popes found Rome on their return from Avignon is well known. Fields, vine-

[1] Paul II. set the example by rectifying the Corso from the arch of Portugal, near the Palazzo Fiano, to his palace of San Marco (now the Austrian Embassy). Sixtus IV. undertook the reconstruction of Rome on a large scale, pulled down a number of obscure porticoes, enlarged and paved many piazzas and streets (Opusculum de mirabilibus novæ et veteris urbis Romæ, auctore Francisco Albertino Florentino: Romæ, 1515). Alexander VI. had the Via Alessandrina straightened (Borgonuovo); Julius II. laid out the Via Giulia; Leo X. the Leonina, now called the Ripetta; Pius IV. the Via Pia, which Sixtus V. finished; Paul III. the Via Paolina and that of Ara Cœli; Cardinal Alessandrino, nephew of Pius V., the Via Alessandrina, which leads from the Forum of Trajan to the Temple of Peace; Gregory XIII. the Via Gregoriana, which leads to the Pincio; and Sixtus V. the five great roads across the Monti, of which we will speak.

yards, pasture lands had invaded the residence of the Cæsars. The hills which now form the 'Monti' quarter, the Aventine quarter, the richest of Rome in the time of the Teutonic emperors, the thermæ, the pilasters and vaults of the Palatine, the Colosseum, which had all been more or less turned by the feudal barons into embattled fortresses, the Pantheon, and a few standing columns, alone spoke of its past grandeur. The venerable basilicas and a few isolated convents alone told of the decay of Christianity, which was so near leaving a spot doomed, as it seemed, to perpetual ruin. Cattle fed in the Forum, which has to this day preserved the name of 'Campo Vaccino.' Three-quarters of the space encircled by the walls of Aurelian and Belisarius had become deserted. A little life had maintained itself in the Campo Martio, in the plain which extends between the Tiber, the Pincio, and the Capitol. There, side by side with the remains of baronial residences which had been destroyed according to the barbarous custom of the conqueror, were seen huts and mean cottages without any pretension to architecture. What most struck a stranger were the square and often lofty towers of the aristocracy, studded with loopholes for firearms, dark witnesses of the social condition of such perpetual warfare in that unfortunate city. There were, especially, a great number of these buildings in the Transtevero quarter, on the right bank of the Tiber. The Papi, Romani, Normanni, Stefaneschi, all had houses there, and each possessed one or more towers. That of the Anguilara still exists. The towers of the Frangipani rose in the island Tiberiana. Those of the Orsini

stood on the left bank of the river at the Monte Giordano and the Campo Fiore, above the ruins of the theatre of Pompey, now the Palazzo Pio; those of the Massimi on the spot where Balthazar Peruzzi was to build their fine Palazzo delle Colonne. The Bonfili, Amaneschi, Capizucchi, Boccapaduli, and Buccamazza lived at the foot of the Capitol, in the Ponte, Parione, Regola, and St. Angelo quarters. Their abodes were so many fortresses. Since the fourteenth century the Savelli had taken the place of the Pierleoni in the possession of the theatre of Marcellus, now the Orsini Palace. From the Porta del Popolo to the Quirinal—that is, in the splendid quarter of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, which then was but a ruined-covered desert—the Colonna reigned supreme. Monte Citorio and the Mausoleum of Augustus constituted their advanced and detached forts, while the western slope of the Quirinal formed the centre of their power. The towers of the Melini and of the Sanguigni are still seen on the spot of Domitian's stadium; those of the Sinibaldi and Crescenzi were conspicuous in the Pantheon quarter. The largest baronial residences, however, were to be found in ancient Rome, on the side of the hills that look towards the Forum. The Colosseum, the Septizone of the Palatine, the arches of Titus, of Constantine, and of Janus 'quadrifrons,' constituted a vast system of fortifications, which in the thirteenth century were still in the possession of the Frangipani. The Aventine Hill belonged to the Savelli. Between the Esquiline and the Quirinal rose the colossal tower of the Conti, which was mostly

pulled down during the reign of Alexander VII.; and not far off that of the 'milizie' of the Gaetani, who were also masters of the Campo di Bove on the Via Appia, better known under its classic appellation of the Tomb of Cecilia Metella. The palaces, or rather fortresses, belonging to all these families were composed of high but small houses, connected by embattled walls and protected by towers. The partisans and vassals lived in the neighbourhood. During the night, in time of war, the streets were closed by means of heavy iron chains. Of the seven hills only one had not fallen into the hands of the barons. The Capitol belonged to the people. There, on the spot which it still occupies, and upon antique substructions, rose the solid palace, with battlements and a tower at each corner called the 'palatium senatorum.'

The impulse given to art, which was so great in the thirteenth century, had died away before the departure of the Popes. The school of the Cosmati had disappeared. The teaching of Giotto was forgotten. From every point barbarism had invaded Rome. When the Popes returned, the population of Rome was reduced to 17,000 inhabitants. Nothing proves so forcibly the state of ruin and decomposition into which the Eternal City had fallen in the beginning of the fifteenth century than a careful examination of the houses inhabited by the middle classes. Besides the towers, which had been partly pulled down and converted into dwellings, a great number of which were to be found in the Transtevero, and of which some have been preserved

on the left bank, few houses claimed an earlier date than the time of Martin V. or Eugenius IV.[1]

Traditions had been forgotten. The professions necessary to the development of art no longer existed. Foreign aid had to be called in. Tuscany, and afterwards Umbria, furnished the architects, the sculptors, and even the workmen.

Eugenius IV. sent for Antonio di Filarete, the friend of Donatello, to make the brazen doors of St. Peter. Paul II. had the palace and portico of the Church of San Marco built by the Florentine Giuliano di Majano. Under Sixtus IV. and the two succeeding pontificates, Baccio Pintelli spread about Rome the boldness of taste of his master Brunellesco, who was the first to study on the spot the monuments of ancient Rome.[2] This was the time of the first Renaissance, with its charms and its defects, its timid and at the same time capricious character, when the models of antiquity were imitated especially in detail, but proportions, however important, were disregarded; when special attention was given to accessories, and ornamentation borrowed from the ancients was profusely spread over the whole, these ornaments being adapted to the ideas and requirements of the times. The fundamental prin-

[1] I do not take into account the Casa di Pilato, Via de' Crescenzi—which is of the eleventh century—and other small edifices, which formed evidently a part of the baronial halls. Buildings of a date prior to the fifteenth century are very rare in France and in Germany, but that can be explained by the fact that buildings were mostly constructed of wood.

[2] He designed St. Augustin, Santa Maria del Popolo, St. Peter in Montorio, the Sistine Chapel, the façade of St. Peter ad Vincula and of the Holy Apostles; also the Hospital, and probably the Steeple, of the Church of the Holy Ghost: finally, the Governo Vecchio, the residence of the Borgias.

ciple of architecture, which requires that the exterior of the building should be in harmony with the use to which the interior is to be put, was unknown. To break the monotony, the front of a building was framed and decorated, and, in fact, no means, whatever they might be, were spared to please the eye. An architect was also a painter, and most of the artists of the day were both. It is towards the end of the century—towards the year 1500—that this style attained its zenith. At that moment, as in the order of things, it had outlived itself. A change had become necessary, or a decline was imminent.

Bramante was the man wanted. Leaving Umbria at an early age, the uncle of Raphael had formed himself in the north of Italy. There, where stones are wanting, bricks were employed, and hence the importation of a new and hitherto unknown style of building into Rome, for the construction of which the ancient monuments served as quarries. This want of cut stone, and, still more, the contact of the German spirit of the Longobardians with the Byzantine taste at Ravenna gave birth to the Lombard style. Bramante imported it into Rome, and brought with him also that which the first Renaissance altogether lacked—his exquisite conception of proportions. He marks the period of transition between the first and what by general consent is called the great Renaissance—the golden period of modern architecture in Italy. He left in Rome memorable traces of his stay. His works[1] were the delight of his con-

[1] The Court of St. Damasio, the Belvidere, the galleries of the Vati-

temporaries. They first diffused the sense of just proportions, of correct perspective, and of the harmony which should exist between the whole and the details. They changed the taste, and were an epoch in the history of profane architecture. Public security, which was unknown in the preceding centuries, came to his aid. The great barons began to see that the tower and the battle blockhouse were not the perfection of art or of delight. The 'mezzo ceto,' or middle-classes, were no longer satisfied with only what was necessary. They sought beauty, and learned to realise its ideal in buildings of modest proportions. What, as a house of this kind, can be compared to the Bramante dwelling of an apostolic writer situated in the Strada Papale, opposite the Governo Vecchio?[1]

Bramante did not long survive Julius II. It was then the golden epoch of that golden age. Raphael, Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano, Balthazar Peruzzi were at the zenith of their glory.[2] The Villa Madama of Giulio Romano became the type of a country house, and the Massimo and Farnesina Palaces of Peruzzi the models of the modern palaces.[3] Raphael, much more as a painter than an architect, drew the designs of the Vidoni Palace. It was the great period when simple

can, his drawings for the reconstruction of St. Peter, the small temple near San Pietro in Montono, and the Giraud Palace.

[1] It bears the inscription: 'Petrus Fuscino, novariensis a literis apostolicis scribendis, dictandisque, anno sæcularis 1500 fecit.'

[2] Besides the Villa Madama, the Villa Sante and the palaces of Cicciaporti and Cenci are the work of Giulio Romano: the Farnesina and the palaces of Massimo dei Collonne, of Peruzzi.

[3] The Vidoni and Pandolfi Palaces, and the Chigi Chapel at Sta. Maria del Popolo, are attributed to him.

grandeur was admired—when petty finery was despised —when a given idea was nobly rendered. The models of antiquity were followed, but transformed. As a clever judge in such matters has described it, modern ideas were expressed in the sonorous but dead and foreign language of the Romans. It was especially in the ornamentation of the interior that the man could freely give way to his inspirations, and free himself without scruple from the severe rules which had been laid down for the general composition of a drawing. Unhappily, this was sowing the seeds of decline. Public taste soon betrayed its preference for the eccentricities of a fantastical, exuberant, and, as it was believed, inexhaustible imagination. Michael Angelo was the first at Florence, in the chapel of the Medici, to indulge in these freaks of fancy There are niches, windows, and ornaments there which delight the eye, but for the insertion of which no reason can be assigned.[1] Later only, under the pontificate of Paul IV., the painter of the 'Last Judgment,' the sculptor of 'Moses,' appeared in Rome as an architect, built the Farnese Palace of Antonio di San Gallo, and astonished the world by reconstructing St. Peter. His style was soon adopted. Simplicity gave way to richness of details; logic to caprice. Unlimited freedom succeeded that voluntary restraint which the masters of the great epoch had imposed upon themselves. There occurred, however, some moments of respite. As in all things human, there was action and reaction. Rather on the whole than in detail did Vignola at

[1] Burckhardt, 'Cicerone in Italien' (Basel, 1855).

Rome, Palladio at Vicenza, and, to a certain degree, Scamozzi at Venice, bring back architecture to the sobriety of the beginning of the century. But in Rome the death of Michael Angelo (1563) had set all the architects at bay. For thirty years he had reigned supreme. The Popes had had confidence in no one else, and obliged the artists whom they employed to follow in his wake. Pietro Ligorio was dismissed because he had shown a tendency to depart from the plans laid down by Michael Angelo. By officially protecting the deceased master's remains, they hoped to transfer his genius to those who survived him. The error was a great and a fatal one.

Never were buildings carried on to such an extent in Rome as during the closing portion of the sixteenth century. If we examine carefully the buildings and monuments of that epoch, we soon discover the silent struggle going on between the blind followers of Buonarroti and the men of progress, who were desirous, yet from lack of invention were incapable, of freeing themselves from the old routine.[1] The one tired the public by an exaggerated reproduction of the affected subjects so often repeated of Michael Angelo, while the others did the same by uselessly endeavouring to obtain simplicity through monotony. It was merely turning in a circle.

[1] Giacomo della Porta, especially in his youth, Martino Longhi the eldest, Giovanni del Duca, all followed Michael Angelo. Domenico Fontana, who was the architect of Sixtus V., sometimes strove to emancipate himself from the style. Carlo Maderno and Ottaviano Mascherini hung between the two styles, simplicity and exaggeration, while the public were divided into Conservatives and Progressists.

We ought to stop here, for we have arrived at the period of Sixtus V. But perhaps we may be allowed to add a few words respecting the subsequent development of the Roman architecture. The past is often better judged when compared with subsequent times.

To get out of the difficulty into which men had drifted, a new style was necessary, and boldness was needed to obtain such a style. If with boldness it was possible to join talent, then nothing remained but to dare in order to please a sickened public, who, by contemplating and admiring too much an eccentric and arbitrary style, had lost the faculty of appreciating real beauty and logical design. Had Bramante reappeared then, he would have been hooted.[1]

It was the propitious hour when the baroque style was to triumph. Prepared by Michael Angelo, stopped in a measure by his pupil Vignola, praised by the imitators of the first, slightly and feebly resisted by the school of the latter, finally adopted, it was carried to the last extremes of mental aberration by the great masters of the seventeenth century—by Bernini, by Borromini, by Pietro di Cortone, by the Rossi, and the Rainaldi. An abuse of 'crossettes' and of antique devices, which they turned into objects of decoration, together with other ornaments of a more complicated character, and especially exaggerated cornices, to produce a greater shade, excited universal admiration. Stones no longer conveyed an impression of solidity.

[1] 'The Giraud Palace,' says a French traveller, who visited Rome under the pontificate of Paul V., 'is not esteemed so much for its structure as for the infinite number of rare and singular treasures which it contains.'

Men passed under huge projecting architraves, which seemed as though ready to fall beneath the weight of the groups of statues marvellously suspended upon them, and which appeared as if shaken by a storm. All the parts of the building—frontal, frame, frieze—are moved, agitated, dance and prance. These madmen ran after what is impossible, solved the most senseless problems, owing to their great talent and the riches of a perverted imagination, and owing to that genius which cannot be denied them; for often, with the same stroke, they produced a horror and a masterpiece. They are not, however, altogether without lucid intervals. Confident in the authority they had acquired, they dared go against the public taste, to deny their own idols, and return for a time to a true admiration of the beautiful. The Colonnade of St. Peter, by Bernini, is a proof of this. Ancient Rome never produced anything superior to it.

After changing the aspect of the Eternal City, and reigning supreme for nearly a century, they suddenly found the sceptre vanish from their sacrilegious hands. The public got tired and disgusted, and no longer looked on them with favour. The public is versatile by nature and it only belongs to classical perfection to vanquish its inconstancy. The turn of the 'academicians' had now come. They tried to steep their energies in the waters of classical genius, by studying the antiques and the drawings of Vignola, who had at first properly gauged them. With the exception, however, of Fuga and Vanvitelli, who possess some merit, Italy in the eighteenth century seems to have been

struck barren. One would say that her long debauch had exhausted the sources of life, and extinguished the creative powers. France, in future, was to take the lead. Her architecture presents the spectacle of the same changes,[1] and produced the same results. Those two styles, the baroque and the classic, those brothers who are enemies, had fought incessantly, and had alternately been successful, but by constant struggle had exhausted themselves. After having put a stop, in the countries where it was born, to the Gothic style of architecture, they dealt each other a death-blow, and left behind them that dearth of style which is the characteristic of our century.

[1] 1362–1370.

CHAPTER II.

ROME IN THE DAYS OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.

WITH the exception of the Lateran, which was rebuilt by Urban V.,[1] and of St. Peter, which was then being built, all the basilicas of Rome bore still, at the accession of Sixtus V., the mark of the early ages of Christianity. The Cosmati had, it is true, introduced the taste of the Middle Ages in the pulpits and confessionals, but had not touched the construction of churches. Few churches, like that of Ara Cœli, had been much changed. Sta. Maria della Minerva alone represented the Gothic style which the Pisani had introduced. There were a few churches of the Renaissance, a few others, which were built towards the middle of the century, under the influence of the taste introduced by Michael Angelo,[2] and, lastly, the newest, which was destined to become a model, the work of Vignola—the Church of Gesù Farnesiano.[3]

The palaces, which were much less numerous then than they are now, almost all belonged to the period

[1] 1362–1370.

[2] St. Catherine of the Funari (1564) is the most graceful specimen of that epoch in our opinion. St. Louis of the French, St. John of the Florentines, St. Maria in Vallicella were not finished.

[3] So that Church is called in the documents of that epoch—such, for instance, as the 'Pompei Ugonis Romani oratio in funera Jacobi Savelli cardinalis habita in templo Jesu Farnesiano. (Romæ, 1588).'

of the Renaissance; those of San Marco and Capranica to an earlier date, and to the style which had been introduced by Florence. Then came the masterpieces of which we have spoken.

In more humble proportions, and with a timidity which much resembles awkwardness—without, however, lacking charm, and at times, though seldom, with the pretensions of a parvenu—the houses of the middle classes followed the changes which the baronial residences underwent.

But let us penetrate into the Rome of Gregory XIII. and of Sixtus V.

We stand before the Porta del Popolo. Travellers give their names to the bargello, dispute with the Customs officers, who examine their luggage, and, as a measure of precaution, confiscate the books which they find, only to restore them afterwards should the Holy Office permit it. A crowd of idlers surround the traveller, criticise him, and laugh at his nasal accent, if he be a Frenchman,—Frenchmen, as one of them remarks, being badly protected in Rome because the Very Christian King is not as lavish of pensions as the Catholic King. If they are people of rank they alight at the 'Bear,' an hotel much in vogue for some time, and probably since Sixtus IV., whose epoch can be traced in the octagonal pillars of the old house.[1]

[1] That old establishment still exists, but only receives merchants and cart-drivers. During its existence of upwards of 400 years it has seen better days. Its small rooms could tell a deal of the secret history of Rome. Everybody, from a cardinal to a young fortune-seeker, alighted there. Cardinal Andrew of Austria hoped to live quietly there, but was recognised while looking out of the window, and made to go and live at the Vatican. There it was that he died in the arms of Clement VIII., after a short illness.

The Piazza del Popolo is irregular, and not yet adorned with the obelisk which Sixtus V. is shortly to erect there. In the centre a number of women are washing linen in a large basin. Muleteers with their beasts of burden, foreigners on horseback and on foot, are ever passing to and fro. The latter are trying to get to the best inhabited and more animated quarters of the town.

We come into the Corso, which was the Via Lata of the ancients, and is already the chief, though not the most animated, street in Rome. Commerce has not yet invaded it: few great personages have taken up their abode there, but the fashionable world already make it the object of their walk at the appointed hours. On leaving the Piazza del Popolo, we pass, between some vineyards and kitchen gardens, before some isolated houses of mean appearance. The only building that attracts attention is just finished: it is the magnificent Ruspoli Palace which the Florentine banker Ruccellai has caused his countryman Bartolommeo Ammanati to build for him.

We have arrived at the entrance of the Via Condotti, which leads to the Piazza della Trinita (di Spagna) through an unhealthy and ill-famed quarter.[1] By a straight and somewhat steep ascent, but shaded by beautiful trees, we reach the aerial heights of the Pincio, the Church of the Trinità dei Monti, and the Villa Medici, the summer residence of Cardinal Ferdi-

[1] The triangle formed by the Corso, the Via Condotti, and the Babbuino constituted the quarter of the prostitutes, and also the unhealthiest portion of the town.

nand (now the French Academy.) Cardinal Alexander de' Medici, who is to become Leo XI. for a month, is about to plant before that solemn building that group of trees, and to erect that fountain, which constitute now one of the most poetically picturesque spots in Rome. The Pincio had not yet become a promenade, and the collis hortulorum of the Romans was still occupied by the villa's garden, by vineyards and arable land. The fashionable world was contented with the avenue of the Porta del Popolo, and had not yet transported themselves to those delicious regions where they might breathe the pure air of the evening, and enjoy a view which cannot be matched. The painters of the coming generation were the men who, braving the bad climate and bad neighbourhood, were to settle in the adjoining quarter, and to bring out the beauties of the situation. Caracci, Domenichino, Guido, and, after them, Salvator Rosa,[1] were to be the first to walk there with their many friends, exchanging angry looks with their rivals, and pointed out by the first ciceroni to the first tourists. Now, under Sixtus, solitude reigns there, but the splendid view which we obtain compensates for it. Rome extends at our feet.[2] On our left appear the principal culminating points: the seven hills, the towers of the Capitol, the remains of the Palace of the Cæsars upon the Palatine and in the Farnese gardens, the steeple of Santa Maria Maggiore, minus the two chapels of Sixtus V. and Borghese, upon the Esquiline; the Quirinal, which does not as yet

[1] Passari, 'Pittori.'

[2] The view one has from the loggie of the Villa Medici.

show forth the imposing mass of the Pontifical Palace. The Rospigliosi Palace is not yet in existence; the villa of Cardinal Sforza has not yet become the Barberini Palace. When we turn our eyes to the lower town, to the inhabited Rome, we are surprised to find that there are so few cupolas, in fact not more than two or three.[1]

On the other hand a complete forest of towers rises on every side. Some are of a prodigious height. On the left bank many of those feudal remnants have disappeared, and are replaced by the loggie in the new palaces; but the Transtevero, which is equally turbulent and conservative, is still full of these remnants, and presents the appearance of a reversed comb. What strikes us if we look down upon the capital of the Christian world, and lend our ears to the confused sounds which swell the air and reach us, is the small number of churches, and the rare sounds of a bell tolling. The Catholic reaction which for fifty years has been moving the souls has not yet begun to move the stones. The next century is to give to Rome the stamp of a triumphant Church. If there are few churches and few sounds of bells in the midst of the noise that comes forth from the animated quarters, there are also few pictures inside the churches. Strangers are shocked because they forget that in Italy, during the whole of the Middle Ages, churches contained but one single altar, which was situated between the apse and the great nave; that mass was celebrated

[1] St. Augustin, Sta. Maria del Popolo, Sta. Maria di Loretta, the Fomari and Gesù.

only on that altar; that mosaics and, later, frescoes were only the followers of architecture, and that it is only in the second half of the sixteenth century that altars and oil paintings were introduced into the chapels.

When we retrace our steps we come to the Corso, near the arch of Marcus Aurelius, which divides that street into two distinct parts, and which Alexander VII. was to sacrifice to the requirements of traffic, and to the indefeasible rights of the straight line. That fine ruin and the adjacent fortress (Fiano Palace) are called the Arch and Palace of Portugal, because the latter has been the residence of several cardinals and envoys of that nation. It is only when we have passed under the triumphal monument of the great Emperor that we really find ourselves in Rome. High houses with unglazed windows, no balconies, and all covered with frescoes, prevent the sun, except in the middle of the day, from penetrating into that long and narrow artery. At the end we see, beneath the Palázetto of San Marco, the embattled convent of Ara Cœli, and the towers of the Capitol. After passing under the windows of Count Olivarès, before the Urbino Palace, on the ground of which the three palaces of Panfili (Doria) are to be built, we issue on to the Piazza San Marco of Venice. Here the palace of that name presents its enormous embattled façades, with guelf windows, and a colossal tower. It strikes and stops the passing foreigner by its majestic and sombre appearance. Built with the remains of another monument of sorrowful memory, which has seen the blood

of martyrs spilt upon its stone, and long the residence of the Pope, it has played a part in the history of the city and of the world 'urbis et orbis.' In its large court the Romans perceive for the first time, not without experiencing some sinister forebodings, a park of artillery brought there by Charles VIII. In that same court was born the Roman Renaissance. Its arcades are the first awkward imitations of the architecture of the Colosseum. 'More of a castle than a palace,' exclaimed Giovanni Corraro, 'it is the noblest edifice in Rome.' Pius IV., twenty-three years before, had made a present of it to the Republic, and it was some day to pass into the hands of Austria.

We find ourselves between the approach to the Capitol, the favourite quarters of Paul III., the last Pope who inhabited the Palace of San Marco, and the western slope of the Quirinal, which no longer belongs to, but still breathes of, the Colonna. These powerful lords still reside, and will for centuries reside, in their palace, which is many hundred years old, and the courtyard of which used to be their fortress. Hard by rises the Church and Convent of the Apostles, where Frà Felice saw many more bad than fortunate days, and where, on becoming Superior, he rejoiced in making his monks lead a hard life—where for two generations his two cells are to become an object of curiosity, and which some day are to be inhabited by another celebrated conventual brother, Ganganelli, afterwards Clement XIV. Among the traditions of the convent one anecdote is likely to be preserved. When the monks of the Apostles, on the occasion of

his exaltation, came to pay their respects to Sixtus V. and profit by the circumstance to ask many favours and graces of him, their former colleague in orders received them very ill. At the end of the audience the cook of the order approached the Pope, and said: 'Holy Father, you may remember the bad repasts you had when with us.' His Holiness agreed. 'It is the fault of want of water: give us water.' The Pope found this the only reasonable request which had been made to him, and had a beautiful fountain erected in one of the yards of the convent.

We proceed towards the Capitol, and pass before the Gesù, the church of Farnese, which with the small adjoining house of the fathers of the society, where St. Ignatius died, and where St. Francis Borgia has just expired, gave its name to the Piazza of the Altieri, the houses of which still bore the print of the Middle Ages, before their Pope built there one of the most sumptuous palaces of Rome.

Opposite to this Paul III., on the occasion of a visit of Charles V., opened a street in communication with the Capitol. Many of the houses and sombre-looking palaces on either side of the street and piazza of Ara Cœli belong to his pontificate. The high and narrow doorways surrounded by large stones, and better adapted to the entrance of a horseman than a carriage, the few and large windows, the whole architecture in fact, give to that quarter a solemn and severe aspect; but a sign of the golden period which had but so lately departed can be traced in the purity of design, in the fine proportions of the houses.

We ascend the 'cordonata' of Michael Angelo, and find ourselves on the piazza of the Capitol, which is covered with scaffolding, and is being transformed on a large scale.

We shall not go down to the Forum, which is still given up to cattle and to the seekers after old statues. We shall not penetrate, as we pass through the Arch of Titus, into almost deserted parts which seem to be doomed for ever to solitude, to silence, and to prayer. We hasten to the centre of the town, the focus of all the worldly activity that moves the Rome of modern times—temporal Rome—the great triangle formed by the Corso, the Tiber, and the Capitol.

Long, but narrow and winding streets, cross it in the direction of Fort St. Angelo. The Via Giulia, and that of Montserrato, which is the Faubourg St. Germain of other times, are the richest in palaces and also the less animated thoroughfares. It is in the 'bianchi' in the Strada Papale, and on the other side of the Piazza Navone, in the rich quarters of the Spaniards, in the Coronari and Tordinone streets, that the Rome of Sixtus V. exhibits all its activity, its riches, and its exuberant vitality. From morning to night, until the Ave Maria, the crowd throngs its badly paved thoroughfares, where freshness and shade are never wanting. The nearer we come to the bridge the more numerous become the modern palaces—that is to say, those which have been built within the last thirty years.[1] These are the dwellings of the upstarts, of

[1] Paolo Paruta, Venetian ambassador in Rome a year and a half after the death of Sixtus V., says that nowhere has luxury made such progress

prelates who have risen by merit, or by chance, or by purchase, but who are not rich enough to imitate the cardinals who seek and find upon the hills that air and space which they require for their large palaces and the gardens which surround them. The great bankers also, who give their name to the quarter, have there their banking-houses as well as their almost princely residences. The crowds in the streets astonish the foreigners. They find that in Paris the 'Marais' is scarcely as animated, and that only Venice can surpass it.

Round the Pantheon and the Minerva nothing but foreign languages are heard spoken, and especially French. The house-letting agents find their best market there. The apartments are luxurious, hung with Cordova leather, and furnished with sculptured and gilt articles. Notwithstanding the dearness of rent, it is not easy to find an apartment; for the foreigners are not mere tourists. The hope of making a fortune has brought them to Rome, and hope has always an open hand. It depends upon the future—upon the unknown—which has so many charms, and does not look too much to expense. What is wanting in these establishments is cleanliness, and linen; but luxury and all that glitters exist in profusion.

Carriages can hardly move. Their number is great. Whoever has any regard for himself can scarcely do without one. Even Charles Borromeo had said that two things were necessary in Rome: 'Love God and have a carriage.' The form of the carriage reminds

as in Rome, nor do fortunes appear anywhere to be larger or more liberally spent.

one of the Spanish 'tartana.' It is a mere cylinder opened at both ends, with a door on each side, and hung over a basket on four large wheels. The fashionable have an opening in the roof in order to look at the pretty women who love to show themselves at the windows. 'They make an astrolabe of it,' exclaimed an eloquent and popular preacher, who, according to Montaigne, discoursed with a deal of self-sufficiency, as well as excellency of language. Towards the piazza and the bridge of St. Angelo the crowd is dense during most of the day. One would say it was jubilee time, when, under Boniface VIII., the police took measures of precaution to ensure circulation.[1] How great is the sensation whenever Sixtus passes through the crowded streets to 'make a chapel,' carried on a litter, which is open on all sides, preceded and followed by officers (his Swiss guard), cardinals and bishops on mules.[2]

Strangers are surprised to find so few ladies of rank; for they seldom go out, and never except in a carriage. The coaches are filled with ecclesiastics, with prelates,

[1] Come i Roman, per l' esercito molto,
L' anno del Giubbileo, su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto;

Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso 'l castello, e vanno a Santo Pietro,
Dall' altra sponda vanno verso 'l monte [Giordano].

DANTE, *Inferno*, c. xviii.

[2] 'He is carried,' says a French traveller, 'on a litter open on all sides, and lined both inside and outside with red velvet and gold and silver fringes. His arms are behind. He is seated as if in a cart, with his usual vestments. Eight men dressed in scarlet silk carry the litter on their shoulders. Then, after the suite of cardinals and prelates, there follows another litter, which is empty, and is carried by two mules. The whole procession is closed by a squadron of lancers.'—Paris.

monks, and Jesuits. The lords also prefer a carriage to a horse. It is only in the Corso, at the hour of walking, and to show themselves to the ladies, that they ride, either to form an escort to the Pope or to some ambassador, or to celebrate the feast of the saint of their quarter, or of the church the magnificent chapels of which contain the ashes of their forefathers, until their own are deposited beneath them. 'They are,' says Montaigne, 'very simply dressed in black, and in Florence serge, on all occasions. Being a little darker in complexion than we are, they have not, I know not why, the manners of dukes, counts, and marquesses which they imitate, but a somewhat vulgar appearance. They are, however, courteous and most gracious.' Like Italians in general, they are excellent riders, and only second to the Spanish, who, owing to the bull-fights which have not yet been given up to the mercenary toreros of the people, have learnt the art of breaking and training a horse. The riding schools of Italy have a great reputation. They yearly attract from France and Germany a great number of gentlemen, and in this respect are more successful than the universities, and compete with the holy places of Italy. The most celebrated schools are close to the Lateran and to the Colosseum. Here strangers make acquaintance with the young nobility of Rome; for a 'drawing-room' is not yet known. Home life, or coteries, replace that habitual and continuous communion which is to constitute what some day will be called society. On great occasions only are there assemblies on a large scale. Here and at the Corso, during Carnival, or at theatrical entertainments, women

of rank may be spoken to. These are less beautiful than the women of the lower classes, but are very agreeable, and always attired with pearls and precious stones whenever they appear in public. Montaigne finds 'that there are fewer ugly women in Rome than in France.' Their head is infinitely better set on their shoulders. The body in France is better made; but the Roman countenance has more majesty, softness, and gentleness.' They are never seen with men in public; even husband and wife seldom go out in the same coach.

It was a demonstrative age. Men, when they met in the streets, made a deep bow to one another. Friends embraced each other with effusion. Women who passed in carriages were saluted. People of whom favours were asked saw the supplicants at their feet. Whenever it was a question of showing sympathy either to congratulate anyone or to condole with him, tears were ever ready.

Repasts were copious and of inordinate length. In the room where dinner was served (for dining-rooms had not yet been invented) was exposed upon sculptured sideboards all the silver plate, which was generally very fine, and preserving the style of the cinque cento. The chief guests took their place either opposite or by the side of the master of the house. The ladies seldom appeared at dinner; wine was poured into goblets, and each guest mixed it with water presented to them in silver tankards by servants in rich liveries. The guests who sat near the master of the house were alone served by the house-cupbearers; those at the ends of

the table helped themselves by putting their hands into the dishes. The most distinguished guests rinsed their mouth before and after dinner. Social distinctions were everywhere rigidly maintained. The full-bodied wines of Greece, and especially the Malvoisie, as well as the Neapolitan vintages, like the Lacrima and the Mangiaguerra,[1] were most appreciated. If the culinary art was not much developed, the school left much room for improvement, and presupposed a supernatural digestion. The great Vatel of the sixteenth century, Bartolommeo Scappi, the 'secret cook,' as he was officially styled, of that Holy Pope Pius V., who never spent more than six juli for his own repasts, but who liked to entertain his friends in a manner worthy of the Vatican, no longer existed, but his memory had not ceased to inspire the artists of the following generations. Thanks to his book,[2] posterity is competent to judge of his theories, which have been happily given up in practice.

'A prudent cook,' says he, 'and one who is equal to his task, who wishes to begin well, to continue and to finish well also, must imitate the architect, who, after

[1] Bernardo Navagero, 1558. 'È possente e gagliardo, nero e tanto spesso che si potria quasi tagliare.'

[2] The book is very rare, and its exact title is this: *Opera di M. Bartholomeo Scappi, cuoco secreto di papa Pio Quinto, divisa in sei libri.*—'Nel primo si contiene il ragionamento che fa l'autore con Gio suo discepolo. Nel secondo si tratta di diverse vivande di carne, si di quadrupedi come di volatili. Nel terzo si parla della statura e stagione de' pesci. Nel quarto si mostrano le liste del presentar le vivande in tavola, cosi di grasso come di magro. Nel quinto si contiene l'ordine di far diverse sorti di paste, et altri lavori. Nel sesto et ultimo libro si ragiona de' convalescenti, et molte altre sorti di vivande per gli infermi. Con il discorso funerale che fu fatto nelle essequie di papa Paulo III. Con le figure che fanno bisogno nella lucina, et alli reverendissimi nel conclave.' Venetia, 1570, 4to.

making his plans, lays down his foundations, and erects upon that solid basis the marvels of his art. . . .' 'A cook must take notice of the diversity of tastes, and his dishes must not only please the palate, but also charm the eye by the beauty of their appearance and their colour. He must possess a great acquaintance with the productions of nature in every species—poultry, quadrupeds, fish, fruit, and vegetables. He must himself be nimble, patient, modest in all he does, and sober as much as possible; for if he is not sober he is deficient in patience, and if he loses patience he loses delicacy of taste. He must have his master's and his own honour at heart, and, save honour, his master's interest must go before everything. He must be fertile in expedients, and capable, if necessary, to give to the same matter the most multifarious tastes and forms.' After humility and the other qualities pointed to, comes the cleanliness of his person. 'He must study the taste of the prince or lord whom he is serving, and never trust those who aid him, or the scullions, for, as the proverb says, "He who trusts much is much deceived."' The great *chef*, as may be seen, had, like all his successors who were worthy of their calling, a high notion of his mission. We cannot follow him in the exposition which he gives of his art, nor penetrate its mysteries, nor examine with him his numerous bills of fare. We must confine ourselves to saying that in big dinners there were four courses. The first consisted of preserved fruit, and of pastry ornamented with the Pope's arms, containing game. The others were composed of a multitude of dishes of various kinds—of poultry

with the feathers; of capons cooked in bottles; of meat, fish, game, and sweet dishes all jumbled together in a manner which puzzles all our modern ideas of cookery. Some dishes were prepared with rose-water, and the most incongruous substances often found themselves together in the same dish. Indeed, incongruity was looked upon as the sublime in the art. Before dessert, the table was cleared, the guests washed their hands, and on the table were then spread a number of sweet dishes strongly perfumed, preserved eggs and syrups. On rising, flowers were distributed all round. Suppers were all the fashion during Carnival time.[1] At these the ladies were present. They alone could sit down, and were served by their husbands, who stood behind their chairs. When supper was over, the table was removed, and beneath it there was another with the dessert.

Rome was never more animated than during the ten days that precede Ash-Wednesday. Paul II., who delighted in seeing those around him enjoy themselves, had transferred to the Corso the traditional games of the Piazza Navone. Seated in the small room which forms the corner of the Palazetto of San Marco, which commanded the whole of the street, he liked to witness the amusements of the last days of Carnival, and the arrival of the barberi (small race-horses), which were and are now always stopped beneath these windows. Hence dates the 'servitude' attributed to that room. For four hundred years the Governor of Rome, in his

[1] The Shrove Tuesday suppers have been maintained in princely and many other families. On that day everybody is invited.

official robes, which have not varied in cut, has gone thither with his suite during the time that this mad gaiety lasts. Under Gregory XIII. the races had much degenerated. Not only horses, but buffalos, and even Jews and children, were made to run. Licentiousness exceeded all limits. Sixtus V. re-established order by certain decrees which regulated while slightly modifying these modern saturnalia.

In Rome, as throughout Italy, except in Milan, where, owing to the captivity of the Archduke Maximilian, the Governor had forbidden any public rejoicings, the Carnival of 1588 was particularly lively. The severity of the first years of the pontificate of Sixtus had re-established order and tranquillity. From that time there were fewer executions, fewer examples of extreme severity. Rome resumed her former aspect, that which she will always preserve if circumstances permit: the aspect of a town that likes amusement. Even in the higher spheres amusement was in favour. Political matters were seen under a less dark aspect. The Armada of Philip II. was about to leave the ports of Spain. The Guises were not yet murdered. Vague hopes of a better future fluttered in the minds of every one. Those who saw the Holy Father found him in very good spirits. He even gave permission that the wandering comedians should be allowed to play in private houses. The prohibition of the masks was raised. Everyone might put on a fancy dress on paying half a grosso for some charitable object. A decree inflicted the severest punishments on those who insulted a Jew in the Corso. The feast of the bridge of Horace

was allowed to take place at the Piazza Navone, when the organizers had delivered their hostages into the hands of the Government as a guarantee of their preserving order. The Pope, being so well disposed, was asked to authorise the Desiosi, the best and most celebrated troup of actors in Italy, to give public entertainments; and he gave the permission on the distinct understanding that they should be day representations, that men should play women's parts, and that the public should not carry arms. All went off admirably. A little scandal took place, it is true. Thus the celebrated Sicilian beauty Angela was found in the coach of Monsignor Volta, the governor of the Borgo. The case was a serious one. No woman of her kind could show herself in a carriage, and yet she was found in that of a prelate; but clemency was the rule of the day. The lady was not punished according to law, and Monsignor Volta was not deemed responsible for the persons whom his coachman chose to drive about Rome. Jesters who had created a disturbance at the Corso were only forbidden to go out for the remainder of the Carnival. A man disguised as a woman shocked the sbirri by his loose ways. He got three lashes; but, as he was a gentleman, his incognito was carefully preserved, and he was allowed to keep his mask while he was being flogged. This was the event of Shrove Tuesday. On Ash Wednesday the Pope left his villa, where he had spent the preceding days, to hold a chapel at St. Sabine, and to give the ashes according to custom. Cardinal Aldobrandini officiated.

Several great marriages were celebrated during the

Carnival. Donna Camilla and several Roman ladies were present at the nuptial banquets. The wedding of Signor Gottofredi was magnificent. The supper cost 500 scudi. All the ladies of the aristocracy and four out of eleven invited cardinals condescended to come. The cardinals supped apart. The ambassadors also gave entertainments. Pisany gave a luncheon at the Lanti Palace to the cardinals, noblemen, and ladies friendly to France. From the windows the guests witnessed with admiration a kind of tournament given by the fashionable youth of Rome. The next day a similar entertainment, by other Roman noblemen, of which Olivarès did the honours, was given at the Corso before the Urbino Palace, to the friends of Spain. The Holy Father, in his way, took a part also in the Carnival festivities. After a sermon preached by Padre Toledo in the Sala Costantina, His Holiness had his sister, Cardinal Montalto, Don Michel Peretti, and their two sisters to supper. Donna Camilla then retired with the younger ones to the Pope's apartment in the palace of the archpriest of St. Peter's, and witnessed an entertainment which the Desiosi had the honour of giving them there. On another evening Donna Camilla and her grandchildren were present at the comedy given in the palace of Signor Ridolfi. Among the audience were nine cardinals and all the ladies of the aristocracy. Similar amusements took place at the houses of Virginio Orsini, Federico Cesi, Giuliano Cesarini, and Orazio Ruccellai. Cardinal Sforza gave a theatrical entertainment in his palace, quite a private affair, only to a few cardinals and prelates.

The love of play-going was very wide-spread. There were as yet no theatres, but princes began to erect stages inside their palaces. The Olympic Academy of Florence had set the example,[1] and the theatre of Palladio is still to be seen there. The Grand-Duke of Como appropriated to this use one of the rooms of the Uffizi.[2] The ancients were studied and imitated. The stage scenery and machinery called forth the admiration of the spectators, but the pieces given show how literature had fallen.[3] Exterior form was all that was sought for; originality of thought, invention, poetry, were almost entirely wanting. The comedies lacked the wit of Machiavelli, but not his licentiousness. The situations were more than equivocal, and the language wholly unmeasured. Among the writers of plays most in renown were Pietro Aretino, Grazzini, better known under the name of Lasca, one of the founders of the Academy of the Crusca, the official enemy of Tasso, Lodovico Dolce, and Matteo Galladei. The plays most admired were 'Constant Love,' 'Unjust Scorn,' 'La Calandra,' and 'Alexander.'[4] On the occasion of the marriage of Duke Charles Emmanuel with the Infanta Catherine, Guavini created the pastoral style. We can hardly conceive how the 'Pastor fido' can have created such enthusiasm. The much-admired tragedies were

[1] The theatre was completed after the death of the architect, 1580. The Farnesian theatre at Parma was built in 1618 only.

[2] Andrea Garsoni, 1576.

[3] See 'Descrizione dell' apparato e degli intermedi fatti per la comedia rappresentata in Firenze, nelle nozze dei serenissimi Don Fernando Medici e Madama Christina di Loreno, Grand-Duchi di Toscana.' Florence, 1589.

[4] 'Prologue of the 'Amore Scolastica,' of Raffaello Martini, 1570.

but clumsy and insipid imitations of the Greek. They were given in the colleges of the Jesuits and in the houses of cardinals where the 'Mandragola' was out of season. At the courts of princes they were tolerated only on condition that the richness of the dresses and the scenery should make the interminable speeches of the gods of Olympus endurable. There were also melodramas, interspersed with witty remarks, happily few in number, setting forth the Christian philosophy, the intervals between them being filled up by burlesque scenes, calculated to disgust anyone with the morality thus propounded.[1] Besides companies of amateurs which were got up in almost every town of any importance, there were troups of wandering comedians who played alternately in all the principal towns of Italy. They formed a link between the several portions of the Peninsula, and greatly contributed to the disappearance of the special dialects common to the higher and inferior classes that went to the theatre.

Without the author's knowledge, a first edition, but an incorrect and faulty one, of the 'Gerusalemme Liberata' had just been published. Notwithstanding the enmity of the Grand-Duke against the poet, and of the Academy of the Crusca, the work of Tasso had an immense success, which was mostly due to the beauty of its style. Diction was enough for the essentially prosaic generation of that day, who cared only for elegance of form, and was too much absorbed by the cares of real life to bestow any serious attention upon literature, or to seek for aught

[1] 'La Conversione del Peccatore a Dio.' By Battista Leoni. 1601.

else in a theatrical representation or in a poem than a passing pleasure, an opportunity to laugh, to admire fine scenery or a pretty woman.[1]

To form an idea of the taste of that age, it is necessary to peruse the numerous critical essays which were then published in the form of dialogues. The merit of Ariosto was questioned, Dante was condemned. 'That poet,' says Giuseppe Malatesta, 'has borrowed his wings of Icarus, in order that he might fly as far from the common as he could; but, in seeking the sublime too much, he has fallen into a sea dark with obscurities. He is a philosopher and a theologian: of the poet he has but the form. To compass his "Inferno," his "Purgatorio," and his "Paradiso," an astrolabe is required. To understand them one ought ever to have a theologian at one's command, who could give an explanation of their meaning. His style is often crude and barbarous. He seeks to be mysterious and revolting where he could most easily be clear and elegant, and resembles in this those princes and great people who write a good hand, but who, out of affectation, scrawl illegibly.'

We penetrate into one of the palaces of the aristocracy. The court, which is not a large one as yet (for the spacious 'cortile' belongs to the seventeenth century only), and is encased by arcades, is full of footmen and valets belonging to the guests. Each man holds a torch. A narrow and steep staircase leads to the sala, where the servants of the house sit. We cross the second room,

[1] In Rome women were strictly forbidden to appear on the stage, but in other parts of Italy this was not the case.

where the butlers are, and find ourselves in the 'anti-camera nobile,' where we are received by one of the gentlemen in attendance. He makes us go through a series of rooms with painted or sculptured roofs. If sculptured or gilt, large frescoes encircle the top of the room. The walls are hung with 'arazzi,' or gilt leather, but seldom adorned with frescoes. Such paintings do not arrest our attention. We see that the artists work rapidly and cheaply; that they mechanically reproduce certain subjects of Michael Angelo; that the supernatural efforts of the figures in their works are only to be explained by the desire of being remarked; that great effects are produced without any apparent cause, and that the exaggerated nature of the composition does not hide the deficiency of the composer. Our fancy is caught by the frames, the arabesques, the fruits, flowers—in fact all that makes up the superfluous portion of a picture, for the essential part of it is beneath contempt. Vasari, who has been dead some years, the Zuccaro brothers, especially Federico, are the most appreciated. Painters of less reputation, such as Paris Nogari, Cesare Nebbia, Salimbeni, whose best productions are the works of their youth, Roncalli detto il Pomerancio, the author of the horrors of St. Stephen's 'rotondo,' all are in full activity.[1] They decorate the apartments of the nobility, and cover the façades of the houses of the middle classes with colossal frescoes that are not likely to resist the storms of winter. Until the coming of the Caracci, who by their celebrated frescoes

[1] Their works can be seen in the Villa Peretti.

in the Farnese Palace were shortly to introduce a new school, the art of painting was fast disappearing.

We meet with few of those graceful nothings which future generations will like to cram into their rooms. In this respect Rome is very backward as compared with Venice. The small cabinets are still rare, but the plate suggests the influence of Benvenuto Cellini, who has been dead only some fifteen years. The Roman silversmiths are, and ever will be, artists.

Sculpture had as a rule escaped the general falling off better than painting and architecture. The style of Michael Angelo was predominant. They were undoubtedly pigmies, who tried to follow in the steps of the giant and could only imitate his errors; but a careful examination of their works discovers some small and even some great treasures.

The taste for antiques was very common. The great and wealthy ornamented the courts of their houses with statues found everywhere—at the Thermæ, at the Palatine, and round the Capitol. Sixtus V. had authorised excavations. They produced good results, but laid bare many remains of Roman architecture which the students of that art pulled down without remorse.[1]

[1] See the French MSS. already mentioned: 'Le antichità della città di Roma, opera non fatta più mai da scrittor alcuno' (Venice, 1558), contains a description of the collections of antiques which existed then at the Vatican, at the Capitol, and in the private houses. In speaking the Venus of Belvedere, the author says: 'Gli antichi la dipinsero ignuda, perchè apparessero le sue gran bellezze, o pure perchè gli amanti, che lei ed il figliuolo seguono, mostrano tutti ignudi i loro pensieri, e fanno molto à l'aperto le loro cose, non credendo però, che altri le vegga.'

Still led by the attendant, we at last reach the very imperfectly lighted stanza wherein sit all those who are assembled in the house. The ladies are seated along the walls in arm-chairs or upon gilt stools. The men are standing in groups. If a cardinal is present, he is treated with almost regal honours. The heads of families and grandees are approached with a great show of respect, but conversation is familiar and free. People talk loud and laugh. Men and women say what they think, and call everything by its name. The 'cancans' of the town and of the court constitute the topics of conversation. We are already far from the time when the Italian society of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was distinguished (in a lesser degree than in Rome) by its refinement. The pleasure of talking of arts and sciences is left to the Universities, or a few meetings of literary men who are very inferior to the humanists of the Renaissance. Formerly, learned men might be met with at the Massa Palace in the Piazza Navone, at Cardinal Borromeo's and at Cardinal Farnese's; now the wits are to be met at a private house in the Corso, for literature is no longer in fashion. The times are too serious. Reform has penetrated into the palaces, and the customs of society have felt the effects of it. While morality may have gained, society is less amusing than formerly. The mind is less cultivated. There is no longer a Pic of the Mirandola, nor are those women to be seen who a hundred years ago delighted in reading the Greek classics. The social position of the great lady is altogether changed. She is less independent, more Christian, and a better

mother of a family. She goes out only to church, employs the money of which she can dispose in works of charity or in building and ornamenting chapels, or perhaps her husband's tomb if she be a widow.

Though the simplicity and ingenuity of the Italian spirit shines forth occasionally, the ease of former days has been replaced by the severity of the Spanish etiquette, which has invaded the Peninsula and Rome especially; while the manners and tastes of the Florentines are transported to the Court of France, until that of Louis XIV. gives, in its turn, the tone to the society of Italy and of Europe.

The men wear their dress remarkably well: the tight-fitting coat, the ruffle, the short mantle, and the rapier. We are not of Montaigne's opinion. We find that they have a noble deportment, and an aristocratic type. Foreigners who come in contact with them praise their exquisite politeness and kind attention.

Society, if we may make use of the expression, is not very numerous as yet, and is always divided into two great factions, not that of the Colonna and the Orsini, but of Spain and of France. It is not an open quarrel, but there exists a coldness, and, excepting when there is an official reception, people avoid meeting those who do not share their political opinions. In the Roman aristocracy, the Orsini and Colonna hold unquestionably the first rank. The Gaetani and Conti come immediately after; the Massimi lay claim to a direct descent from Fabius Maximus Cunctator; the Cesarini from the Cæsars. The latter take pride in possessing, in the person of Donna Clelia, natural daughter of

Cardinal Farnese and wife of Giovanni Cesarini, the greatest beauty of the times, 'the woman,' says Montaigne, 'who, if she is not the most agreeable, is unquestionably the most amiable in Rome or anywhere else.' The Altieri in the eleventh century were rivals of the Colonnesi, whom the Capranici had always followed. The Cesi and Mattei were of the richest, and the Patrizi of the noblest families in Rome; the Vitelli, Lancellotti, Santacroce, Teodoli, Bocapaduli, Cenci, Macaroni, Serlupi, Muti, Costaguti, and others have resided from time immemorial in their antique palaces.

Since the beginning of the century, several foreign families have established themselves in Rome, have taken root there, and allied themselves to the nobility of the place. The Fieschi, counts of Lavagno of Genoa,[1] the Rucellai of Florence, the Ludovisi of Bologna, are among the most important. The Chigi, whose fortune was made in commerce, shone under the pontificates of Julius II. and Leo X. For a time their star is on the wane. They have disappeared from the scene, but better days are in store for them. Among the naturalised foreigners, Mario Sforza is the most conspicuous. A worthy descendant of the last 'con-

[1] He had two palaces bearing his name. The one situated near the new church was bought by Gregory XIII. for Giacomo Buoncompagni, and is still called the Sora Palace. It has been erroneously attributed to Bramante. The other Fieschi palace was composed of a group of houses of the middle of the fifteenth century, the two of which looking on to the Borgo Vecchio have been preserved; those looking on to the Borgo Nuovo and the Piazza Scorsa Cavalli have been demolished, and replaced by modern houses bearing the Nos. 50–63. That palace had become the property of Cardinal Savelli, who, when he retired to Frascati, shortly before his death, sold it to Donna Camilla.—Marcardio, *Ritratti di Roma Moderna.*

dottiere,' that soldier of fortune who became Duke of Milan, he had successively fought for France and for Spain, and then served in the Pope's army. Owing to his personal merit, and also to the marriage of his charming sister, Donna Costanza, with Duke Sora, he has been most kindly treated by Gregory XIII., appointed Assistant to the Pontifical Throne, and Lieutenant-General of Holy Church.[1] It has been seen, how, notwithstanding the importance of this personage, Sixtus V. deprived him of both his appointments. But Mario continues to live in Rome. He has married a noble and great heiress, only daughter of Giovanni Battista Conti, and lives at the palace of Riario della Lungava (Corsini) in great state, and bearing up courageously against his disgrace.

Count Altemps, Marquess of Galese, who was created duke by Sixtus V., is a young man, the legitimised natural son of Cardinal Marco Silico. The reader remembers his misadventure. Having obtained his pardon, he is obliged to live far from Rome, and is serving at Avignon in the Pontifical troops. The Altemps have bought the fine palace built by Peruzzi, which the cardinal inhabits, and which is to remain in the family.

The titles of princes, dukes, marquesses, and counts derived from lands formerly held in fief begin to multiply, but the family name, not the title, is taken into consideration. The usage of sovereigns conferring their orders upon foreigners is already prevalent. The

[1] In the Villa Ludovisi there are portraits of the first duke and his wife, Donna Costanza, which were painted at the time.

Golden Fleece which the Emperor and the King of Spain granted only in rare instances, and to people of the highest birth or distinction, is the most esteemed of all the orders. Those of the Pope, the orders of St. Peter, of St. Paul, of St. George, of Loretto, and of the Lily, are less appreciated. Next to the Golden Fleece comes the French Order of St. Michael, which is given mostly for acts of bravery, but only to Frenchmen. In vain does the Cardinal de Joyeuse solicit that honour for the son of Bernardino Savello. 'It is not enough,' replies Henry III., 'to have been naturalized a Frenchman; a man must be born in France, and reside there, as prescribed by the statute of the order which I have sworn to obey.' The Venetian patriciate is also much esteemed. Doctors and professors of letters are looked upon as nobles. Provincial aristocracy is considered inferior to that of Rome.

A military career ennobles a man. The times of the 'condottieri' have passed, but the Roman youth like to serve either under the Emperor, or under the French and Spanish Kings, or under the Republic. The troops of the Holy See are commanded by military men of renown. The Pope does not consider their nationality, for everyone is at home in Rome, but he selects those who inspire him with most confidence. The greatest celebrity in Rome has just died. Marco Antonio Colonna, the Great Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, who commanded the Pontifical squadron at Lepanto, is no more (he died in Spain on August 2, 1584). Latino Orsini is considered a good officer. Cardinal Marco Antonio Colonna, who is a gallant soldier, has, as may be

remembered, expelled from the States the brigands who infested them at the outset of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Ottavio Cesi will be less fortunate when the brigands reappear at the close of that same pontificate.

Questions of etiquette begin to be somewhat more complicated. The Spanish etiquette, as we have said, is generally adopted. Rank is much esteemed, and never given up; even near relations hold to it among themselves. Young Michael Peretti has disputes with his brother the cardinal with respect to precedence. The relations between families are necessarily affected by it, and the Pope is obliged to instruct the 'Congregration of the Ceremonies' to prepare a table of precedence among the Roman families. Incessant discussions on points of etiquette take place in official assemblies, at the great ceremonies of the Church, in the processions of the Pope, or at the reception of ambassadors. Matters have come to such a pass that, to avoid any disagreeable scene, Duke Sessa made his entrance at three o'clock (after the Ave Maria). The barons notwithstanding went to meet him. At least fifty coaches were waiting at the Ponte Molle, and sixty-seven following the coach of Olivarès and of the Ambassador-Extraordinary. On this occasion Orsini and Ottavio Cesi quarrelled as to precedence. Swords were drawn, and both were wounded.

If duelling, which was condemned by the Council of Trent and is visited by excommunication, never as yet has taken much root in the customs of Italy, it is not for want of books treating upon the subject. They admit the 'ordalie' or judgment of God, but also the in-

fluence of stars, and explain the nature of a challenge, the requisite qualities in an adversary and in the seconds, and finally the rules of fighting. The Roman barons cared little about it. Single combat was almost unknown.[1] When they had a quarrel to settle, they went out of Rome with their servants and friends, and gave battle to one another in the open country, or laid waste each other's property. Sometimes the 'bravi' were called in, and these were ever ready, for a small sum, to lay a trap or to fire an arquebuse in broad daylight. Such were the customs a few years back, but Sixtus V. has changed all that. The police is so active, and justice so promptly administered, that acts of violence have become very rare. Under his reign the barons do not amuse themselves much in Rome, and are there only in comparatively small numbers. Moreover a whole century of misery and anarchy still weighs upon them. Fortunes have suffered from it, but are slowly mending. The nobility is much richer than the middle classes.[2] With the exception, however, of the Colonna, the Orsini,[3] the Duke of Sermoneta, head of the Gaetani, the Cesarini,[4] and a few others, such as the Vitelli and the Mattei, the Roman aristocracy cannot cope with

[1] The following works contain curious information respecting the ideas and customs of the second half of the 16th century: 'Il duello di Messer G. B. Pigna, al serenissimo Don Alfonso di Este, Principe di Ferrara.' Venice, 1560. 'Il duello di M. Dario Atiendoli.' Venice, 1564. 'Duello dell' eccellentissimo e clarissimo giurisconsulto M. Andrea Alciato.' Venice, 1564. 'Discorsi del Conte Annibale Romei, gentiluomo Ferrarese.' Venice, 1594.

[2] Instructions of Sixtus Quintus to Cardinal Montalto.

[3] S. Nicolini to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, January 28, 1589.

[4] Babbi to the Grand-Duke Francis, October 1, 1585.

the magnificence and influence of the 'great' cardinals and foreign families settled in Rome, nor indeed scarcely with the prelates who are following their career, or are attached to the Government, which, while it changes often, offers more opportunity for success. The Aldobrandini, the Borghese, the Barberini, the Panfili, have not yet appeared on the 'world's stage:' the Ludovisi, the Rospigliosi, the Odescalchi, the Ottoboni, who are important personages in their own country, are not so yet in Rome; the Chigi have not mended their fortune; the Altieri, who belong to the oldest patrician families in Rome, have not yet seen one of their people crowned with the tiara. The following century is to disclose these great names.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC WORKS OF SIXTUS V.

SIXTUS V. had a love, it might almost be said a passion, for building. He equally understood the art and possessed a technical knowledge of it. It may be remembered that he himself presided over the works which were undertaken for him while he was a cardinal. During the many years spent in retreat in the lifetime of Gregory XIII. he had evidently conceived and matured several plans. Whoever has a mind for architecture, and no means of indulging his taste, is liable to such freaks of fancy. Such was the case with the hermit of the Villa Peretti. But when he became Pope, it only depended upon him whether the dreams of the poor cardinal should be realized. All his plans were perfectly drawn out in his own mind. He had but to choose and to order—to will, in fact, and he was not deficient in will. The activity shown by the Pope is really marvellous. But what strikes us much more than the extent and importance of his constructions, which were begun and finished in five years, is the mental labour which must have preceded the execution of the works. Such labour requires time. An idea, no doubt, comes with the rapidity of lightning, but it must be matured. In the buildings of Sixtus V.

every part shows reflection, everything holds together and has an object, nothing is arbitrary or superfluous.

When Cardinal Montalto, jolted in his coach, slowly drove through a thousand by-streets down the Esquiline to the Vatican, he traced in his mind's eye the long avenues which were wanting to connect the basilicas, and, at the same time, to throw open those barely inhabited regions to the activity and movement of an increased population.

When he perceived next to the old sacristy of St. Peter's, Nero's Obelisk, or The Needle as it was then called, half buried in the earth, he remembered how many Popes had wished to raise that monument from its burial-place and erect it in front of the church. When they said it was impossible to do so, he was silent; a smile of contempt and of scepticism played upon his lips.

When he had returned to his villa, through quarters deserted owing to lack of water, he could from his window perceive the Latin Mountains, which are rich in springs. Those waters formerly reached Rome. But the aqueducts of the ancients had fallen into decay, and no one thought of repairing them or of replacing them by others. Was this possible? Certainly not, he was told, because there was no money, and the country besides was in the hands of the brigands.

Another difficulty threatened to put a dead stop to the works which had been continuously carried on at St. Peter's since the days of Julius II. Matters had reached a crisis. The pillars of Bramante, which were

destined to bear the cupola, had been strengthened. Since the death of Michael Angelo, the upper gallery had been completed according to his designs. Nothing remained but to place the cupola upon it. The expense and the risk frightened everyone. The cost was valued at a million gold scudi, and the time calculated at ten years for the performance of so gigantic a task.[1] Public opinion was beginning to entertain a fixed idea that St. Peter's would remain unfinished.

These several questions—the construction of the cupola, the necessity of providing with water those quarters of Rome where it was wanting, the opening of new streets, and the transfer of the Needle—were the principal ones of the day. They were everywhere discussed, and no doubt Cardinal Montalto was meditating upon them also. He and the young Fontana together formed plans, discussed and settled them. Though chimerical then, they suddenly took a very practical form when once he had become Pope. He then had but to recall them to his memory. His ideas were quite settled. It was only a question of realizing them.[2]

This was not known among the people, who, when not blinded by passion, are generally quick in observing and good in judging given facts, but little disposed to

[1] 'Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia.' By P. Philip Bonami. 1715.

[2] We have no documents in support of what we state, because no one has taken the trouble of recording the intimate conversations of the disgraced cardinal with Fontana; but the fact that these questions did occupy his mind is evident from the state of affairs in Rome.

analyse the causes of such effects. To do all that Sixtus V. did in five years, was really to reach the last limits of the possible; to conceive and mature his projects, in the midst of so many other occupations, was to perform a miracle. Such is, however, the impression which he produced upon his contemporaries,[1] and that which has been handed down by tradition and by history. People were convinced that he had conceived and created all at once. By raising the Obelisk before St. Peter's, by crowning that edifice, by opening five wide streets, one of which is two and a half miles long, by bringing plenty of water into the town, and by accomplishing in five years what had been considered impossible for the last fifty years, irrespectively of the other works of which we shall speak presently, Sixtus V. gained for himself a kind of supernatural prestige. The truth is, that that extraordinary man had prepared everything beforehand. In politics, in the administration of the Church and of the State, in building, he had ready-made programmes. He had but to set them all to work, except one which he had to abandon when he found himself called upon to put it into execution—his political programme. Of all arts that of governing is the most difficult and can be learnt only by the exercise of power.

No one of his undertakings has so much attracted attention as the raising of the Needle of Nero in the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter. That obelisk was half buried, though still standing on the western flank of the church near the old sacristy. Paul III. had been

[1] Babbi to the Grand-Duke, September 28, 1585.

the first to conceive the idea of having it transported to the piazza. He consulted Michael Angelo, and Antonio di Sangallo, who were the first architects of the day. They were unanimous in declaring the undertaking to be impracticable. Their opinion being law, the idea was given up. The new Pope came back to it. Four months after his accession he proposed the plan to a commission, which was composed of four cardinals, four prelates, the senator of Rome, and a few men learned in such matters.[1] It was decided that a competition should be opened; and a choice soon became possible from a multitude of plans which were sent or brought to Rome by their designers, and which came from every part of Italy, and even from Sicily and from Greece. That of Fontana was chosen. But, considering the architect to be too young, the commission intrusted Giacomo della Porta and Bartolommeo Ammanati, of Florence, with the carrying out of the works from the plans of Fontana. The latter complained to the Pope that 'No one can better carry out a plan than the man who has conceived it, for nobody can perfectly master the thoughts of another.' Struck by the justice of this observation, Sixtus V. intrusted the whole business to his former mason. Rome was loud in its condemnation, and thought that the enterprise would not succeed. The celebrated Bartolommeo Ammanati, who had asked the Pope to allow him a year's reflection before he submitted his

[1] 'Della trasportazione dell' obelisco Vaticano e delle fabriche di nostro Signore papa Sisto V.' By Domenico Fontana. 1590.

plan to him, returned to Florence, there to die of grief when he heard of his obscure rival's success.

The points to be determined were, how to raise the Obelisk, to place it horizontally upon a sledge, and to remove it to the Piazza di St. Pietro, where it was to be erected. If the boldness of the enterprise had struck every mind while it called forth the scepticism of some, people were no less amazed at the magnitude of the preparations and at the rapidity with which the works were carried on. The iron apparatus alone weighed 40,000 pounds. All the iron workshops in Rome, in Ronciglione, and in Subiaco were engaged upon it. The fine forests of Nettuno furnished the beams, which were of enormous size. To transport each one of them, fourteen buffaloes were required. The planks, which were of elm and oak wood, were brought from San Severa. Not only Rome, but the whole of Europe, watched the works with anxious curiosity. In October work had begun, and already on May 7 of the following year (1586), the most hazardous portion of the undertaking, that of laying the obelisk horizontally upon the sledges, could be attempted. The crowd of spectators was immense. The cardinals, and prelates, and nobles were present. An order from the Governor prescribed the most absolute silence on the part of the crowd. This precaution was necessary to allow of the workmen hearing the orders given. In the morning Fontana had been to ask the blessing of the Pope, who, according to tradition, told him, by way of encouragement, that if any accident occurred he would have his head cut off—a threat which so alarmed the young man that he

caused horses to be in readiness at every gate of Rome. At the same time the 'bargello' is supposed to have had a scaffold raised before the tribunes of the spectators with a proportionate number of executioners in readiness; but this is one of the numerous fables invented long after the death of Sixtus, and received as true stories on the authority of Gregorio Leti. With the help of 900 workmen, and of a great number of horses, the works went on rapidly in the midst of the most profound silence, interrupted only at times by the word of command from Domenico Fontana, and by the dull noise of the cables and the beams, when, all of a sudden, a stentorian voice called out, 'Water on the ropes!' These were on fire. The fire was, however, easily put out, and the woman—for it was a woman, who, contrary to the orders of the Governor, had saved the Obelisk by breaking the inforced silence—had the honour of kissing the Pope's foot. She was a Genoese, of the name of Bresca, and had a garden on the banks of the river. She obtained for herself and for her descendants the privilege of providing the palm branches on Palm Sunday for the processions at St. Peter's. Her family has enjoyed the privilege down to this day.[1]

The ground from which the Obelisk was to be removed being at a greater height than the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter, a dam had been dug between the two points, and on June 13 the Obelisk was removed thither and deposited horizontally within it. Owing to the great heat, the erection of the Needle was post-

[1] The story, variously told, is true historically.

poned until the autumn. On September 10 the Obelisk was erected upon its pedestal, with perfect success, and in the midst of a great concourse of people.

M. de Pisany and the Duke of Luxembourg were both to make their entrance that day; the one to resume his post after a momentary absence, with the cause of which the reader is acquainted, and the other to submit to the Pope in the name of the King. Some days before, Sixtus V., while holding a chapel at Sta. Maria del Popolo, had seen the marquis there incognito. The idea then came to him that he would make the ambassadors witnesses that day of the power of his will, and of the boldness and ability of the architect he had selected. During mass he called Monsignor Allaleone, his master of ceremonies, to warn him, and it was agreed that, contrary to usage, the two ambassadors should come, not by the Porta del Popolo, but by the Angelica Gate, which leads direct to St. Peter's. Thus, wrote M. de Pisany to Henry III.:[1] 'We were present at the erection of the Needle which was going on, so that, considering the multitudes who crowded to see this great and admirable machine raised, and those who wished to accompany us on our entrance into Rome, I do not think that there was anyone who did not go out on that day.' The operation had commenced before daybreak, and the last rays of the setting sun were gilding the Obelisk of Nero on the spot where we now see it. The cannon from Fort St. Angelo, and the enthusiastic cheers of the spectators, greeted that solemn moment. The Pope was on his way from the Quirinal to the

[1] Pisany to Henry III., September 8, 1586.

Vatican, there to receive Luxembourg and Pisany, and was passing through the Bianchi when the fire of the guns and the shouts of the Romans told him of the happy accomplishment of the enterprise. That evening all the trumpets of Rome, accompanied by drums, serenaded the fortunate architect. The Holy Father made him a knight and a nobleman of the city of Rome, gave him a gold chain, as well as ten prebends of the Lauretana knighthood, which yielded each 400 scudi, and all the material that had been used in the work. These liberalities astonished those who did not know the character of Sixtus. He was very shy of spending his money when he did not trust those who asked him for money, or when it was a question of favouring undertakings which were not to his liking, but exceedingly liberal when he put his own ideas into execution, and intrusted them to agents of merit, who were worthy of his confidence.[1] He felt the importance of that work. Full of joy at its successful termination, he spoke of it to Gritti, and told him that it was a great honour for the ambassadors of France to have been allowed to enter Rome at the very time that the Obelisk of St. Peter was being raised.[2]

The correspondence of the period; the accounts given by diplomatists; the comedies, that precious source of history whenever it is a question not of analysing facts, but of appreciating public opinion; the numberless pieces of poetry which celebrated the event, and even

[1] Gritti to the Doge, June 6, 1587. 'Si come in alcune cose non si può negare che il papa non si guarda molto dal spender, cosi in alcune altre niuno par che tenga il danaio in manco stima di lui.'

[2] Gritti to the Doge, Sept. 13, 1586.

the plans[1] of Rome for the use of foreigners, all show, by the exaggerated proportions given to the Obelisk, how great was the European interest taken in an enterprise which had been declared impracticable by the highest authorities in art and in mechanism. Foreigners on arriving in Rome ran to see the Needle. The Pope wished to consecrate the Obelisk to the service of the Catholic religion. It was 'purified' and exorcised in presence of the Patriarch of Constantinople and of a numerous assembly. A cross in gilt bronze, which rested on the arms of the Peretti, was then hoisted and placed upon the summit, amidst the booming of the artillery from Fort St. Angelo, whilst the clergy sung 'O crux, ave, spes unica.'

That ceremony was the expression of the intimate thought of the Pope. After astonishing the world by the power of his will, which could conquer every obstacle, he liked to edify the faithful grouped around that monument which had been witness of the horrors of Nero's circus. From year to year and from generation to generation they will come and ask the blessing of the Vicar of Christ upon that same piazza.

Making use of Fontana, the Pope pressed forward with equal activity and at the same time the works necessary for providing water for the mountainous quarters of Rome, and for enlarging the streets. He had bought, for 25,000 scudi, of Marzio Colonna, the brother of the cardinal, a copious fountain which was situated some twenty miles to the south-east of Rome,

[1] See the plan of Rome in the Imperial Library in Paris. It cannot date before the year 1589 or 1590.

and not far from Palestrina. These waters, which were called after him, were to be brought to Rome by means of an aqueduct which is still used. His personal intervention was necessary to bring this undertaking to a satisfactory conclusion. Accompanied by only three cardinals, he went to the spot, and accepted at Zagarola the hospitality of Marzio Colonna, and returned to Rome after five days' absence. After many difficulties, outbursts of passion, and by dint of great constancy and energy, that colossal work, which was begun shortly after his accession, was terminated in the space of three years. The 'acqua Felice' was henceforth to benefit regions which hitherto had been deserted and sterile. Houses could now be built along those avenues which the Pope designed across vineyards and plantations, across a few modern structures and antique monuments which he mercilessly sacrificed whenever they found themselves in the way of these new endless alleys. Even a church and some chapels were victims to the straight line. From all parts the murmurs of the people were heard. Monsignor Gerino echoes these complaints in writing to the Grand-Duke: 'To make new streets,' says he, 'houses are pulled down, even places of devotion: to build a library at the Belvedere (of the Vatican), the perspective of the noble theatre (Bramante's Court) is spoilt. Not even the portico of St. Peter's and the fine masterpiece of Giollo, called the Navicella, are excepted. Not only do the architects and intelligent men exclaim, but even the Sacred College complains; but here neither men nor buildings are spared. Fort St. Angelo alone triumphs; for, instead of

stones, it is getting full of gold.' Notwithstanding these outbreaks, which were partially justified, the great streets which cross a part of Rome, that part which is the least inhabited and the most hilly, were finished. Houses and a few palaces, such as that of the Mattei with the four fountains (Albani, now Del Diago), rose as if by enchantment. Coaches could henceforth drive in a straight and the shortest line from the Trinità dei Monti to Santa Maria Maggiore and thence to the Palace of San Marco, from the St. Lawrence Gate to the above-named basilica, and from that same gate to the Thermæ of Diocletian; from the Lateran to the Colosseum, and from the Porta Salaria to the Strada Pia. Earthworks were raised and rendered easier the approach to Santa Maria Maggiore. The long avenue which connects that church with St. John Lateran was also raised. We have seen and do see greater works now-a-days; but if the impulse comes from the Government, the work is carried on by credit, speculation, and by capital which seeks an employment. Nothing of the kind existed in the time of Sixtus V. He had conceived the works, he directed them, he paid for them, and he it was who found the means of spending considerable sums, while he regulated the price of wages. He sold to private individuals the lands which had hitherto been rendered barren by lack of water, or inaccessible because there were no streets that led to them, and because they were covered with ruins. He it was who knew how to meet his expenses, and yet fill the St. Angelo fort with gold instead of stones, as he was reproached with doing.

The Europe of his day, seeing all that he had done in five years, was mute with astonishment. This is easily explained when the ignorance of men as regards mechanical arts at that time is taken into consideration, and when it is remembered that steam was not yet known as a motive power; that the means of transport now at our disposal were wanting; that there were no railways, and few roads upon which vehicles could be driven.

In five years the Pope completed the building of his chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore,[1] which was begun when he was a cardinal, caused the old Chapel of the Manger to be wholly transported there, levelled the hill, and erected the obelisk which stands there now. He brought to the summit of the Quirinal the waters from the Felice Fountain, twenty miles from Rome. He built the south side of St. John Lateran, called the loggia of Sixtus V. because from it he gave his blessing, erected the obelisk in front of the loggia, cleared the piazza, built the great Palace of the Lateran, and transferred the holy stairs to the neighbourhood.

After raising and levelling the Via Pia so as to allow the gate of that name to be seen from the Quirinal, he rebuilt the small palace of Cardinal d'Este which had been turned by Gregory XIII. into a summer residence for the Popes. The main body of the building, forming an angle of the great palace which now stands there, is his work He had scandalised the Venetian ambassadors by telling them that he had replaced his predecessor's arms by his

[1] It is now being restored, at the expense of His Holiness Pius IX.

own. Paul V., who had added to the building and transformed the two portals, acted in a similar way. The Borghese Dragon succeeded the bear and the pear of the Peretti. Sixtus V. further erected before the palace, at the spot where they now stand, the celebrated antiques which give to that hill the popular name of 'Monte Cavallo.'

On the Piazza di Vaticano he erected the Obelisk of Nero, and built the library, but destroyed, alas, for that purpose, the splendid court of Bramante: connected the apartments with the church by a staircase which began at the sacristy of the Sistine Chapel, and finished at that of the Gregorian or Holy Saviour.[1] He raised the great tower of the Belvedere; and finally began and completed in the space of twenty-two months that marvel of the world, the cupola of St. Peter. Men were at work on it both day and night and even on feast-days, Sundays excepted. When he died all that was wanting was the lead covering and the lantern. His last work was the wing of the palace of the Vatican, which was finished by Clement VIII., and which has never since ceased to be the residence of the Popes.

We have already enumerated the large streets which he had planned. Along some of these avenues, some thickly populated districts have arisen. In other parts, silence and solitude continue to reign. Owing to the railway station, to the increasing influx of strangers, and to the fresh buoyancy of public speculation, the favourite quarter of Sixtus V. is now being built up with fine and

[1] It is now used by the Holy Father to go to St. Peter's.

graceful houses. If the Pope could be witness of the activity which reigns in that part of the town, he might perhaps regret to see that right of dispossessing the holder of a house, which he had himself so summarily used, applied to his own dear vineyard; but he would perhaps be a little consoled on finding that Rome continues to be the Eternal City, since she is not condemned to inactivity, but advances with the times, slowly and prudently. What Sixtus did in that very quarter of the town has since been done to his own grounds. To facilitate access to the railway terminus, some of the portals of his garden have been pulled down, just as he pulled down the magnificent pillars and vaults of the Thermæ to build his palace, and levelled the piazza before the church of Michael Angelo. In the book which Domenico Fontana published under the Pope's auspices, and copies of which were presented to the ambassadors, giving an account of the buildings raised during the reign of Sixtus, Fontana actually was ingenuous enough to number these demolitions among the works which reflected credit upon his master. 'The Holy Father,' says he, 'has spoilt (*guastare*) the antique ruins which obstructed the entrance to Sta. Maria de' Angeli.' That architect also states, without malice, however, or any desire to allude to the calling which, according to Pasquino, the Pope's sister had followed in her youth, that, in the middle of the piazza which was surrounded by the shops of Donna Camilla, His Holiness had caused a public lavatory to be built for the use of the washerwomen, and another near the Trevi Fountain, which had not yet its baroque and too

much praised decoration, but the delicious waters of which possessed already in the mind of the people the power of bringing back to Rome the strangers who had drunk of them.

Never forgetting his Slavonian origin, Sixtus erected the Church and Hospital of St. Jerome of the Slavonians, which still exist. He intended to connect with that foundation the college which they possessed at Loretto, and to found another for the use of the Poles. He wanted for this purpose to buy the neighbouring palace of Cardinal Deza, which, as it may be remembered, had become the Palace of the Borghese.

The mendicants, who formerly infested the streets of Rome, were against their will sent to the asylum built by the Pope near the Sistine bridge. It is now the Asylum of the Hundred Priests, which is a hospital for sick priests.

We must not forget to mention the restoration of the columns of Trajan and of Antonine, which were henceforth consecrated to religion, and crowned with gilt bronze statues of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

Among the numerous churches repaired at his expense, that of St. Sabine, on the Aventine Mount, is the most important. The College of the 'Marchigiani,' his compatriots at Bologna, the aqueduct which supplies Civita Vecchia, the improvement of the towns of Loretto and Montalto, are also due to Sixtus V.

All these works were directed by Fontana, except indeed the cupola of St. Peter, which was executed

after the designs of Michael Angelo by one of his most devoted pupils, Giacomo della Porta, who was then a septuagenarian. Owing to his advanced age, the Pope's architect was commissioned to help him; and though Giacomo figures in history as the constructor of the cupola, a great portion of the merit reverts to Domenico Fontana. That extraordinary man—if one may so call a man who is wanting in genius—united, with that single important exception, all the qualities which could render him pleasing to his master. Quick-sighted, honest, and courageous, he was unequalled among his contemporaries in technical science. Pre-eminent as a mason and engineer, he was a second-rate artist. With few exceptions, his designs are wanting in grace and elegance, though not in grandeur. His style, as we have said, was something between the classic tendencies of Vignola and the baroque style which was already beginning to be fashionable. Such as he was, Fontana was the man wanted. A man of genius would have revolted against the imperious exigencies of Sixtus V., who disposed of times and places as he did of men and things, but who also wanted to rule over the Muses, and forgot that the sacred fire is not lit when a man wishes it, but burns in its own time, and goes out when brought into contact with the profane. Fontana did not run the same risk. He claimed nothing for inspiration. His drawings are those of a thorough engineer-architect, who fears no obstacles because he knows how to get over them; who spares his means, looks to the essential; adds, or sim-

plifies, or repeats, according to his master's wish, the same subjects or the same decorations; who seldom fails in his proportions, and never in his knowledge of the laws of mechanism; who certainly does not reach an ideal of beauty, but does not fall short of that ideal completely. In less than five years Sixtus V. would have completely exhausted and ruined a Bramante. The works of Fontana show no indication of fatigue. They have not the same character of originality, for, as we have seen, they were prepared a long time beforehand, not on paper, but in the mind of the Pope and of his architect. They are somewhat like the products from a manufactory; but it must be owned that that manufactory was wonderfully well organized and well directed. He was a remarkable man who could direct it, and give to the workmen the activity, energy, and constancy with which he was himself imbued. If, on the one hand, Fontana owes his celebrity less to the artistic value than to the number and extent of his works, to the fabulous rapidity with which they were executed—in fact to Sixtus himself, who employed him, and whom he resembles in many respects—it must be allowed, on the other hand, that the latter owes to Fontana a great portion of the prestige which surrounded him.

'I am in Rome,' writes, shortly after the Pope's death, the witty Abbé of the Benedictines of Mantua, Padre Don Angelo Grillo, 'after an absence of ten years, and do not recognise it, so new does all appear to me to be: monuments, streets, piazzas, fountains,

aqueducts, obelisks, and other wonders, all the work of Sixtus V. . . . . If I were a poet I would say that to the imperious sound of the trumpet of that magnanimous Pope, the wakened limbs of that half-buried and gigantic body which spreads over the Latin Campagna have replied—that, thanks to the power of that fervent and exuberant spirit, a new Rome has arisen from its ashes.'[1]

[1] Lettere di D. Angelo Grillo. Venice, 1612.

CHAPTER IV.

RELATIONS OF SIXTUS V. WITH HIS FAMILY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the enormous expense to which his buildings gave rise, notwithstanding the million of scudi annually deposited in the coffers of the State, Sixtus V. was rich enough too to be generous to his family. An enemy of nepotism in principle, and therefore less given to it than most of the Popes of his century, or those of the century which followed his, he was under the influence of the spirit of the day, which allowed each Pope to bring into the Roman nobility a fresh princely family. As we have seen, he had made a cardinal of his grand-nephew, Alexander, who was only thirteen years of age, and his brother Michael was only eight years old when he was appointed General of Holy Church. The salaries were appropriate to the dignity. Donna Camilla amassed considerable riches, and indulged in profitable speculations by buying land, and covering a portion of the Esquiline with shops,[1] which she let out at a large rent. No more did she despise the gifts which King Philip, the Republic of Venice, the Grand-

[1] 'Where are the Thermæ? The Signora Camilla had built a palace and thirty shops on one side which are finished, and as many on the other, which will bring her in a large revenue.'—MS. in the Bibl. Imp. Paris.

Duke of Tuscany, and other important personages, presented to her occasionally. She was not afraid even of embarking in important speculations. She thus intended to purchase of the Prince of Besignano the 'gabelle' levied on the silks of Calabria, which brought in 80,000 scudi; but the Pope opposed this wish.[1] He, however, overwhelmed her with different presents. He made her a gift of several freeholds, and, amongst others, of his vineyard and villa at the Thermæ, and supplied her with a household, which was composed of a lady-in-waiting, two equerries, a majordomo, a chaplain and a secretary, a cook, two footmen, two pages, two messengers, and a few valets, who wore the ripe pear and green leaf-coloured livery which the Pope had devised when he was a cardinal. He gave her, besides, two carriages, each drawn by two mules, and a pension of 1,000 scudi a month. It was a small and well-organised establishment, that had nothing exaggerated in its composition. Sixtus V. is said[2] to have chosen the occasion to advise his sister not to forget her humble origin, nor ever to give scandal by exhibiting too much luxury, or wishing to mix herself up with State affairs. Donna Camilla followed the advice of her brother, at least as long as he lived. After his death, it is true, she was a little talked of, owing to the splendour of her household and the number of her carriages; but generally she lived very simply, occasionally had cardinals to dinner, gave her grandsons, during Carnival time, the pleasure of a

[1] Badoer to the Doge. 1590.
[2] Codice Ottobonico, quoted by Prince Massimo.

theatrical entertainment, and once or twice accepted at Palò the princely hospitality of Cardinal Farnese.[1] Like all who came from the Marches, she had retained a great liking for her country, and, on the only occasion when she revisited it, left many traces of her munificence. Her manners were perfect, and everyone admired the tact and ease with which she had learnt the ways and tone of society. Although a complete stranger to business, she daily saw her brother. When it was a question of obtaining small favours or secondary appointments, she could be of some use. We do not fear being unfair to her memory if we admit that this was a means of her making money. It has been seen how broad the views of the day were on such matters. The ambassadors of Venice, of Tuscany, and all the smaller diplomatists, paid her great court. M. de Pisany and Count Olivarès, though less attentive, had an excellent understanding with her and her family. No political cloud ever disturbed the serenity of this understanding.[2] The sister and grand-nephews were provided for, and, if we are to credit public opinion, they were provided for too well. Sometimes the Pope felt that he must excuse his weakness for them. He told Badoer one day that the Abbey of Three Fountains, that of the Cardinal of Vercelli, and many others were vacant, but that he would not do as

[1] In 1594 Donna Camilla and her two grandsons had ten carriages, the number of private carriages then in Rome being 883.

[2] The register of the parish of Santa Maria in Via Lata shows that on February 17, 1590, a daughter of Count Olivarès was held over the baptismal font by Donna Flavia Orsina Peretti, grand-niece of Sixtus V., at the very time that the Pope and Olivarès were most at war.

his predecessors had done. The cardinals begged of him to give them to Montalto, but he would dispose of them otherwise. He complained of the freedom of speech used against him, of the sarcastic remarks of which he was the object, and ordered the Governor to seize the guilty, and to send them before the Tribunal of the Inquisition.

The two granddaughters of Donna Camilla, Flavia and Orsina (Ursula), were still children, but Sixtus V. felt he had no time to lose—he must marry them. He first thought of Ranuzio, hereditary Prince of Parma. The secret opposition of Philip II. foiled the Pope's plan of placing a Peretti on an Italian throne. The King was afraid that such a union, by bringing more together the Court of Parma and Cardinal Montalto and the creatures of Sixtus V., might insure the election of Cardinal Farnese.[1] The Pope condescended to be revenged on Duke Alexander by ordering a revision of the titles of the fiefs situated round Orvieto, one of which, Castiglione, belonged to that prince.

After a long negotiation, during which the Pope interfered personally, a marriage was arranged between Flavia Peretti and Don Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano, son of Paolo Giordano, who murdered the uncle of the bride, and of Isabella sister of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany; another marriage was arranged between Orsina Peretti and Don Marco Antonio Colonna, Great Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, nephew of the illustrious Marco Antonio Colonna. The two sisters received each 100,000 scudi as a dowry,

[1] Badoer to the Doge, June 10, 1589.

and 20,000 scudi pin-money placed out in 'Montis' at six per cent., 'in order,' said Sixtus V., 'that they may buy a pair of shoes without asking their husbands' permission.'

Duke Bracciano, who was then absent from Rome, was represented at the wedding by Monsignor Usimbaldi, Bishop of Arezzo.

The Constable was only twelve years of age, and his bride ten. The Patriarch of Jerusalem married them. After the ceremony the little bride took out of her pocket a document, which she gave to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, and which was the bull by which the Pope conferred the priory of Venice upon him, as well as the gratuity which she herself offered him on the occasion of her marriage. The presents were considerable on both sides. A solitaire and a necklace of pearls sent by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany to his new niece, the Duchess Bracciano, were specially admired. When, a few months later, the husband arrived in Rome, the Pope invited the young couple to a family repast, which was to take place in his apartment; but bad news having that morning come from Poland, from France, and from Venice, he did not deem it right to assist. His guests dined alone, and were afterwards taken to his wardrobe, where they selected some precious articles. There were also many madrigals composed. The love of rhyming was as great then as in the time of Petrarch, of Count Boiardo and of Ariosto, but the lines were not so good. It would even be difficult to find some that are worse. Sixtus appointed the two husbands, who were the two heads

of the principal branch of the Houses of Colonna and Orsini, assistant princes to the Pontifical throne, and decided that the age of the holders of these appointments would in future regulate the long-disputed question of precedence among those two illustrious families. That dignity, which is the highest that a Pope can confer upon a civilian, has been maintained in those families up to the present day.

The future of the Peretti, who had so suddenly reached the summit of grandeur, was entirely centred in the person of Michael. He was to continue the family, and his great uncle was to give him the means of doing honour to his name, which lately was so obscure, but henceforth belonged to history, and to help him to contract a great marriage. Future generations would thus perpetuate the illustrious memory of Sixtus V. The Pope did all that his conscience, which to our mind was not sufficiently scrupulous in these matters, could allow of his doing. Michael Peretti, General of Mother Church, Governor of the Borgo, Captain of the Pontifical Guard—since the purchase by the Pope in 1589,[1] for 187,500 scudi, of the land situated in the States of the Duke of Mantua, Marquess of Incisa and Count of Calusio—was instituted universal legatee of Donna Camilla.[2] That lady employed the money which she had economized and the private fortune which her brother left to her in purchasing from the Orsini the Marquisate of Mentana, from the

[1] In anticipation of Michael's death, the Pope invested the two brothers conjointly.

[2] See the notary acts of Picchinelli, April 22, 1589, and the donation 'inter vivos' of September 20, 1590.

Piccolomini the towns of Venafro and Piscina, and Colmo situated in the kingdom of Naples. All these various fiefs and domains became the property of Michael,[1] to whom Philip II. gave the title of Prince of Venafro.

At the age of thirteen he married Donna Margarita Cavasio della Somaglia, only daughter of Count Alfonso of Milan, and of a Cabrera of Bovadilla, Countess of Chinchon. She was one of the richest heiresses of Europe. Philip II. facilitated the marriage by authorizing Michael, contrary to the laws of the country, to enjoy the revenues of his wife's dowry without residing in the duchy of Milan.[2] Certainly, were Providence to delight in promoting the views of the Pope, the Peretti were destined henceforth to shine from century to century side by side with the proudest Roman dynasties, among whom some claim a descent from Cæsar, or from the heroes of the Republic, and others, more humbly, from nephews of Popes only.

In his anxiety for the future of his family, Sixtus did not forget the past. He had not forgotten the son of his sister who had been so much regretted, the unfortunate Francesco, the husband of the still more unfortunate Accoramboni. The Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, destined to serve as a vault for the Peretti, was hardly finished when the Pope had the body of Francesco, which had been buried in the Church of Santa Maria dei Angeli, transported thither.

[1] By a fresh will of Donna Camilla, 1596.

[2] The young Countess della Somaglia brought her husband a dowry of 25,000 gold scudi. Her father's fortune was valued at 20,000 scudi a year clear.—*Avvisi.*

That mournful ceremony was performed with great splendour. Eighteen cardinals, created by Sixtus V., in violet copes, their mourning vestments, surrounded the catafalque which had been raised beneath the vast vaults of the Thermæ, which Michael Angelo had transformed into a temple. The Patriarch of Jerusalem pronounced the absolution. The canons of the Liberian Basilica, the pontifical chapel, monks of various orders, and especially of that to which the Pope had belonged, followed or preceded the funeral car, each bearing a torch. All Rome was on foot to witness this immense procession, which came down slowly along the Esquiline slope, round the gardens of the Villa Peretti, up the steep avenue of the Basilica, to the sumptuous mausoleum of the dead man's uncle. Here were deposited the remains of the unknown young man who never attracted public attention except by his tragic end, who now attracted it a second time by the splendours of his funeral, and was likely to be forgotten so soon as the tomb should have been closed over him. That day Sixtus V. shed many tears. Bitterness, perhaps remorse, would have mingled with his tears had he foreseen that, at no far distant time, death would strike the last member of his family, that the riches gathered by his too tender care would disappear, and that nothing was to remain of the Peretti except the imperishable memory of his own pontificate.

PART THE SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE.

FRANCE, torn by internal dissensions, and exhausted by a long series of intestine wars, seemed doomed to an imminent and inevitable ruin. In the midst of party conflicts the power of royalty had vanished, and the last prestige of sovereignty held by Henry III. had disappeared. The Protestants were grouped around the King of Navarre, the partisans of the League round the Guises. Political men there were also who sought for success in alternately helping the defenders and the enemies of the old faith. But the heads of each party aimed at the same end, the possession of power, and to succeed to the Valois, whose line was about to become extinct. They all called for help. The Duke of Guise expected it from the King of Spain: Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé from the Queen of England and the Protestant princes of the Empire. All were resolved to sacrifice their common country to their individual ambition, and were resigned beforehand if

necessary to share the spoils either between them or with the foreigner. They were, in fact, determined to dismember France.

Since the Edict of the Pacification, signed, in 1580, at the 'Chateau de Fleix,' which put an end to the 'Lovers' War,' a sort of truce had followed the open hostilities; but that peace, which was not peace, had benefited neither the Crown nor the country. It had merely allowed the governors of provinces to become so many petty kings, and, by consolidating their assumed power, completely to do away with the royal authority. It was thus that the Duke of Guise, and his brothers, the Dukes of Mayenne and Aumale, governed in Champagne, in Lorraine, and in Picardy; their cousin, the Duke of Mercœur, in Brittany; Lesdiguières in the Dauphiné, Henry of Bearn in Guienne, and Marshal Montmorency in Languedoc. In the year which preceded the election of Sixtus V., the death of the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, had revived the hopes and active efforts of the Duke of Guise. Afraid of becoming himself a candidate for the throne, he agreed with the old chiefs of the Holy Union and with Philip II. that the Cardinal de Bourbon should be put forward as the successor of Henry III., in the event of the latter dying without issue, a result of which there was no question. Three months before the Pope's election the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne signed, on January 16, 1585, with the representatives of Spain and of the Cardinal de Bourbon, the secret convention known as the Treaty of Joinville. By this treaty the Cardinal de Bourbon was acknowledged to be

the heir to the crown of France, on condition that all heretic princes be excluded from the succession. King Philip engaged to support the League with troops. All navigation in the direction of the Catholic King's possessions beyond the sea was considered illicit; and this concession, which was so prejudicial to French commerce, was like a first instalment of the much more important sacrifices which the members of the Coalition seemed to be prepared to bear in order to secure the help of Spain. This treaty alarmed the Protestant party, who, at the call of Henry of Navarre, had recourse to arms.

It may be conceived how angry, how anxious, and how perplexed were the inmates of the Louvre. Civil war was about to break out afresh, this time with the connivance and the secret but active support of the King of Spain. While Queen Catharine implored her son to come to an understanding with his rebellious vassals, the latter, on the contrary, feigned a willingness to call the Protestants to his aid. He listened to the advances of the King of Navarre, of Queen Elizabeth, of the Dutch insurgents: received in solemn audience a deputation from the latter, and the Order of the Garter from an English embassy. To the King's demonstration the heads of the League replied by actions. On March 30, at Peronne, they published their manifesto, signed by Cardinal de Bourbon, first prince of the blood royal. In April they were masters of Champagne, of a portion of Picardy, of Burgundy, Normandy, Brittany, and of several important towns. The King's generals, the Dukes of Epernon and Joyeuse, had, it is

true, a few advantages on the Loire and in Normandy, and an attempt at insurrection at Marseilles broke down. These insignificant successes, however, could not counterbalance the enormous losses which the Crown had experienced from the very first days of this fresh revolt.

Matters were in this state when the King of Navarre, in order to attract Henry III. into his camp, published his Declaration of Bergerac on June 10, 1585. He believed, he said, in the doctrines of the Catholic faith, and bowed to the decrees of the ancient and legitimate councils. He was ready to restore to the King the places of safety which had been intrusted to his keeping and to that of the Prince of Condé, if the heads of the League gave up their own governorships. To prevent any effusion of blood, he conceived the strange notion of calling out the Duke of Guise in single combat. These advances were not productive of any results. For two months the Queen-Mother had been negotiating with the heads of the Coalition, and it was soon seen that her son's apparent wish to secede from the Catholic party, which for a time had alarmed the Catholic world, was but a vain and powerless threat.

When Sixtus V. became Pope, the atmosphere of the Vatican was entirely Spanish. The great majority in the Sacred College sympathised with Spain. In all that concerned France, Gregory XIII. had been influenced by Spanish opinions. Was not Philip the great defender, and Henry of Navarre the declared enemy, of the Catholic religion? That alone would have been sufficient to determine the policy of the old

Pontiff, even had not his prime minister, the Cardinal of Como, together with his Court, most of the cardinals, and Count Olivarès, taken care that he should follow in that line, and; if at all hesitating, be maintained in it. In official regions the influence of Spain was such that, to escape it, Gregory must have had very different convictions to those which he possessed, and an energy of character which he completely lacked. Opposition to Spain was, however, not wanting. The National opinion, or, as it was already called, 'Italian,' though in a very different sense from that which we know it by now-a-days, ruled supreme outside the doors of the Vatican. That opinion called, not for the union of all the Italian States into one single State, but for the independence of each State in Italy from foreign interference. Many a time did that public opinion force its way into the Vatican and stop the Pope at critical moments. Thus the heads of the League had asked Gregory to publish a bull declaring himself in their favour. The Spanish ambassador had strenuously supported their request, but this time Gregory resisted. He dared not go against his conscience and against that national opinion which, though excluded from a voice in the State, was nevertheless strong enough to force him to take notice of its tendency. The Pope refused to publish the bull, but he authorised Cardinal de Sens to transmit words of comfort to the Duke of Guise, and gave similar messages to Father Matthew, of the Society of Jesus, who was constantly going to and fro between Paris and Rome. This is all that Gregory did by way of intervention; but the heads of

the League changed the character of the letter of the Cardinal de Sens, and spread the report that, by a bull, the Pope had sanctioned their doings.

While Henry III., who was very anxious as to the position taken up by the Vatican, forwarded his complaints and his threats to the cardinal-protector of his interests at Rome, and while the latter reassured him as to the intentions of the Court of Rome, Gregory XIII. departed this life. It mattered little henceforth that his timid sympathy for the League and his name should be made use of in its cause. But what was to be the line of conduct of his successor? The question was freely asked. Henry III. felt how great had been his mistake in apparently and not really drawing nearer to the chief of the Huguenots. He therefore hastened to profess his fidelity to the Pope, and to make excuses for his former conduct. 'A prince, such as I am and wish to be as long as I live,' he wrote to Cardinal d'Este, 'does not deserve to be censured and accused of want of respect and want of zeal in the religious cause, as I am, to my regret.'

The representatives and adherents of both parties in Rome, of the League or Spanish party, and of the French or National party (for thus they must be designated), at once set to work. Without taking account of the majority in the Sacred College, of the Pope's surroundings, and of the numerous agents of the Holy Union, Count Olivarès and the Cardinal of Sens were the principal advocates of the Coalition. Cardinal d'Este and the Marquis of Pisany were in the opposite camp, so was the Venetian envoy, who, though he only

appeared in a secondary position, and surrounded himself by a thousand precautions, was in reality more influential than the official agents of Henry III. These were supported by Italian opinion, and caused a host of people to interfere on their behalf, who for some reason or another had access to the newly-elected Pontiff. The correspondents of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany were among the number. Olivarès and the Cardinal of Sens appealed to the religious feelings of Sixtus V. The League, they said, defends the faith. The blessing and avowed support of the Church must therefore be granted to it. Cardinal d'Este and Pisany appealed to his feelings as a sovereign. According to them, the partisans of the League were mere rebels, who hid behind the mask of religion their ambitious and anti-national designs, and who jeopardized religion, for they forced the King to throw himself into the arms of the Huguenots. Priuli, the Venetian diplomatist, expatiated on the political merits of the question. According to him, the League was not strong enough to conquer heresy. It required a support. That support must come from Spain. Spain would gain the victory and reap the rewards of victory.

The fight once begun, it was carried on with animosity on all sides in Rome. Unlike what had been done in France, no pamphlets were published, and the street was no party to the fighting going on in the ante-rooms and closet of the Pope; but the war was waged severely, and the combatants did not always use the most civil language towards one another. Several scenes took place between the cardinals of Este and of

Sens which were not creditable to Princes of the Church, and which amused the society and public of the Holy City. The cardinal-protector declared 'that he would not have any further acquaintance, or anything to do in future, with that bad and pernicious nature which delights in making mischief and in speaking ill of everyone.' Matters had reached such a point that it became a serious question whether they should not both be sent away. Political considerations overruled the decision. Sixtus V. did not carry out his threat, and the two antagonists continued to fight each time they met. Cardinal de Sens amused the Pope, who did not always consider him in earnest, and laughed at the violent politician, who, believing himself to be the best informed cardinal in the Sacred College, never brought the Pope any news except that which was false or stale.

Sixtus V., seeing that he was a prey to these intrigues, and being very imperfectly acquainted with the true state of things in France; finding, on the other hand, that the Vatican was entirely invaded by Spanish influences, with which he did not sympathise, but to which he could not help yielding in a certain measure, vainly sought to get out of the labyrinth of difficulties in which he was entangled. His inexperience in such matters, his long absence from power, which was the necessary consequence of his disgrace, added to his perplexities. That Henry of Navarre was a heretic, unworthy of any regard, who should be condemned and excluded from the succession to the throne, was what the Pope firmly believed. This side of the

question he erroneously looked at with the eyes of a priest only, and was, in this respect, of the opinion which had been expressed to him by Olivarès and by the Cardinal of Sens. But what was he to do, now that the deplorable division between the King and the Guises had been renewed, and that by it the Catholics were divided into two camps, and France was delivered over as it were to the Spaniards? His instinct and judgment came to his rescue. He felt that it was necessary to put an end to these dissensions, and to try and unite all the Catholics of France under one banner. Was it possible? He hoped so, and this error tends further to show how ignorant he was of France and of its men. In fine all his sympathies went with Henry III., not as a prince, for he had a small opinion of him, but as the legitimate king. The partisans of the League were rebels, who were unfortunately the defenders of the faith, so they at least professed themselves to be, while the Very Christian King threatened to apostatize. How could he then refuse to listen to them? how could he help supporting them, or enlightening or directing them towards that great object which was not to occupy territories belonging to their sovereign, but to combat and annihilate heresy and the heretics? Going therefore against his feelings, his instinct, and his judgment, Sixtus V. showed himself disposed to favour the League.

About this time, the Duke of Nevers, accompanied by the Cardinal de Vaudemont, arrived in Rome. He was sent by the Coalition. On the 1st of June 1585 he made his solemn entry. His brother-in-law

Cardinal d'Este, Cardinal de' Medici, and all the French cardinals went to meet him. On alighting from his carriage he received a letter from the Spanish ambassador full of information and of useful advice. He at once placed himself in communication with that powerful auxiliary. Not to attract too much attention by too frequent interviews, they made use of a common friend, Scipio Gonzaga, as an intermediary. Nevers did nothing without consulting Olivarès, and the latter endeavoured to soften down every difficulty for the ambassador of the Guises.

The Duke's mission was to obtain a bull, which, in the eyes of the world, would give the League the official support of the Holy See, and to ask besides for a bull declaring Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé incapable of ever succeeding to the throne of France.

These two questions formed the subject of many a long discussion between Nevers and Philip's ambassador. 'Insist,' said the latter, 'upon the Pope's seeing the drafts of the letters which the Cardinal of Sens wrote formerly with the sanction of Pope Gregory. Appeal specially to the religious sentiments of His Holiness, for he is full of zeal for all that concerns the faith.' As to the 'depriving' bull, Olivarès, at the instance of his master, asked that not only Henry of Bearn and the Prince of Condé, but that likewise the Catholic children of the latter should be excluded. The Duke opposed it. 'An extension of the declaration of incapacity to Catholic princes would,' he said, 'displease the Parliament as well as the French public, who

would say that it was the result of a political not of a religious measure, and who would in fact see in it only a suggestion of Spain. It would be found to be neither just nor reasonable. This was also the opinion of the tribunal of the Inquisition, to which Sixtus had already referred the matter. It declared that the Pope alone could, if he thought fit, declare Catholic children to be debarred from the succession, but *ex officio* and without the interference of the interested parties.

Nevers did not hide from Olivarès how unpopular the Court of Spain was, not only with the royalists, but even with the partisans of the League, while he agreed that there was a great community of interests between the League and the Court of Spain. 'We, no doubt,' he said, 'want the support of the Catholic King, but His Majesty wants us also. If a Protestant prince ascends the throne of France it is all over with the Catholic religion, not only with us, but also in Flanders; and very probably the Netherlands would be lost to Spain. His Majesty must help us, and give us money; but he must do so secretly; for such are the prejudices, the passions, and the ignorance of the French public, that the very name of Spain is sufficient to excite suspicion, and to make the allies unpopular. If the Pope gives a subsidy, it can be supposed that the Spanish subsidies also come from Rome.'

But Sixtus V. had no idea of spending any money. Olivarès knew it well. When he learnt that Pisany and Cardinal d'Este had asked for a monthly subsidy of 4,000 scudi for Henry III., in order to carry on war against the heretics, he advised Nevers to do the same

for the League. 'Tell His Holiness that to refuse to you what he would give to the King would be to declare himself the enemy of God's cause, which is that of the League; and mention the favourites of the King, into whose hands the money would probably find its way.' This ruse had the success which Olivarès expected. The representatives of Henry III. could obtain nothing.

The Holy Father had received the envoys from the Guises most graciously. He did not spare them, however, and scolded them well for having rebelled against their sovereign. He allowed, however, that there were extenuating circumstances, and excused them, as it were, by setting forth the indirect approval which his predecessor had given them. He had, said he, favoured the League and had been a consenting party to it. Nevers and Vaudemont thought they saw in the Pope similar dispositions. Sixtus justified the distrust with which their king inspired them, but strongly insisted on the necessity of coming to an understanding. 'Place yourselves,' he said, 'in communication with Pisany and with D'Este. Treat with them in a kind and friendly manner. Concert among you for some means of arrangement. Show me your plans, and we will advise. If you cannot agree, we will ourselves take up the matter.' To their repeated requests about the bull, he replied evasively.

After a stay of two weeks, the Duke and the Cardinal left Rome on their return to France. Besides a few amiable but vain encouragements, they brought home, not a bull—for they were not able to obtain one, owing to the Pope's distrust—but a brief, addressed to the

Cardinal of Bourbon and his friends, which was less explicit, but which they hoped to turn to use.

Two events marked the departure of this embassy. The Duke of Nevers, when about to mount his horse, felt suddenly a scruple of conscience. Had he done right to join the League? was it not a breach of faith—an act of rebellion? He went at once to Cardinal Madruccio and opened his heart to him. It required two hours of oratorical endeavours before his timid soul could be satisfied. The Duke's anxiety was not a sudden one. It coincided with the arrival of letters from France, which, thanks to the active diplomacy of the Queen-Mother, announced as certain the peace made between the King and the League. Some laughter was therefore caused by the political remorse of Nevers, who left amidst the jeering of the Romans.

The great question was always that of depriving the King of Navarre of the succession, which had been solicited by the delegates of the Holy Union. At their last audience, the Cardinal de Vaudemont made a final effort. The Holy Father replied gently, 'We cannot do what you ask for, because it is not usual with us to condemn people without hearing them. It will always be time enough to do this.' When the Cardinal insisted, he answered roughly, 'We have told you why we must not do such a thing; now we tell you we will not do it.'

But, notwithstanding this categorical refusal, the Pope's mind was half made up. In his opinion the excommunication and exclusion from the succession of the King of Navarre had almost become a necessity.

Such an act, however, was to be shorn of any political character, and, instead of appearing as the result of the steps taken by the League, to seem as if it emanated direct from the Pope. The Inquisition and the Sacred College were still debating the matter when the news arrived of the peace of Nemours (signed on the 9th of July 1585), which had been so carefully arranged by the Queen-Mother, and by which Henry III. engaged not to tolerate the new religion, to give governments and places as securities to the principal leaders of the League, and to revoke the edicts of peace and tolerance. All this was an additional reason why the bull should be fulminated, why the abyss should be widened which in future was to separate the Huguenot king from the French Catholics of every shade of political opinion.

Cardinal d'Este and Pisany had fought against a resolution which seemed to them to be derogatory to the independence of France, and when they learnt what had passed between the Pope and the Cardinal de Vaudemont, they fancied themselves victorious. Sixtus V. hastened to disenchant them. He called for d'Este, and told him of his resolution, 'taken partly,' he said, 'in order to strengthen the King, for those who will find themselves excluded from the succession will think twice before they conspire against their legitimate sovereign.' Monsignor de Lenoncourt, who, at the request of Henry III., had gone to 'the Béarnais' to instruct him in matters of religion, received peremptory orders from the Pope to return to his diocese. On the 9th of September the bull was placarded in Rome at the accustomed places. Henry of Bearn, supposed

King of Navarre, and Henry of Bourbon, supposed King of Condé, were declared heretics, deprived, themselves and their heirs, of all their sovereign rights, and pronounced incapable of succeeding to the kingdom of France, or to any other dukedom or principality. Their vassals and subjects were released from their oath of allegiance.

This was the first act of Sixtus V. in regard to French affairs, and the act was a mistake which he soon regretted, for which he reproached himself secretly, and which he actually admitted whilst trying to excuse it in his conversations with intimate friends. But, apart from this fault, which his inexperience and Spanish influence may explain, he had the merit of understanding, from the very first day, that the solution of the problem in France lay in the union of all the French Catholics beyond any Spanish interference. On this capital point he judged clearly. Where he hesitated was as to the means of execution; and what the principal actors and witnesses in the matter took for indecision of character and fickleness, was in reality but a natural consequence of certain given circumstances. Sometimes disposed, though feebly, to favour the League, he strove to dissolve it by effecting its union with the Royalists. This fact once accomplished, though rather in appearance than in reality, and not through his intermediary, as he had hoped at one time, but through the negotiations of the Queen-Mother, he fulminated his edict against the leader of the Huguenots. Henceforth the position of affairs was less intricate. There were no longer more

than two parties in France—the defenders and the enemies of religion. If the reconciliation was sincere, if the late coalesced members of the League frankly joined their legitimate king, then the whole of Catholic France would march against the heretics, and religion, as well as France, would be saved. The grave question of succession could then be discussed; it could then be solved, and, what was essential, it could be settled without the interference of Spain.

Such was the reasoning of Sixtus V. It was a just one, though only on one condition, which was that the reconciliation now officially proclaimed by the Treaty of Nemours between the King and the heads of the League should be sincere. This he believed to be possible, because as yet he did not know France; but this hope appeared a delusive one to those who knew that country.

CHAPTER II.

PROSPECTS OF CATHOLICITY IN FRANCE.

IT is scarcely necessary to summarize here the events which followed the conclusion of the Peace of Nemours,—the vicissitudes of the war, the repugnance which the King experienced to confide his armies to the command of the Guises, the scandals of his journey to Lyons, the injurious expressions used by him and by the envoys of the Electors and other Protestant princes during a public audience, his wrath, the invasion of Protestant Germany, the defeat of Joyeuse at Coutras, and the destruction of the German Reiters or volunteer cavalry.

These events run through two years of anxiety and care for Sixtus. Though doing his best to reconcile the King with the League, and the Royalists with the partisans of the princes, he soon lost all illusion as to the solidity of the union which the last treaty had established. Full of distrust, and still more of disgust for the person of Henry III., he had some trouble in disguising his contempt and his sinister forebodings. When the Ambassador of Venice, who came to congratulate him on his accession, offered to interpose his good offices in favour of Henry III. by begging of the Pope to grant that prince authority to alienate a por-

tion of the property of the clergy, the Pope replied coldly, 'We would wish to see His Majesty evince more zeal in the prosecution of the war against the Huguenots. We are surprised that so great a king, notwithstanding the enormous taxes which he levies upon his people, has not considered it advisable to economise for extraordinary cases. He should think seriously, and not fail in his duty; then we would help him.'

The weakness, folly, and want of loyalty apparent at that Court, greatly discouraged the Pope. Not only was the League still in existence, and had not sincerely espoused the cause of the King, but matters had daily grown worse, and distrust on both sides seemed to be justified. As in the past, France lay between a civil war or the triumph of heresy, and a Spanish intervention, which meant its own dismemberment. Sixtus V. still hoped that Queen Elizabeth might be converted. Was the conversion of Henry of Navarre necessarily simulated, as he was assured by the Spaniards and by the partisans of the League? He was disposed to believe it. A doubt was, however, permissible; and on such occasions he regretted the bull against him. Bulls may be revoked. Such things had been done, and this Philip dreaded. 'There are people,' he wrote to Olivarès (1586), 'who hope to shake the determination of the Pope, and to bring him to revoke his bull against Henry of Bearn, and to believe in the sincerity of his conversion, which can but be feigned. I cannot believe it; but the matter is too serious for me not to consider it necessary to call the attention of His Holiness to the subject.

You will give him the inclosed letter, of which I annex a copy, and will tell him from me that I am sure he intends to maintain the little that still remains of Christendom. Call to his memory how great France is. Tell him that as long as heresy has not invaded the head of the State there is hope; but that if the evil takes possession of the sovereign, the whole edifice must fall at once. We have so many instances of this under our eyes, as a punishment for our sins, that it would be useless to enumerate them. I am told from France that steps are taken with His Holiness to obtain that he should allow "the Béarnais" to recant; and thus it is hoped to insure for him the possession of the kingdom. This would be simply setting fire to France. You will make the Pope understand that the present step is not taken through any fear which I may have of "the Béarnais." He is for ever asking me favours and help, and offers all kinds of securities, which I would fain accept; but I act only and exclusively in the service of Our Lord. Let His Holiness be undeceived with regard to the supposed sincerity of "the Béarnais." We might believe in it if he only asked to retire into a monastery and to do penance; but as it is the means for him to succeed to the throne, it is clear it is only a pretence. The Church and the Inquisition declare relapse into heresy to be deserving of capital punishment. *A fortiori* one ought to prevent a man guilty of such a crime from becoming the master of a kingdom like France, which would soon be full of heretics. You will warn His Holiness that, rather than consent to expose my subjects to the danger of heresy by assent-

ing to the proposed revocation, I would take upon myself to favour and protect the Catholics of France. Civil war would be the consequence, and perhaps the dismemberment of France, which, as long as it remains Catholic, is, by its unity and strength, of great use to Christendom, but which, if perverted and doomed to perdition, would present so many dangers for the Christian world that it would become absolutely necessary to reduce its power.[1] To intimidate His Beatitude, he is told that if I insist upon the exclusion of Bearn, and advise the continuance of war on the part of the Catholics, it is because I aim at destroying the strength of each party, and, after their fall, to march upon Italy. Pray combat this error—not in my name, and as if you had to excuse my conduct, but by declaring that if I see that the succession of a heretic to the throne of France is encouraged, I shall come to the rescue of the Catholics. It is the way which will lead to the dismemberment of that kingdom, for whoever can will take a bit of it. The means of preserving its integrity is, that there should be an understanding between His Holiness, ourselves, and the Very Christian King, if he chooses, or between the French Catholics. The object of such an understanding must be the exclusion of all heretical candidates, and the choice of a Catholic who may be able to put an end to the evils in France, in the event of the King not being able to do

[1] 'Con que habria disensiones y guerras y podrian quizá dividirse las fuerzas y poder de aquel Reyno que asi como unido y católico son muy útiles á la cristiandad, asi perbertido y dañado serían tan temerosas á toda Ella que en tal caso sería fuerza procurar que quedasen menores.'

so during his lifetime—an issue of which His Holiness, by all he knows, can judge whether it is to be hoped.'

Such is the manner in which the King of Spain considered the question of succession. In his mind it was paramount in importance, while it was only secondary in the eyes of Sixtus V. To become eligible Henry of Navarre will return to Catholicism. Philip foresees it. His conversion, therefore, must be a pretence. Upon this hypothesis is his reasoning based. He cannot, then, in the interest of religion in general, and of his kingdom in particular, admit the candidature of Henry. If the Pope accepts the conversion of the latter, His Holiness puts forward his candidature and Philip will combat it. He will even have recourse to arms, and, as he says, the dismemberment of France will ensue. He writes this himself to Sixtus V., and instructs his ambassador to speak to him in the same sense. The latter is expressly told not to excuse him to the Pope, but merely to signify his wishes to him. Who will be the Catholic prince whom they will conjointly select as a successor to Henry III.? Philip is careful not to mention anyone. The question had already been discussed between him and Olivarès under the preceding pontificate. The ambassador had gone against the Cardinal de Bourbon, who, he thought, was a dangerous man, and had insinuated the Duke of Montpensier. The King had replied that, while appreciating his arguments, he considered it more prudent not to take as yet any engagement in favour of Montpensier or any other candidate. 'It is sufficient,' he wrote to Olivarès (1584), 'that we should for the

present prevent, by anticipating them, any results which might prove to be prejudicial to the service of God and the good of the public. We must reserve to ourselves the liberty of examining the titles and weighing the strength of the several pretenders, and act according to circumstances.' Thus situated between the pretensions of the King of Spain, who aimed at becoming the arbiter of the destinies of France until he could himself become its master, and his duties as Head of the Church, the Pope spoke much, too much in fact, but did nothing. He watched the progress of events. He let others act, and merely looked on, though not with indifference. The constant complaints of Olivarès about the versatility of Sixtus are, we repeat, unfounded. The men and affairs of France varied, but he did not. When the Nuncio, at the beginning of 1587, wrote to him that Henry III., alarmed by the turbulent disposition of the Parisians, by the attitude taken up by the Guises, and by the general Catholic spirit prevalent in his kingdom, had broken off the negotiations with the King of Navarre, and drawn himself nearer to the Catholic princes, the Pope sent his apostolic blessing not only to the heads of the League, at the request of Cardinal de Sens, but also to the King, exhorting him not to separate his cause from that of religion. And yet Olivarès spoke against the ignorance and instability of the Pope! It is true that he was pleased that the Guises should again be in favour; but his pleasure was not unalloyed, for, according to him, the Pope was not only of a desperately changeable disposition, but his conduct also showed a deplorable

duplicity. As a proof the ambassador mentioned the secret messages of 'the Béarnais' respecting his conversion, which seem to indicate the existence of intimate relations with the Vatican.

When, at the end of that same year, Henry III., on the advice of the Duke of Epernon, stopped the Duke of Lorraine and his army on their way, and declared that, if they entered France, he would join the heretics, Sixtus despaired of him. The Nuncio had informed him of the collecting of troops belonging to the League for the purpose of attacking the King: 'Well,' said he, showing the despatch to Olivarès, 'let the coalesced parties unite, make a grand effort, and finish the matter! If the house is to come down, better pull it down than let it fall upon our heads. If Henry III. carries out his threat of allying himself to the Huguenots, the allies will do well to attack him, and your king will do wisely to turn against France the expedition he has prepared against England.'

He called for M. de Pisany and the Cardinal de Joyeuse, and made them write to the King, that if he thought of peace with the Huguenots, he, the Pope, would oppose him. He reminded them that formerly he had always tried to reassure them whenever they spoke to him of the fears they entertained of finding the armaments of Spain some day turned against France. He had, in fact, assured them that the Catholic King had no such intention; and even were he to have such intentions, he had promised them not to allow it; but now he declared to them solemnly, that he not only withdrew his promise, but was re-

solved, if Henry III. did not change his conduct, to persuade the King of Spain to make use of his forces in order to save France. Olivarès, who was delighted with this change, immediately informed his master of it, but expressed a doubt as to the durability of the sentiment. 'When,' said he, 'the affairs of the League are going on well, the Pope turns in its favour, but this time he has surpassed himself.' The ambassador was in error. Sixtus V. wished for the triumph of Catholicism in France. His support was naturally granted to those who were best disposed and able to promote the cause. As to the manner in which he had received the secret messages of the King of Navarre, the watchful ambassador of Spain could only form conjectures. He guessed rather than knew that the Pope had not wholly given up the solution which he most dreaded, and the prospect of which irritated him and awakened his suspicion.

The Pope at first, after the Peace of Nemours—when Henry III., of whom he then had a more favourable opinion, seemed to be seriously engaged in war against the Huguenots, and when the League disclosed its interested and anti-national projects—tried to be useful to the King by bringing back to his allegiance the partisans of the King of Navarre. He attempted this with the Duke of Montmorency, who held Languedoc for 'the Béarnais.' Rather sharp words passed between him and the French representative on this subject.

At the time of the 'embassy of obedience,' Sixtus V. still had some hope. After the banquet which he had given to the Duke of Luxembourg and M. de Pisany,

he spoke to them with effusion. Pisany wrote on September 17, 1586, to Henry III.: 'He expressed himself sorry at the misfortunes of our country, and greatly blamed the authors of them. He added that God would be merciful to your Majesty, would restore peace to France, and give you a successor; and that he would then propose certain undertakings to occupy the mind and courage of the French, who cannot be idle or leave matters alone. He said that, in the teeth of the Spaniards, we would together go to Tunis, which they had lost so easily, and conquer Algiers; that such were the wars which he discussed and proposed, but not wars against Christians, whatever others might say, since all he wished for was their repentance and their conversion.' In such moments of illusion, when he hoped to see Henry III. act with energy and perseverance, the League was no better in his eyes than a rebellious faction. 'The barons of Rome,' he told the two ambassadors, 'wanted to rebel at the outset of our pontificate. They soon, however, resolved to be good, foreseeing that their lives were in danger, so resolved were we. The same means,' he imprudently added, 'would be efficacious as a remedy in the King's hands.' 'The advice,' said Pisany, at the end of his report to the King, 'referred to the principal personages of the kingdom, who would wish to alter the State, or refuse to obey your Majesty's laws and commands: whereupon he dismissed us.' These good dispositions could not be maintained. The negotiations of the Queen-Mother with Henry of Navarre destroyed in him the last remnants of confidence in or affection for the King. More than once

Pisany tried to convince him of the necessity under which his king was of treating with the Huguenots. The Pope replied (1587) that he had already told him that to do so was to give time to Navarre to complete his armaments. On another occasion he became very angry. 'The King,' said he, 'is deceived by those who surround him; they give him bad advice, and encourage him to treat with the Huguenots, without regard to his dignity or reputation.'

The leader of the Huguenots had addressed himself to the Holy Father, complaining that the bull had been published before he had been heard; that he was treated with less indulgence than the infidels, to whom missionaries were sent. If a theologian were sent to him, he would willingly listen to him, and would give him every security which he might desire. To this the Pope had replied that the Apostles and disciples did not require security for their persons, and that it would be lost time to send any theologian to the King of Navarre.

Events, in fact, were not of a nature to warrant hope for the conversion of Henry. The execution of Mary Stuart at the beginning of the year had revived the courage and the hopes of the Huguenots. Protestant Germany was arming with the purpose of coming to their aid, and preparing to invade France. Sixtus V. was, therefore, full again of the idea of a common action of the armies of the King and of the League. He no longer recommended that the chief rebels should lose their heads, but, on the contrary, that they should be received with open arms. Such an understanding

suited the position of affairs. It was natural that men whom only a common danger was to unite, should separate as soon as the danger was over.

Towards the end of the year two events—the defeat of the Duke of Joyeuse, and the destruction of the Protestant Reiters—afflicted and consoled the belligerents. Henry of Navarre had conquered at Coutras; the Duke of Guise had pursued and defeated the Reiters. Famine, epidemics, and flight had finished them. After the defeat which his favourite had received, and on the occasion of the victory won by his rival, Henry III. made a triumphal entry into his capital, amidst the indifference and sarcastic remarks of the Parisians. He wanted to pass for a hero, and was only laughed at. Heroes there were in France, but he was not one of them. Henceforth there were but two men, the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise.

The Pope viewed the supposed prowess of Henry in the same light with his people. When M. de Pisany announced to him the defeat of the German cavalry, he received the news coldly and remained silent. When Cardinal de Joyeuse begged that the event should be celebrated in Rome by public rejoicings and thanksgivings, he replied that God had done all, and men nothing. Pisany saw in these words the influence of the Cardinal of Sens, and Joyeuse the regret which the Pope experienced at not having aided the King. The truth is, he did not like to attribute to the King a merit which was due to another; and did not wish to aggravate matters by rejoicing over the victory of the Guises. To get out of the difficulty he therefore

attributed the successes obtained to the interference of Divine Providence; that is, to the illness which had carried off the remains of the German army. M. de Pisany questioned him respecting his silence, which was so offensive to his king: 'Having spoken to me in this wise,' he wrote to Henry III., 'he apparently changed greatly, for, as we were walking up and down his room, he made two or three turns without saying a word, but beating his hands, as is his wont whenever anything annoys him, and then, turning to me, said that he saw two things, which were: the first, that God should be thanked for so signal a miracle performed by Him in favour of religion and of France; and the other, that the event deserved no rejoicings or public marks of pleasure, except that in his heart each man should thank God, for no man had had a share in that victory, and, in fact, that no one had done anything, but, on the contrary, all had left much undone which they could have done. He followed this remark by a number of stories from the Bible, upon which he dilated a long time.'

In the Consistory the Pope expressed himself in a similar sense, but took care not to name Henry. He was observed while speaking to be much moved, and also to make efforts not to allow a word to escape him which might be disobliging to the King of France. When he had finished, the Cardinal de Joyeuse got up to speak of the merits of the Very Christian King, but a look from the Pope stopped him. Frightened by this look, he confined himself to speaking in private to the Pope when the meeting was over, and was very

cautious in his language. But, at the very first words he uttered, the Pope exclaimed, in a passion, 'I tell you that no man has had a share in that victory.' The Cardinal held his tongue, following in this the advice of M. de Pisany, 'not to break with that man, whose hatred and anger might injure the King much more than his good graces could benefit him.' In the original of the letter in which the Cardinal recalls these words, the words just quoted are underlined in the handwriting of M. de Villeroy. The dash of the minister, though faded as it is by the action of three centuries, is more eloquent than the long report of the Cardinal. It proves that both parties, at the Louvre and at the Vatican, knew how to judge each other well; that Henry III. was discredited in Rome, and that on this point neither his Secretary of State nor his ambassador remained under any illusion.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLICY OF SIXTUS WITH REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH KINGDOM

THE emotions of politics, and those especially which the growing bad news from France produced upon him, began to tell upon the constitution of the Pope, though at his election[1] it was still very strong. He occasionally had feverish attacks, and, judging of the medical science of that day, we may suppose that each slight indisposition might easily degenerate into a fatal disease.[2] He was a bad invalid, ate 'bravely his wine soup,' laughed at doctors, believed himself to be a better doctor than they, and loved to discuss scientifically the nature of his maladies. His activity had never diminished, but his strength decayed daily. Gritti was struck on finding him seated, too tired to get up or to walk, as was his wont during an audience. The Pope told him his little grievances. The last ceremony had been a long one. His mantle of scarlet cloth, and his hood lined with ermine, had appeared to him rather heavy. His awkward master of the ceremonies,

[1] 'È sanissimo.' Babbi. April 24, 1585.

[2] 'Il Tesoro della vita humana dell' excellente dottore e cavaliere M. Leonardo Fioravanti, Bolognese. Venezia, 1590.' The book makes one shudder.

Allaleone, could not help him. Hence his illness. In fact he grew physically old, and those about him were anxious.

He had spent the Carnival pleasantly in his own way, and, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of his election he had invited the ambassadors of France and of Venice to dine with him. It was on a Sunday, after mass, and after an audience which he gave to a few cardinals, that he received his two guests in the stanza called the 'Bologna.' He sat down at a little separate table which almost touched that of the ambassadors. Notwithstanding the homily which was usually read to him during dinner, he showed them every civility, begging them to eat and to drink, and to cover themselves. During dinner, which was well served and well prepared, Donna Camilla sent a few dainty dishes; and when, according to custom, the tables had been cleared, the Pope again begged of Pisany and Gritti to remain covered, and to sit nearer to him. Fascinating when he wished to be so, which was not often, Sixtus V. was especially fascinating on the present occasion. He gave his guests a medal which had been struck in commemoration of the four years of his pontificate, told them the history of his election, assured them of his good intentions, and even went so far as to excuse his hastiness, which, he said, was never on account of the princes themselves, but only on account of their sins. He did not forget to speak of the banditti, a favourite topic with him, and dwelt at length upon the politics of the day and of past times. As was his wont, he did not spare Gregory XIII., to whom he

attributed almost all the evils to which the world was subject: banditti, Huguenots, and civil war in France. The Gregorian Calendar, which is one of the glories of that pontificate, did not escape his criticism. He found the innovation contrary to the teaching of the Councils, of the Popes, and of St. Ambrose, held that it had produced a confusion in Greece and in Germany to the detriment of the Papacy, and drew his arguments from mathematics, with which he said he was well acquainted. He at one time had thought of resuming the old calendar, but in belying a Pope he was afraid of diminishing the authority of the Popes, 'although,' he added, 'it is of little consequence if they err in matters which are not of faith.' On this subject he was never weary of speaking. His dislike of his predecessor displayed itself even in his dreams. During two consecutive nights he had seen Gregory XIII. surrounded by flames. Happily it was not to hell, but only to purgatory, that Gregory had gone. In his not over flattering anxiety for Pope Buoncompagni, he had mass said in several churches for the repose of his soul. Foreign diplomatists smiled at this weakness, were exasperated by his unmeasured language, and despaired of his apparent but not real versatility. Though sharp and cunning, he was, we again say it, naturally loyal; and notwithstanding changes of temper, which are easily explained if his position be seriously considered, he was much more consistent than he appeared. Of an impressionable and quick temperament, he could not restrain himself, and was imprudent enough to speak as he felt. His feelings changed with circumstances and

his language changed with his impressions. There was sometimes also a calculated motive in that loquacity, which often better than silence deceived the person to whom he spoke, left him in ignorance of what he thought, and tired his memory by endless reasonings. To say all is to say nothing; and long interviews, when it is a question of large interests, almost always prove that a man neither wishes to agree nor can do so. Without suspecting or without caring what use the ambassadors might make of his confidence, or, perhaps, to put them off the right scent, he was wont to tell the one what he had said to the other. People with evil intentions could easily find out contradictions in his language. Olivarès always took note of them, sent them home, and represented the Holy Father as false and versatile in character. This was Olivarès' revenge, for Sixtus had committed the grave error, which great people treating with ambassadors would do well to avoid, of personally wounding him. The latter took pleasure, not in misrepresenting facts which came under his notice, but in putting them in a light which suited his own appreciation of the fact, and his appreciation was that of a man who was unreasonable, and, during the last years of the Pope's life, that of a sworn enemy.

In 1588 events followed each other rapidly. The heads of the League met at Soissons, after having already met a first time at Nancy in January. They entered into an arrangement with the secret municipal Council of the Sixteen of Paris, settled about the disturbances, and entered Paris during the 'day of the

barricades.' The King fled, revolution triumphed, and the Duke of Guise was master of Paris. We may conceive the sensation which this news produced in Rome, and the perplexity into which it threw the Pope. When he was informed that the Duke, who was then supposed to be the soul of the Paris insurrection, had entered the Louvre, all his feelings of a sovereign were wounded. 'Why,' exclaimed the Pope, 'could not the King muster twenty armed men to stop that rebel, shut him up, and dispose of him as he best liked?' Then, looking at the political side of the event, he saw the Guises masters of Paris. They were undoubtedly rebels, but at the same time they were defenders of the faith, and nothing could any longer be hoped either for faith or for France from that weak and unworthy prince. Looked at in this light, the conduct of the Duke of Guise appeared to him less deserving of reproach. He openly avowed it to the Marquis of Pisany. When he heard that the King intended to serve Guise a bad turn, and perhaps make an attempt on his life, the Pope informed the latter of this fact, and recommended his being on his guard. All this he himself told to such ambassadors or cardinals as approached him, but especially to the Cardinal of Sens, who acted often as intermediary between him and Olivarès. The latter collected all these sayings, and drew up from them quite an act of impeachment. 'From what precedes,' says he, in a letter to Philip, 'your Majesty can form an idea, if you have not done so already, of the character of His Holiness; how little his word can be relied upon, and how disposed he is ever to side with the strongest.' Sixtus did wish that the strongest might succeed, but

only those who were strongest in the defence of the Catholic religion. On this point he never varied. Hitherto his intervention had not been an active one. Besides the 'act of privation' which he had published shortly after his election against Henry of Navarre, and which had been prompted chiefly by his priestly feelings, he had confined himself to preaching the necessity of a reconciliation to both Catholic camps, and to recommending a common action against the Huguenots. A short time before the disturbances in Paris he had written in that sense, at the request of M. de Pisany, to the Duke of Guise.

The events of which we have spoken, the day of the barricades, the flight of the King from Paris, and the triumph of the League, had produced a great sensation in Venice. The Republic instructed its ambassador in Rome to use his influence with the Pope on behalf of Henry III. Before doing this, Gritti wished to come to an understanding with the French representative. M. de Pisany complained bitterly of Sixtus V. According to him the latter had always favoured the Guises, and excused their conduct, by at times pleading religion, or, at others, the succession to the throne as a pretext, and each time supposing that they were acting in the interest of the King. Even now that their rebellion was manifest, he still defended them. The ambassador believed that the motives of this conduct were to be found in the great maritime expedition of Philip II. against England, and the Pope's wish that the ports of France should be open to its ships.

Gritti had his audience. 'The senate,' he said, 'Holy Father, has learnt with regret how matters have gone on in France; for that country being the ornament and the right eye of Christianity, as well as the world's pivot, it is impossible for anyone to witness the troubles of that noble kingdom without being exceedingly impressed. It is now a question of religion, and, therefore, the first of all questions. It is a matter likewise of peace in Christendom as well as in Italy. The Senate fears that the King, in order to get out of trouble, may have recourse to means which might be prejudicial to the Catholic faith. His friends already point to such a possibility; and nothing can console the Republic, unless it be its confidence in the prudence and judgment of your Holiness, in your charity, in your zeal for the public good, and in your supreme authority. Venice hopes that you will make use of that authority, in order to avoid the dangers which appear to be imminent, and to avert the evil which threatens the existence of that noble kingdom.'

The Pope sighed deeply, and said, 'Your Government are right. Their complaints are, unhappily, but too well founded; but we like to hear them, for as long as a bad tooth does not hurt us we do not notice it: it is only when it does that we think of a remedy. France is a noble kingdom, and the Church has always derived great advantages from her. We are much attached to France, and learn with pleasure that the Government of Venice shares our affection. Upon the subject in question, we will tell you that, having learnt through the Jesuits, previously to the departure of our

Nuncio for France, that the Queen of England showed a disposition to return to the Catholic faith, and knowing that the King was in relations with her, we begged His Majesty, through our Nuncio, to make known to the Queen that, if she became a convert, we would, notwithstanding the 'depriving act' of Pius V., recognize her as Queen, would give her every concession which she might desire, protect her against her subjects and the King of Denmark, who, as was then said, gave her some anxiety, and, in fact, would grant her everything. The Nuncio did what he was told, but the King has done nothing. He later asked us for help, and we offered him 20,000 foot and 8,000 horsemen, at our expense. Thus we would have punished the heretics and the rebels; but now they are the masters. We proposed to him this because if we only sent him 3,000 or 4,000 men we should have given him the means of settling matters with the heretics, and of doing as he did under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., who sent him a small aid, which he turned to his own account, and not to that of the Papacy. If we help him, it is in view of his exterminating the heretics, and not of making peace with them. Enough, however, of the past. Let us consider now the last events in Paris. The Duke of Guise went there with only eight horsemen, and when he had alighted at the house of the Queen-Mother, the latter asked him how it was that he came without being announced. He answered that, having learnt that the King intended to massacre all the Catholics that were in Paris, he, as a Catholic, had come to die with the others. The Duke did wrong in giving such

an answer, nor do we excuse it. The Queen assured him that such was not the case, and advised him to go and see the King. The Duke consented. The King was informed of his arrival, and replied that he had long been made aware of it, and that, if the Duke took as a pretext his quarrels with Epernon, he would not receive him. Guise replied that his quarrel with Epernon did not require a pretext; that such questions were settled by the sword and by the dagger; that he had come to Paris, and wished to see the King. The latter consented, and the Queen-Mother took the Duke in her coach to the reigning Queen. After making them wait two hours, the King came. They spoke together in amicable terms. The Duke stayed a long time, then took his leave, and went home. The King had then an idea of calling the Swiss Guard to Paris, and of asking from the middle classes a man from each house, in order to strengthen his body-guard. Of the latter, one man came. When the Swiss entered Paris, the Parisians revolted, because they contend that no foreign soldier should be called into Paris, and that if the King is in want of soldiers, he must, in conformity with the privileges of the town, ask them of the town, which will procure them for him. Great disturbances therefore ensued, and many of the Swiss were massacred. During the riot our Nuncio was called to the palace, and requested to interfere, in order to quell the disturbance. Morosini, who behaved very well, accompanied the Duke to the King, and both the King and the Duke walked together through the town, the Duke holding his cap in his hand the whole time, and being always in

attendance upon the King. They returned, each to his home; and at night, without saying a word to a soul, the King left for Chartres. We ask what the King could fear, since the Duke had placed himself in his hands, and had gone to him alone. Why did he call the Swiss? Either he suspected the Duke, or he did not. If he did, why did he not retain him? and if he had found that by retaining him a disturbance ensued (which would have proved the Duke's culpability), why not cut his head off, and throw it into the street? People would have been appeased. If he had no suspicion, why did he call the Swiss? and if he did not do so at the time of the first visit, why did he at the time of the second? It is said that, if the Duke were killed, the 'Lorrain,' who was armed, would have created a disturbance, and revenged himself. Nothing of the kind would have occurred. Not a soul would have moved. Now the King has left Paris. What had he to fear? And if he had anything to fear, how can he seek his salvation in a flight from his capital? If, in the riots which have taken place at Venice, your forefathers had fled, would they have left you that liberty (the independence of the Republic) which you enjoy? Why fly from Paris? From fear of being killed? If he had been killed, he would at least have died as a king. This is the state in which matters stand. Now we are asked to send a legate. This we do not intend to do. We do not wish to compromise our reputation. Cardinal Orsino was sent to France as legate, and was not received. Cardinal Riario, envoy in Spain, could not obtain an audience. We do

not wish to expose ourselves to a similar insult, which we could never endure. On the occasion of the captivity of Archduke Maximilian, the King of Spain, the Emperor, and the King of Poland had asked us to send a legate. It was only after reading ourselves the instructions of the internuncio of Poland, and when we had ascertained that the king of that country really wished it, that we decided on sending one. We will send a chevalier, a bishop, an archbishop, even a cardinal, if it be desired, but no legate. We proposed to the King to let us manage matters, and engaged to re-establish order in his kingdom in a short time; but if he wishes to act for himself, let him do so. Now we are asked to request Guise to leave Paris. We cannot order in Paris except as regards matters of heresy, sin, or the Church, nor have we anything to do in the present question, which is not an ecclesiastical matter. The King said that he intended to join the Huguenots. If he does, he will see what we shall do. Notwithstanding all, we wrote to him to console and encourage him, and we shall think of what there is to be done; for, besides the religious considerations, there are state reasons of the highest importance, which require that we should see to the preservation of that kingdom.'[1]

Gritti discussed some of the arguments which he had just heard. He observed that if the Duke of

[1] The above is a literal translation of the important report of Gritti to the Doge, June 4, 1588. The Pope spoke on the faith of the reports which he got from his Nuncio. It is the only official account of those events which I have seen, and the only one, I believe, that has been published. I found at the Vatican Morosini's ciphered despatch, but not its translation.

Guise had entered Paris with only eight horsemen, this fact proved that he was in secret intelligence with the authorities of the town; and when the Pope spoke of the errors committed by the King, he did not disagree, but contended that it was no longer a question of criticising events, but of remedying an evil. To this Sixtus replied that it was true, and that he had written to the Duke of Guise recommending him strongly to submit to the King.

Henry III., on arriving at Chartres,[1] wrote to Pisany. He exposed his grievances, his good disposition as regards a reconciliation, and his intention of convoking the States-General, but he did not fail to hint at his future possible union with the Huguenots. As a kind of warning he told him of the presence at Boulogne of some English vessels, which were to assist the royal troops against the Duke of Aumale and the Spaniards, (apparently under the Duke of Parma), who were besieging them. It was the beginning of an alliance which he could only explain by the jealous spirit of the Queen of England.

'Such is, sir,' he wrote to his ambassador, 'the state in which matters now stand, and I continue to be of the same mind and will, as when I last wrote to you; that is, to throw water upon the fire, and to put it out by kindness, if God gives me the opportunity; but if not, to neglect no means by which my person and my dignity may be preserved. I am very sorry that the Holy Father has more faith in the inventions of my enemies than in the truth and sincerity of my acts, and that he

[1] Henry III. to Pisany, May 23, 1588.

favours or assists them in any way, as indeed they proclaim him to do. This would oblige me to adopt a course which has never entered my thoughts, and which never will, unless I am compelled by a dire necessity, which I want to escape from and to avoid with all my heart.' The ambassador obeyed the orders contained in that letter, which he said might well be called 'a masterpiece of style.' He told the Pope of the insults which the Guises had offered to Henry III.; and the Holy Father, 'beating his hands and trampling with his feet, asked whether all that he said was true, and added that, if it were so, God would punish the guilty.' But when Pisany insisted on his openly declaring for the King, and writing at once three briefs to this effect, addressed respectively to the King, the French clergy, and a 'very bitter' one to the partisans of the League, Sixtus replied that the Pope's letters, and those from the Holy See, were not generally 'anvilled.' He promised, however, to appoint a Congregation to consider the matter. As Cardinal de Joyeuse had already done once,[1] Pisany endeavoured to find out how the Pope would act in the event of the delicate as well as grave question arising of the King breaking definitively with the League. But Sixtus remained silent.

The Duke of Guise meanwhile strengthened his position in Paris, took the Bastille without striking a blow, and prepared to fight the King's troops. At the same time, and through the initiative of the Queen-Mother, negotiations were entered into with the King. Monsignor Morosini was the most active instrument in

[1] June 15, 1588.

the matter.[1] Obliged by the position which he held to join the King, he called on the Duke of Guise before leaving Paris. He found with him the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Archbishop of Lyons, and other notabilities of the League. He urged a reconciliation, and the Duke replied, as usual, that all he wished was that heresy should be exterminated. 'If,' replied the Nuncio, 'you have no other intention, it will be easy for you to agree with the King. Do you authorise me to inform him that you are prepared and determined to obey him as a good and loyal subject, if he furnishes you with the means of waging war against the Huguenots, either in common with His Majesty, or on your own responsibility?' In other words this was offering him the command of the army, at least the Duke understood it so, and, notwithstanding the objections raised by those present, he agreed to the Nuncio's propositions, and the latter at once conveyed them to the King. On arriving at the wandering Court of Henry III., Morosini found that the ground was but too favourable to his plans. He found the Court in the greatest confusion. Fear and presumption alternately mastered the King, but fear always predominated. It was clear that, whatever the requests of the coalesced parties might be, Henry III. would end by acceding to them. The Nuncio therefore, under such circumstances, had no difficulty in obtaining what he wished. He returned to Paris bearing the King's promise 'to intrust to the Duke of Guise all the functions necessary for him to wage war against the Huguenots.' M. de Villeroy fol-

[1] Pisany to Henry III., June 28, 1588.

lowed immediately after, with orders to regulate all matters of detail, and to draw up the act of reconciliation. The triumphant rebels merely asked that the Crown should submit. The Duke of Guise would not hear of the conditions that he had accepted during his first interview with the Nuncio; put forth new conditions which the Nuncio considered to be inadmissible, and, in fact, took the airs of a man who feels himself to be and is in reality master of the situation. On the other hand Morosini, who was mortified, and had compromised himself with the Court, retired from the negotiations, and communicated to his sovereign all the humiliation which he felt. 'They are bad,' he said in speaking of the leaders of the League—'bad and of questionable goodwill.' He sent word to the King again, that he might depend upon the support of the Holy See, if he would only 'honestly' resolve to go to war against the Huguenots. But the unfortunate Henry III., who was more and more alarmed, capitulated, and, having passed through the Caudine forks of the League, signed the edict of the Union, which was published in Rouen on the 19th, and in Paris on the 20th of July. The Duke of Guise was appointed lieutenant-general of the armies of France. Shortly before ratifying so important an act, Henry III. had written to Cardinal de Joyeuse.[1] His letter was but one long complaint. He showed him the state in which France was, the hostilities which the partisans of the League had already entered into with the Royalists, the progress

[1] July 4, 1588. This letter is not published in the Cardinal's Life.

made in Languedoc and in the Dauphiné by the Huguenots, his troubles, his despair. He asked for help of the Pope, but showed how undecided he still was as to what to do—whether he would have peace or war—whether he would make the one with, or wage the other against, the Huguenots or the League. To hasten the sending of money, and also the nomination of a legate, he dispatched to Rome Cardinal de Gondi, who succeeded not only in making the Pope give up his aversion to legates in general, but in obtaining that Morosini, who was particularly liked at the Court of France, where he resided as Nuncio, should, at the request of the King, be promoted to that important position.[1] As a natural consequence, he was also made a cardinal.[2]

A remarkable change had evidently taken place in the mind of Sixtus V. The information which he received from France, the explanations of the Cardinal de Gondi, the facts told him by the King himself in his letters, all concurred in making him look upon the day of the barricades and the events which followed it in a light which was not favourable to the Guises. 'They have brought up their guns to Melun,' wrote Henry, 'to fight me, and in doing so have declared and begun war against the Catholics.' The Pope was indignant, and assured Cardinal de Gondi 'that he would not abandon the King, either by failing in giving him advice, or by procuring him men and money—of which he believes he has more than any living prince—

[1] Henry III. to Sixtus the Fifth, 1588.
[2] Cardinal de Gondi to Henry III., July 13, 1588.

provided His Majesty keeps to his good resolution.' His former project of intervention in France with 20,000 or 25,000 men came back to his mind. The correspondence of Monsignor Morosini was calculated to operate such a change, and to maintain the Pope in his good intentions. Sixtus V. generally chose his representatives abroad among the most distinguished members of the clergy, and among the men who were specially honoured with his confidence. He never had recourse to the vile practice of making secret and inferior agents watch and control the proceedings of those who, besides the honour, had the responsibility of officially representing their sovereign. 'One word from the Nuncio,' said the Cardinal de Joyeuse, 'has more weight with the Pope, and influences him more, than whatever the interested parties may write' (1587).

Morosini, born of an illustrious Venetian family, had a well-deserved reputation as a diplomatist. Wherever he had been as an ambassador—at Turin, in Poland, in Madrid—he had left the pleasantest recollections. As 'bailli' (deputy) at Constantinople, he had intimidated the Sultan by a proud answer at the very time when the latter condemned him to death. He then left the diplomatic career, became Bishop of Brescia, and, at the request of Cardinal de Joyeuse, was appointed Nuncio in Paris after the death of the Archbishop of Nazareth. As a Venetian he had always been favourable to France. In his new capacity he could render the greatest services to Henry III. Pisany and De Joyeuse never ceased praising his 'tact and his ability, which are so necessary in considering the temper of the man

(Sixtus V.) with whom he has to deal.' Morosini managed matters so well that he succeeded, at least for a time, in gaining the confidence of both the Pope and the King. Thus it was that seeing the embarrassment of Henry III., the attitude of the League, the progress of the Huguenots in the south, and learning, by his correspondence from Rome, that the Pope had become a colder partisan of the Guises, Morosini, who likewise took into account the position of the King of Spain, whose Armada was then sailing towards England, proposed, on his own responsibility, to the King and Queen a political combination which, had it been realized or capable of being so, would suddenly and materially have changed the aspect of Europe. He proposed an intimate alliance, or union as it was then called, between Philip and Henry. Sixtus V. caught at the idea with enthusiasm. Was it not in fact his own idea—was it not what he had always advised? If the two kings were sincerely united, and acted honestly together and with him, heresy in France and in the Netherlands would soon be at an end. England and Germany would afterwards follow, and, as he would always have the upper hand, he would be able to watch over the safety of France and the maintenance of the European equilibrium. He therefore enthusiastically adopted the views of his legate, called for Gondi, spoke to him at length upon the subject of the Spanish policy and especially of the relations between the Courts of Madrid and the leaders of the League, and told him of his correspondence with Philip on the subject. 'He had written,' he said, 'formerly to the King of Spain to

beg of him not to encourage the enemies of the Very Christian King. His Majesty in reply had acknowledged 'that he gave help to the League, not by way of arming them against their sovereign, but to protect them against their enemy. As to the enterprise against England, the Court of Rome had signed a convention with the King of Spain, which he intended to read in public consistory as soon as the Armada had made its appearance in British waters. The world would then know whether the Holy Father had or had not taken care of the interests of France. To do otherwise would have been unbecoming the duties of a Pope.'

The day after this interview, Sixtus V. spoke about it to Olivarès.[1] He told him that Morosini had suggested the idea of a union between the two kings; that he had spoken of it to the Spanish ambassador in Paris; that Don Bernardino de Mendoza had received these overtures with favour, and made no doubt of his sovereign's assent. He told him how advantageous such an alliance would be, as regards Flemish affairs and the war with England. Olivarès, who was ignorant of his sovereign's intentions, proposed to send an extraordinary messenger to Madrid, bearing the proposals and letters of His Holiness. What struck the ambassador most was, that Sixtus V. evinced a desire to take upon himself to mediate between the two sovereigns.

Meanwhile Henry III. had, through the medium of Mendoza, taken a direct step in Madrid. But Philip II.

[1] Cardinal de Gondi to Henry III., July 25, 1588.

was obstinately silent. Months elapsed before he could or would make his wishes known. Sixtus V. was exceedingly displeased, and Olivarès thought it prudent to recommend Philip not to delay his answer any longer, and especially to let the Pope be the first to receive it. He had besides some difficulty in penetrating the secret motives of those who recommended and desired such a combination. Nothing was more natural than that the unfortunate Henry should seek for help wherever he could find it, even in the enemy's camp. But what about the Pope and Morosini? There were certain points which he could not clear up. 'The cardinal-legate is a Venetian,' he wrote to Philip. 'How can he propose an alliance between France and Spain, which must be odious to the Republic and to the whole of Italy? The Grand-Duke of Tuscany will be seriously injured.' The ambassador was perhaps right in attributing the motives to the personal ambition of Morosini. Would not a cardinal who had worked the miracle of uniting those two kingdoms, and who therefore must seem to be neutral and yet in good understanding with both crowns, possess great chances at the next Conclave? As to the Pope, who offered to become the mediator, he must evidently have hoped to have the whip-hand of both parties, if only by letting them suppose that such an alliance might be concluded. To raise these expectations in Paris and in Madrid might probably prove more important for him than their realisation, or than the achievement of a union so difficult to bring about and still more difficult to maintain. Such were the suppositions of the Spanish ambas-

sador. In our eyes the perfect sincerity of Sixtus V. can no more be doubted than his wish to become the supreme arbiter between the two Powers. He had no illusions as to the difficulties and impossibility of a long and lasting alliance between the two States whose rivalry constituted as it were an element of their political existence. A temporary reconciliation, however —a common action against the common enemy, the Huguenots—did not seem to him to be chimerical. But, even in this respect, his hopes were soon dispelled.

The news from France was bad. He learnt with feelings of anger, as well as of contempt for Henry III., that Lesdiguières had taken absolute possession of the Dauphiné. 'We are asked,' he said to Pisany, 'to give 3,000 scudi a month, merely to spare Lesdiguières! Since your king loses his provinces one by one, each man taking what he likes, we shall do the same. We will send 12,000 men into Dauphiné, and shall take possession of that province, without prejudice to the King, since it no longer belongs to him.'[1]

When the convocation of the States at Blois was known, Cardinal de Joyeuse[2] observed to the Pope that the States had always proved the best remedy against the public evil, and that kings were generally those who would not hear of convoking them; but that on this occasion it was the King who had proposed that they should meet, and convoked them of his own accord: that all well-thinking persons, therefore, hoped greatly

[1] Pisany to Henry III., August 8, 1588.
[2] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., September 1588.

that the results would turn out satisfactorily for the welfare of the kingdom and of His Majesty's authority. Sixtus disapproved of the measure, saying that 'the Princes will be there also, and will not do all the good that can be wished.'

Events soon proved him to be in the right.

The States met at Blois in the middle of September. The spirit of the League, and, as we now call them, radical opinions, prevailed among the members. The royal prestige was daily getting lowered. Henry III. encountered a series of defeats one after the other, and one step more would make the Duke of Guise King of France.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MURDER OF THE DUKE AND THE CARDINAL OF GUISE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE first news of the murder of the Duke and of the Cardinal of Guise, which was committed at the château of Blois on the 23rd and 24th of December 1588, reached Rome by a messenger of the Savoy embassy. It was confirmed on the following day (January 5, 1589) by the despatches of the Legate, and the King's letters to M. de Pisany.[1] The author of the crime felt that he must excuse himself. 'The late Duke of Guise,' wrote the King, 'was thinking of nothing short of depriving me of my life and of my crown. The peace of my subjects was also at stake. . . . You will inform His Holiness of this, and will tell him that his holy and personal admonitions, as well as the example which justice required, have taken away any scruples I might have had. I feel confident that the Pope will praise what I have done, which was not only lawful but pious, since it had for its object to insure the peace of the public by the death of a private individual.' To captivate the Pope, he conceived the incredible notion of

[1] Henry III. to Pisany; Blois, December 24, 1588. The original, which formed a part of the collection of Lucas of Montigny, has been published in 'Revue rétrospective.'

adding, 'I have been thinking of recognising the good offices of Cardinal Montalto, by sending him a portion of the things which belonged to the Cardinal of Guise, and you may speak to him on the subject if you think fit. *I forgot*,' he added, as a *postscriptum* to the letter, which bore the date of the second murder, that of the Cardinal of Guise—'I forgot to tell you that I have also got rid of the Cardinal of Guise, who had the impudence to say that he would not die before he had held my head to shave it and make me a monk. . . . You may also tell His Holiness that it suited me to act in this wise, unless I wished to allow so dangerous an element of discord to go about free among my subjects.'

The Legate's reports gave the details of this catastrophe. Cardinal Morosini resided at Blois. When he heard of the murder of the Duke, he vainly sought to enter the palace. He could only see the King on the morrow after the death of the Cardinal of Guise, at the time named by Henry III., who was still quite intoxicated by his triumph. 'Monseigneur Legate,' the King had written, 'I am now king. I have resolved no longer to tolerate injustice or ill-treatment. I shall maintain this good resolution to the prejudice of whosoever may oppose it, following in this the example of our Holy Father, of whose words I have kept a good recollection, when he continually declared to me that I must be obeyed, and punish those who offend me. Since I have attained my end, I shall receive you to-morrow, if you please. Good-bye.'[1] The Legate's reports

[1] Correspondence of Morosini with Montalto.

bear the mark of great embarrassment. He deplores the act, and blames it, but cautiously. He finds himself in a difficult position. If he says all he knows and thinks, he runs the risk of putting the Pope in too violent a passion, and of making him commit an act which would be too compromising: if, as Legate, he has recourse to a scandal, such as his departure from Court or the excommunication of the murderer would produce, he would become responsible for the policy of the Holy See. If he remained—if he confined himself to merely blaming the King to the King, he runs the risk of incurring his master's displeasure; but then at least his master, the Head of the Church, will be spared, if he himself is compromised. This last plan, therefore, he adopted. Though it was the wisest, the most generous, and the most meritorious, it was at the same time the most ungrateful, and the least likely to be appreciated. Such it was then; such will it ever be. When passion rules the counsels of kings, the diplomatic agent, who is sufficiently enlightened and courageous not to make himself the instrument of these passions, is sure to displease; but he is also sure to serve the interests of his country. Morosini therefore merely confined himself to giving an account of his interview with the King, of the exhortations he made while walking with him in the park of the palace, and to describing the generally bad impression which the murder had left on the public. The enemies of the Guises alone, he saw, rejoiced over their death. Men of sense expressed pity, but not appro-

bation. Among these was the Queen-Mother, who was ill, and almost dying. With her great experience and her sound judgment—which was more just than that of her son, of a less prejudiced and less passionate nature—she did not deceive herself as to the gravity of the crime, and foresaw its disastrous consequences.

M. de Pisany was received on the 6th: he communicated the facts, and found the Pope less angry than he had expected. The Holy Father spoke to him with calmness, and did not fail, on this occasion, to allude unkindly to the policy of his predecessor. He accused the Cardinals of Sens and of Como of being, after Gregory XIII., the principal authors of all these evils.[1]

After the French ambassador, the Venetian envoy was announced.[2] 'What do you say?' exclaimed the Pope, when he saw Gritti. 'We cannot praise, but must condemn the Duke of Guise's first act, which was to arm and ally himself to other princes against his King. It was not his business to take up arms against his sovereign; and, though he chose to put forward religion as his pretext, he had no right to go against his King, nor to dictate the law to him. It was a breach of duty, and a sin; for no vassal can command or force his master. He may warn, exhort, persuade him, but to revolt is not to be excused; it is a sin. If for this reason therefore the King had proceeded against him, and punished him, nothing could have been said; for he was the King's subject, and the decision could not but have been approved. The Duke's second act was

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., January 9, 1589.
[2] G. Gritti to the Doge, January 7, 1588.

his arrival in Paris, a few months ago, followed by only seven horsemen. He went to the Queen-Mother, and then to the King. If the latter had wished to proceed against him, he could have done it then; he could have had him arrested and punished, and if he had put him to death, and thrown his body out of the window, no one would have moved a step, and there would have been an end of the matter. The King was wrong not to do so then. He would have been applauded by everyone; but, as you know, he fled and went to Chartres. Now the third act has taken place. The King is a sovereign, and the Duke a subject; and the King can chastise that subject. He is not obliged to give an account of his conduct to anyone. But when he had been reconciled with him, when he had admitted him as a member of his Council and to his intimacy, to call the Duke to his room, and to have the man massacred who went to him in all confidence—that is an act which we cannot approve, for it is not an act of justice, but a homicide. He should have had him arrested, have had him impeached, and then act as he thought fit; for he is a king, and all would have been right, because the laws and ordinary forms of justice would have been respected. Had an insurrection taken place, he could have had him killed without trial (*tumultuariamente*); but to kill him as he did was a homicide and a sin, not justice, and we are grieved that the King should have done so. As regards the Cardinal, if the King had any complaints against him, why did he not address himself to us? We would have summoned the Cardinal to Rome, and all would have been settled. If he had

not come, we would have punished his disobedience by depriving him of his cardinalship, and then the King could have dealt with him as he pleased. We said so to the ambassador who was here before you, and we asked him what prince ever dared kill a cardinal? In fine, the King has done wrong in thus treating people with whom he had become reconciled.' The Pope seemed grieved and troubled: he complained of the heavy responsibility of his duties, while he acknowledged that everyone 'prefers his troubles to those of others, and that St. Augustine had said with justice that, if the sufferings of humanity were shut up in a room, and if men were allowed to choose which of them they would prefer, each man would rather have his own than those of his neighbour. And yet we are the Pope! When we were only cardinal, we lived in much greater peace of mind, and had not to ponder the question as to whether we should excommunicate a king, or summon him to Rome, or take some such step.'

Towards the evening, and although it was not his day for an audience, Olivarès went to the Vatican. He returned the next day, and to the great displeasure of Cardinal de Joyeuse remained there 'a whole hour.'

The Sacred College, on hearing of the murder of one of its members, had expressed its indignation. 'The Spanish faction,' wrote Joyeuse to Henry III., 'exaggerates the event; so much so that, had your Majesty put to death the Spanish ambassador who is at your Court, these Spaniards could not have shown greater regret.' He supposed, with truth, that during his two

audiences, Olivarès 'had considerably embittered the judgment of His Holiness.'[1] The latter found the Pope somewhat perplexed.[2] 'All depends,' he wrote to Philip, 'upon the turn which affairs will take in France, and upon the attitude which your Majesty will assume. I shall try and give courage to His Holiness, and excite him as much as I can, without, however, pledging your Majesty too much, unless the requirements of the moment compel me to do so.' The King's instructions to him were not long coming. Philip was resolved to go to war. The Duke of Guise had been his confidant, his agent, and the principal instrument of his will. He must now tear the veil which had been so transparent to everyone, and appear on the scene. Olivarès was ordered to excite the anger of the Holy Father; the Duke of Parma was instructed to revive the courage of Mayenne, to hold himself in readiness, and, as soon as war was declared, to take possession of Cambrai; finally Don Bernardino de Mendoza was told to prepare in Paris the means of resistance.'[3]

After the ambassador came Cardinal de Joyeuse.[4] He had hardly begun when the Pope cut him short. An animated discussion took place between them, if it can be called a discussion, when two people, without listening to one another, strive as to who shall speak the loudest. 'Having by his anger raised my own ire,' he wrote to the King, 'he so acted that I listened to him no more, and we both screamed at each other.' The

[1] Olivarès to Philip, January 9, 1589. [2] 'Un poco de perplexidad.'
[3] H. Lippomano to the Doge, January 18, 1588.
[4] Joyeuse to Henry III., January 9, 1589.

Pope repeated what he had said to Gritti, and the Cardinal reminded the Pope of his own words, on the occasion of the 'day of the barricades,' when he regretted that the King had not thrown Guise out of the window. Sixtus V. was obliged to allow this, 'but could not parry or do else than get angry.'

The protector of France held that, as regards the Duke's death, his sovereign was responsible only to God, and that it was only out of honesty and from his respect for the Head of the Church, that His Majesty had mentioned the fact to him. As to the Cardinal, the King not only informed the Pope of what had taken place, but asked for his forgiveness. Sixtus replied that His Majesty must write himself to request absolution, and that meanwhile he would speak of it to the cardinals.

It was the resolution taken by the Holy Father of communicating these events to the Consistory that chiefly alarmed the representatives of Henry III. Neither Pisany nor Joyeuse, who both had a second audience on the 8th, could dissuade him.

The Consistory took place on the following day. According to custom, the cardinals had private interviews each with the Pope before he opened the meeting. Their resentment, and the observations which they made to him,[1] were such as to increase the indignation he felt, and the grief and fears which he experienced.

[1] See Olivarès' report to Philip, quoted previously :—'Todos concuerdan en que el Papa habló con grande afecto y accedió bien á lo que en la silla le dijeron los Cardinales.'

When, according to usage, on the seventh occasion of his appointing to cardinalships, he had heard the new cardinals, a great silence pervaded the sala. With visible emotion on his countenance, the Pope was long in breaking it. At last he exclaimed: 'It is with the deepest sorrow that we announce to you the perpetration of an unheard-of crime: the murder—the murder—the murder of a cardinal, killed without trial, without being judged, and contrary to the law, by secular force, without our authorization or that of the Holy See.' He continued in this tone, confining himself, however, to speaking of the Cardinal, and making no reference to the Duke of Guise. His allocution was a long and eloquent pleading against Henry III., whom he accused of being unjust, cruel, ungrateful, and disrespectful to the Holy See. He called upon him the punishment of Heaven, and claimed for himself the right and the duty of chastising him. The King's ambassadors,' he said, 'have thrown themselves at our feet. They have requested absolution for their master, but the latter, in writing to us, does not even allude to it. Parricidal and sacrilegious, he has no word of repentance to express for his crime.' He gave vent to all his indignation when he told how the King, in his letter, insinuated, that in committing this crime, he had followed his example.[1] He quoted modern and ancient history, announced the appointment of a Congregation *ad hoc*, and made a violent sally against some cardinals, who, forgetting their own

[1] This passage is omitted in Tempesti's official text.

dignity, and to his great surprise, had ventured in his presence to excuse the crime, without reflecting that it concerned the honour and the safety of the whole Sacred College. 'We do not ask again to become cardinal ourselves. We are not likely to ask a prince or king to intervene in our favour so that we may obtain a purple gown. It is not of us that we are speaking, but of you—of you who seem to wish to be deprived of the liberty, honours, pensions, and privileges which you enjoy, and to become the objects of contempt to princes and kings! Be sure that if we allowed the assassination of a cardinal to go unpunished, you might all of you run the risk of sharing his fate.'

Cardinal de Joyeuse, to whom these words were specially addressed, got up to answer, but the Pope, in a weakened tone of voice, ordered him to be silent and to sit down; and as the intrepid protector of the interests of France stood up notwithstanding, the Pope ordered him out of the room.[1] Cardinal Santa Severina, who was appointed to preside over the Congregation, interposed in favour of Joyeuse when the Consistory was over, pleaded his youth and his ignorance of the rules as an excuse for his conduct, and did this so well that, at the next Consistory, Joyeuse, who had first wanted to leave Rome, threw himself at the Pope's feet, and consented to ask his pardon for the affront which His Holiness had inflicted upon him.

The first result and natural consequence of the murder of the Guises was a momentary amelioration in

[1] In his letter to Henry III. the Cardinal speaks of his efforts to speak, but hides the fact of his being expelled.

the relations between Sixtus and Spain. His dream of an alliance between Philip and Henry III. was over. Olivarès noted with pleasure that the Congregation appointed to inquire into the crime was well composed. Santi Quattro, Facchinetti, Lancelloto, Pinelli, Mattei, were all men after his own heart, except perhaps the last, who might be rather inclined to France;[1] but the nature of the question, he thought, must prevent any faltering. In these days of great excitement, he often saw the Holy Father, and found him very much irritated against the Legate. The note especially which Henry III. had written to him made him fear some treasonable act. He suspected Morosini of having advised the murder, and intended to make him expiate his fault dearly. He no longer called him otherwise than the secretary of the King of France, but hesitated as to replacing him by another. His anger and his anxiety showed themselves in imprudent speeches, which were carefully noted and sent to Madrid by his sworn enemy the Spanish ambassador. Cardinal de Sens, who was known to be a liar, related what the Pope had said, or what he pretended that the Pope had told him. He said that he had been once the witness of a farewell audience granted by the Pope to an agent of the Duke of Guise, the Abbé d'Orbais, who was leaving for France, and that the Pope had thus expressed himself: 'Tell "His Majesty" the Duke of Guise to hold himself in readiness. We shall presently break with the King.' Olivarès

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., January 11, 1589.

believed and repeated all that the cardinal had told him, giving however his authority; for no man of so passionate a nature could be more prudent or more conscientious. He made this a pretext to call his master's attention to the question of the succession, which was then being much discussed in Rome, where, since the events at Blois, Henry III. was looked upon as an obstacle to the pacification of France. It was even questioned whether it would not be wise to 'deprive' him, and to elect already a successor to him.

Olivarès was convinced that in this matter Sixtus would follow out the wishes of Philip, if only because it was impossible for him to do otherwise. 'The news from Paris,' he wrote, 'is good. Everyone is alive. We must not let the French have time to calm down.' He even took upon himself—so imminent did the crisis appear to him—to recommend the Governor of Milan, the Duke of Terranuova, to make military preparations and to hold himself ready to co-operate with the Duke of Mayenne. The latter had lost no time in making Philip aware of his intention to revenge his two brothers. He was master, he said, of Le Hâvre, Burgundy, and Champagne, and quite resolved to march upon Paris. Through the medium of the Spanish ambassador at Turin, Don José de Acuña, who addressed himself with this object to the Duke of Terranuova, he asked and obtained a subsidy of 50,000 ducats.[1]

For Sixtus V. these were evil days. Both parties

[1] Acuña to Philip II. Turin, January 12, 1589.

were very violent around him. The Spanish faction and the agents of the League insisted on his declaring openly in favour of the Union. The ambassadors of Henry III., M de Pisany, and Jerome de Gondy who had lately arrived in Rome as a special envoy to treat of the affairs at Saluzzo, and all the French partisans, who were warmly but prudently supported by Gritti, tried to calm him, spoke of the dangers of a Spanish intervention, and implored of him not to enter into a common line of action with Philip. To gain time, and to act according to events, Sixtus alleged that he must, before he could do anything, learn what the Congregation had decided. In this crisis, and under the impression of the news from France, which was daily more favourable to the League, while Mayenne was marching on Paris, while the Sorbonne declared the people free from their allegiance to the King, while Henry III. sought for an alliance, or, as he timidly called it, a truce with the King of Navarre; and while the ambassadors of Spain, France, and Venice were besieging the Vatican, the anti-Spanish feeling showed itself everywhere, notwithstanding the immense influence which Philip exercised in Rome. 'It is the maxim of this Court,' Olivarès wrote to the King, 'that the King of France must be supported; for, although he inspires distrust, yet they think that, if France falls, Italy must become the slave of your Majesty.'

The Pope had sent word to M. de Pisany that he must not attend chapel. He refused to see him in private audience, and no longer received him except at his particular request and as an exception, wishing

thereby to show the horror which he felt at the murders committed at Blois.

On the other hand, Olivarès saw him almost every day. His interviews were of the highest importance. Since the letter by which Philip had made known his intention of interfering in France by force of arms, in the event of Rome accepting the conversion of 'the Béarnais,' Olivarès had received no further instructions respecting the affairs of France. He had nevertheless taken upon himself, as we have seen, to recommend the Governor of Milan to support the Duke of Mayenne. Now he gave the Holy Father the last news from Paris. That city asked that Duke Alexander of Parma should make a military demonstration in its favour on the frontiers of Flanders. What did His Holiness think of it? Sixtus replied that the idea did not seem to him to be a bad one. The ambassador found him lukewarm and reserved. Far from appearing to resent strongly the conduct of Henry III., the Pope, as he had heard, had actually tried to palliate his speech in the Consistory to M. de Pisany. To give to this manifestation, however, the widest publicity, Olivarès took care to spread a number of copies about the country in France and in Italy. He consoled himself besides in thinking that if matters went ill in France, 'Sixtus would become a liar, and deny that he had ever spared that prince.' One word of the Pope had, however, alarmed him. The Legate had written to say that Henry of Navarre had offered to join the King of France. The Holy Father did not believe the statement, but the announcement took away

sleep from Olivarès. He went back to the palace, and the Pontiff assured him that if the union between the two Henrys did take place, it would not be through his intervention.

The end of January 1589 had come,[1] and already such a contingency had suggested itself as possible to all minds. Everyone felt that, sooner or later, Henry III. would appeal to the Huguenots. Many of those about the Vatican encouraged the idea, which, according to them, was the only solution in conformity with the interests of Italy. When Quigi Dovara, who had been sent to Rome by the Grand-Duke Ferdinand to invite people to the Duke's wedding, took leave of Olivarès, he told the latter ingenuously that he had maintained before the Pope, who did not seem to be of a contrary opinion, how advantageous it would be to pacify France by such means. Of course Henry of Navarre must first abjure, but a National Council might be called for this purpose, and then the Pope would make no difficulty in granting absolution.

The anger and anguish of the ambassador may be conceived. He lost no time in going to Sixtus. 'The King of France,' said he, 'is treating with Henry of Bearn: he intends to propose to the States of Blois that that heretic should succeed him, and "the Béarnais" will have no scruple in solemnly recanting, or falsely converting himself to Catholicism, because he will be approved of beforehand by the Queen of England and by her Protestant ministers.' He recapitulated his master's intentions, and the Pope replied evasively, praising in

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., January 15, 21, and 23, 1589.

a somewhat lukewarm manner the zeal of the King for the holy religion, but considering an alliance between the Kings of France and Navarre as probable. He, however, promised not to come to any decision without previously informing the Court of Madrid. In the eyes of the ambassador this pledge was not enough, but the Pope would not do more. Olivarès therefore left with distrust and apprehensions of all kinds.

His fears, however, were not justified. Sixtus V. had no settled plan. He held exactly the same language to the envoys of Venice and of France. To Gritti he spoke fully, blaming the Republic for having secretly favoured the King of France. He told him that a union between the King and the heretics was no longer doubtful, and that, on the whole, Henry of Navarre was better than Henry III., who would probably meet with the fate of the Guises, which he had himself prepared. Then followed unjust accusations against the Legate, on whom he heaped unmerited reproaches. He even went so far as to tax him with having connived at the murders at Blois. The assertion of Henry III. that he had followed his example, and his gross attempt to bribe him by offering a portion of the deceased Cardinal's spoils to the Pope's grand-nephew, had wounded him to the quick. 'If,' said he, 'we are, as the King says, the example of justice, we will show him how we administer justice in his case. We are not likely to dispense with its forms and procedure. To kill a man without judging him is not to administer justice, but merely to commit an act of revenge. If the King has acted out of revenge, he will be punished

whenever God wills it. If he has acted according to justice, where are the proofs of the trial, and where is the defence made by the accused? He actually considers himself also called upon to judge an ecclesiastic. It would be heresy. We have done for him all that he asked. On our accession, Monseigneur de Nevers asked us to give our adherence to the League. May God forgive those who are the authors of it—Pope Gregory, Como and Sens. The King knows what we replied. We said that subjects must not rise against their sovereigns—that if the King neglects his duty to fight the heretics, they must not dictate the law to him; that we, not they, should exhort him to do his duty. He asked us permission to alienate the temporal goods of the clergy—we granted it; he asked us to make a cardinal—we did it; to give him a nuncio—we sent him one; a cardinal legate, and, against all the rules of the Church, we again in this respect satisfied his wishes. He asked dispensation for a knight of Malta, and, what had never been done before, we gave the dispensation to a brother of Joyeuse. We have done his will in all things. But see the state into which his affairs are drifting. You know the history of Pharaoh: he had exhausted God's patience. When he saw the people of Israel walk through the waves, and himself and his followers swallowed up by the sea, he exclaimed, "*Digitus Dei est hic!*" and what occurs is, in fact, the manifestation of the finger of God.'

As he insisted on the King sending him a person to ask for absolution, Henry confided this mission to

Claude d'Angennes, Bishop of Le Mans.[1] This prelate, on passing through Florence, found that the Grand-Duke Ferdinand was very well disposed towards Henry, and openly approved of the murder of the Guises. When he arrived in Rome, towards the end of February, he alighted at the house of Cardinal de Joyeuse, thinking it was not proper that he should lodge in the house of an ambassador, 'who was a soldier and a married man.' Though suffering from the gout, Gritti was one of the first to visit him. He praised uncommonly the tact, dignity, and agreeable manners of the French prelate. The day after his arrival the Bishop had, with M. de Pisany, an audience of the Pope, and explained at length how the King had been situated, endeavouring to represent the catastrophe at Blois as an act of self-defence which absolute necessity had alone brought about. He contended, as M. de Pisany had done before him, that the King, as sovereign, had no account to give of the punishments which he inflicted upon his rebellious subjects; that it was only out of respect for the Holy Father that he mentioned at all the death of the Duke of Guise; that, as regards the Cardinal, his brother, 'the King's scruples had been awakened by his being told that he was a member of the Sacred College—a fact which His Majesty had not previously thought of, looking as he had only to his manner and acts.' He ended by asking the Pope to give the King 'his holy blessing and prudent and wise advice.'

[1] Bishop of Mans to Henry III., May 15, 1589. Olivarès to Philip II. May 26, 1589. Gritti to the Doge, March 4, 11, and 18, 1589. Alberto Badoer to the Doge, April 29 and May 6, 1589.

Sixtus at first replied calmly, but getting more excited as he spoke, and with that loquacity which was his characteristic, although he said 'that he did not like long discourses.' The information which the Bishop gave respecting French affairs was not altogether the same, indeed was in many respects different to that which he himself received. 'If the King had been in trouble, he was the cause of his own troubles. Respecting the death of the Duke of Guise, he spoke not, since the Duke was a subject of His Majesty, and knew that the King was a sovereign. As regards, however, the homicide committed by the King in killing a man without trial, the King was a subject of the Church and therefore of the Pope, the successor of St. Peter, since the King acknowledged that he belonged to the fold of Christ. But he allowed this to pass lightly, having only to complain bitterly that the King should have touched a cardinal, a member of the Holy See, a privileged being, who was a subject not of the King but of the Pope.' Here he set forward a series of quotations from history, proving how no other sovereign had committed such a crime under similar circumstances. If, by his conduct, the Cardinal had given cause for suspicion, he should have been referred to the Legate, who was a great friend of the King (this was said sarcastically), and sent to Rome. The Pope, 'who was known to be a zealous prince and a lover of justice,' would have seen that the trial of the Cardinal was regularly conducted, and would in any case have prevented any prejudice resulting from it to the King.

He ended by requesting the Bishop to put the object of his mission in writing.

The Bishop of Le Mans said that he was not authorised to give a written document, but granted that cardinals and bishops were subjects of the Church as regards their spiritual duties, adding that as to temporal matters they were responsible to the King, and were not at liberty to disturb the public peace.

The Holy Father did not contend that it was not forbidden to churchmen to be the instruments of sedition; but when the Bishop insisted on the right of his sovereign to punish a cardinal, he stopped him angrily. 'Take care,' said he; 'beware of what you say! *e vedete di non cascar in qualche disordine.*' He was surprised that the King should presume to ask for his blessing when he still held a cardinal and a bishop in prison. In fine, that first and long audience ended somewhat ill.

In a second audience, which took place also in presence of M. de Pisany, the Bishop again touched upon political matters, but the Pope interrupted him at once. 'We have already heard all that,' he said. 'We cannot stop there. That is not the question. The question is about the death of a cardinal. Where is the written document that we told you to give us? As for the King's letters, we do not understand them, nor do we make out what he asks for: absolution, blessing—what does he want? Whoever requires absolution of his sins must confess his sins, acknowledge them, and humbly ask pardon—have a salutary horror of them, and not continue in sin, as the King does, who keeps an

archbishop prisoner.' He enumerated all his grievances against Henry, the blessings which he had poured upon him, and insisted that Cardinal de Bourbon should be sent to Rome, if the King feared his presence in France. When the Bishop observed that such a journey across France, in the present state of the country, was not possible, the Holy Father proposed that he should be escorted by infantry from the Duke of Parma's army. At this Pisany lost patience. 'The King,' said he drily, 'does not wish the Duke of Parma to meddle with his affairs;' whereupon the Pope smiled.

In his third audience the Bishop abstained from all political considerations, but had the courage again to speak upon the question of right. 'The King,' said he, 'acted rightly in self-defence, and there are certain privileged cases in France in which royal judges have a jurisdiction over the bench.'

The Pope, quite beside himself, stopped him short. 'We wonder,' said he, 'at hearing you talk such nonsense. In France the Scriptures are badly interpreted. The New Testament of Luther, of Calvin, of other such heretics, as well as of the Queen of England (of whom, said the Bishop in his report, he spoke willingly, because she was a woman of courage, and could make herself be obeyed), the New Testament of the Duke of Saxony and others, is the same which we have, only they do not properly interpret it, and are therefore heretics.' He put two conditions; the one that the King should ask simply for absolution, and the other that he should liberate, or place in the hands of the Legate, both the cardinal and the archbishop who were imprisoned. If

not, His Majesty would be excommunicated, his subjects no longer bound to their oath of allegiance to him, and his envoy, the Bishop of Le Mans, sent to prison.

No sooner had he expressed these threats than Pisany replied, with a boldness and a dignity of manner which were much appreciated in the diplomatic circle, 'that the King had, by sending the Bishop of Le Mans, given proof of respect and obedience to the Holy Father; that ministers were at liberty to give their master's reasons in full, without fear of intimidation, or being threatened with imprisonment. As to the respect due to His Holiness, he and the Bishop would always bow their heads before him; but in the service of His Majesty they would do their duty as loyal and faithful subjects, and would not be afraid of being put in prison, but would fulfil their mission as they ought, even at the peril of their lives.'[1] The Pope did not answer, but changed the subject.

When Henry III. heard what little success his representatives met with, he decided upon asking for absolution. The Bishop, aided by M. de Pisany, fulfilled this painful duty in his fourth and last audience. He now was acquainted with the 'humour of that Court and the different aims of each,' the never-ceasing intrigues of the Spanish ambassador, and the little esteem in which the King of France was held, who had not even been able to turn his crime to profit. When he presented himself before Sixtus V., he began by retracting the question of right which he had upheld in

[1] 'And with the risk that their heads should be carried to the end of the bridge.'

his preceding audience, and, according to his fresh instructions, knelt down, as well as Pisany, and then said, 'Holy Father, I ask your absolution for the Very Christian King.' The Holy Father told them to get up and to resume their seats. He expressed his pleasure, and added—'sighing loudly, and exclaiming that the affairs of the kingdom of France gave him much concern and no rest—that it should be governed with prudence and judgment, and that a cardinal could be guarded against in a less scandalous manner, and one which would have been equally effective.' He quoted instances, saying 'that the Emperor Charles V., though inwardly delighted that Rome was sacked, and the Pope Clement made a prisoner, ordered the Court nevertheless to wear mourning, and processions to take place for the delivery of the Pope; that King Philip, when he was victorious over Paul IV., who had waged war against him, returned all the towns he had taken, and commissioned the Duke of Alba to go to Rome and sue the Pope for absolution.' The end of this long historical statement was that he would grant absolution only when the cardinal and archbishop had been placed in the hands of the Legate. As a last concession, he said he would be satisfied with a written document, declaring that these two personages were detained by the King's people in the name of the Legate. Such was the end of the mission.

A great event and a small incident contributed to its failure. Despatches from Cardinal Morosini announced the alliance of the King of France with Henry of Navarre, while at the same time the Legate recorded

his departure from the Court of Henry III. This was the event; but the incident was the arrest at Roanne of the Bishop of Mans' majordomo. The letters found upon his person were sent to Rome. The bishop and the ambassador both wrote to the King that His Holiness only wished to humble him; that a little firmness would soon make him change; that besides there was little to hope from him.[1] The Pope showed himself exceedingly displeased, and to his anger the failure of the Bishop's mission was in part atttributed. The fact is more naturally explained by the turn which events had taken in France since the assassination of the Guises. Notwithstanding his ill-treatment of Henry's envoy, he was not desirous of breaking altogether with him, for fear of throwing him entirely into the hands of the Huguenots. The cardinals of the Congregation appointed for the examination of French affairs, were divided as to the opportuneness of recalling the Legate, as the latter seemed ardently to desire. But the Pope, rightly supposing that such a measure would be interpreted as a declaration of the Holy See in favour of the League, ordered the Legate to remain at his post.

That eminent statesman, though unjustly reproached by Sixtus V., had made every effort to prevent an alliance between France and Navarre. He had seized the opportunity of the death of Catherine de' Medici, which he said was favourable to moving her son's heart, to represent to him how great was his sin.

[1] 'Sua Santità gli anderebbe con la baretta in mano.' The Pope gave these details himself to Badoer.—Badoer, June 17, 1589.

'Strive, sire,' he said, 'to get reconciled with God, who is very wroth with you for past offences.' He implored of him not to seek an alliance with a heretic and a man who was condemned by the Church. Henry III., though already in communication with Navarre, swore and gave his word that he would never ally himself to that prince.[1] The Legate was tired of remonstrating in vain, when he received a messenger who was bearer of despatches censuring his conduct. Although Cardinal Montalto had timidly endeavoured to modify the expression of his uncle's displeasure, the despatches left no doubt as to the disgrace into which the Legate had fallen. Morosini replied with dignity: he had executed the orders of His Holiness, and had acted according to the spirit of his instructions; his conscience therefore did not reproach him.[2]

On the other hand the King continued to put him off with honeyed words, which were only so many lies, and at the same time avoided seeing him. When the Legate learnt that Cardinal de Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons, instead of being set at liberty, were to be transferred to the Castle of Amboise, he took advantage of his privileges as an ambassador, and went to the King without asking for an audience. He was told that His Majesty was dressing, but the cardinal would not be stopped. He went into the King's dressing-room, and reproached him warmly. Henry

[1] Morosini to Montalto. Blois, January 15, 1589; deciphered in Rome, Feb. 4.

[2] Morosini to Montalto, January 26, 1589; deciphered in Rome, Feb. 9.

replied that this was one of those cases in which a father does not forgive his son, and that His Holiness would himself advise him during his lifetime to prevent by every means in his power that any other than himself should be King of France.[1]

The relations between that prince and the representative of the Holy See became more and more difficult. When the King proposed to the Legate that he should precede him to Moulins, the latter accepted the suggestion with joy, and the more willingly, he said, as it was on the road to Italy. He, however, was not blind to the real cause, which was Henry's desire to get rid of a disagreeable witness while messengers were passing to and fro from Blois and the camp of the King of Navarre.[2]

On April 3 a truce was signed between the latter and Henry III. The Legate considered that the moment had come when he must take his departure: he went to Moulins. The picture he drew of the state of the country through which he passed was appalling, and exceeded in horror and misery all that now-a-days we have seen of the kind under similar circumstances. Morosini was much struck by it. He believed that if the foreign auxiliaries called to the help of both parties, the League and Henry III., were allowed to come, France must be ruined for ever. The excitement of the partisans of the League was such, and their hatred of the King so great, that there was no chance of a reconciliation. In Lyons a Dominican friar had publicly

[1] Morosini to Cardinal Montalto. Blois, January 31, 1589; deciphered in Rome, Feb. 14.

[2] Morosini to Cardinal Montalto. Blois, Feb. 23, 1589; deciphered March 9.

declared in church that the King was a heretic. The Legate renewed his prayer to be recalled. When Henry III. announced his presence in Moulins, Monsignor Morosini, who was ill, and without news from Rome (for his messengers were stopped), left the town in a hurry. His personal dignity, as well as his official position, did not allow of his seeing again a prince who had become the ally of an heretic. Although the roads were infested with marauders and bands of robbers, he started on his homeward journey. He at last reached Lyons, after experiencing much danger; and protected by the brother of the Duke of Nemours, the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin, he hoped to await in safety, in that town, the authorisation which he had so often asked to return to Rome. Nothing of the kind came. Terror reigned in the town; the population was fanaticised. Suspected people were arrested, some put to death; he himself was not trusted, because he was supposed to be favourable to the King. He was received, it is true, with all the honours due to his exalted rank; but the municipal authorities did not disguise from him how embarrassed they were by his presence among them. He was obliged to explain his conduct to them since the 'unfortunate 23rd of December.' He pacified them with difficulty, but notwithstanding the kind protection of the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin, his position was untenable.[1] Besides, he no longer doubted that the King of Navarre must finally triumph. What took place before his eyes, in the centre of the League, only confirmed him in this opinion. He

[1] Morosini to Montalto. Lyons, July 26, 1589; deciphered August 5.

saw, however, in his victory the victory also of heresy; and when the rumour of the death of the leader of the Huguenots, which for several days had been spread all over Lyons, was confirmed, he wrote as follows to Montalto: 'It has not pleased God to grant us such a blessing, for that death alone could prevent this kingdom falling under the dominion of the heretics.' The consequence of this news being denied was that a deputation of thirty-six provosts of the town came to him, praying that, considering the feverish excitement of the population, he would leave Lyons. He was accused of keeping up secret intelligence with the enemy's camp; of having pledged the Catholic princes and prelates to join the two Henrys; of organizing in the town a rising in their favour. He tried to undeceive them, and invited them to search his house. 'The arms which you will find in my house,' he said, 'are breviaries.' He finally refused to leave, and he remained.[1]

In Rome Count Olivarès, who highly censured the Pope's lukewarmness, tried to force him to issue a monition. On the other hand Alberto Badoer, who had replaced Gritti, incessantly called the Pope's attention to the inconvenience to which such a measure would give rise. His language in this respect was in strict conformity with his positive instructions: 'Represent to the Pope,' wrote the Doge, 'how serious matters have become. In Constantinople there is already a rejoicing at the expected general conflagration which must fatally arise out of the difficulties in France unless the fire is at once put out. The Holy Father must

[1] Morosini to Montalto. Lyons, August 9, 1589; deciphered August 19.

think of it, and interfere. He must not always be too rigorous, but indulgent, to Henry III., and take into consideration the circumstances and difficulties of the times: he should follow the impulse of his kind heart.'[1] These respectful and friendly remonstrances only increased the Pope's difficulties. 'What can we do,' he replied, shrugging his shoulders, 'if the King will not be saved? We have shown great patience. He goes from bad to worse. What can we do?'

'Take courage,' replied the ambassador; 'you will find in your wisdom the means of remedying past evils, and preventing greater evils which seem imminent.'

'God help us!' exclaimed Sixtus V., 'we are at a loss what to do.'

The intervention of the Republic of Venice in favour of Henry III. had not escaped the notice of Olivarès, who, when Badoer called on him for the purpose of explaining its true nature, censured the partiality of the Venetian Government, and let out that in Madrid it was well known that Venice had sent sums of money to Henry III. He declared that the union between the two Henrys had totally changed the position of affairs; that his master was about to pronounce himself openly in favour of the League; that the tenderness shown by Venice to France was strange, and testified little zeal for the Catholic faith, since its moral support, which was apparently lent to Henry III., was in reality given to 'the Bearnais.'

After long hesitation, the Pope at last came to a

[1] Doge to Alberto Badoer, April 29, 1589.

decision. On the 5th of May he held a Consistory; commanded all the cardinals present to maintain the most absolute secrecy; drew a dark picture of the state of France; caused some diplomatic correspondence to be read, and ended by communicating the project of monition, which the Assembly hastened to approve. On the 12th the document was sent to the Legate, with orders that it should be published on the very day of its publication in Rome. By it, the King was summoned, under the penalty of excommunication, to set at liberty the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons within ten days, and to appear, either himself or by representative, in Rome within sixty days. Some days later the monitory was communicated to the ambassadors of France, Spain, Venice, Savoy, and Tuscany. The Pope sent a prelate to Olivarès to explain how he had been under the necessity of coming to this; 'as if,' wrote Olivarès to Philip, 'it was necessary for him to excuse that act, instead of excusing rather his slowness and want of resolution.' The Pope spoke of it to Badoer. His arms were always open, he said, to receive the King, and it was only out of a feeling of propriety (*per modestia*) that in the monitory he had made no allusion to His Majesty's union with the heretics; but in reality it was that very union that had determined the head of the Church to issue his summons.

The Chevalier Verita, who was Secretary of State to the Grand-Duke, had on that day a long audience of the Pope. The Holy Father reproached him severely, considered his master's conduct to be monstrous,

favourable as it was to the King of France, and so contrary to the obligations under which his family were to Charles V. and to Philip; and equally imprudent, since it exposed the Grand-Duke to all the resentment of the Spaniards, and Italy to the difficulties which must arise out of it. These words are significant, and deserve to be noticed; for they serve to show, among other signs, that at that time Sixtus V. saw no hope of salvation except in an alliance with Spain.

The representatives of Henry III. vainly tried to obtain that the publication of the document should be delayed; but, seeing that this was not possible, they hastened their departure before it could be published. Cardinal de Joyeuse and the Bishop of Mans both took leave of the Pope. The latter, still under the impression left by the Bishop's letters which had been intercepted, said to him, 'Tell the King what you have seen here, and, above all, no lies!' Pisany considered it more becoming his rank to leave without an audience. Excepting his domestic happiness, which he found in Rome, by his marriage with a charming Italian lady, a Savella, he never experienced at the Pontifical Court anything but humiliation and disappointment, and both his embassies ended in a quarrel. On his way to France, he fell in, between Florence and Pisa, with the messenger from Lyons, and amused himself by confiscating the Pope's letters and those of Cardinal de Sens.[1] Bad luck seemed to follow in his wake. His boat was taken by the famous

[1] Badoer to the Doge, June 17, 1589.

corsair Barboset. The Bishop of Le Mans gave himself up a prisoner. Pisany was allowed to remain in his own boat, under the surveillance of the corsair's men. During the night he and his followers fell upon the latter; a sanguinary encounter ensued, and the military diplomatist fought bravely, killed a number of corsairs, and managed to reach in safety a small harbour near Narbonne. When the Pope heard of it he forgot all his grievances, and praised 'the fine determination' of the former ambassador.[1]

A few hours after his departure, however, on the morning of the 24th, the monitory was placarded in Rome, at the usual places, in the midst of a crowd of people curious and anxious to read it. The public looked upon the act as an important event. It really was such, for it confirmed the rupture which existed between the Valois and the Holy See. It confirmed that rupture, but did not produce it. In proof of this we have but to compare the dates of the events in France with the progress of the Bishop's mission. The interviews of the Bishop, who arrived in Rome on February 25, come down to the middle of the ensuing month. During that time Henry III. followed up a double negotiation: one with the League, which rejected his advances, the other with the King of Navarre, who met them. The news received from the King's agents in Rome was not favourable. He was, however, led to hope that if he would consent to ask pardon, while maintaining a proud attitude, the Pope might be inti-

[1] Badoer to the Doge, July 29, 1589.

midated, and the incident which had arisen out of the death of the Guises might be dropped, to his satisfaction. Following this advice, the King asked for absolution, but refused to set free the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons. The fourth audience, during which the Bishop of Mans communicated his determination to the Pope, took place at the end of April. Yet, on the 3rd of that same month, a truce had been signed between the Kings of France and Navarre, and on the 21st the treaty had begun to be put into force by the handing over of Saumur to the troops of Navarre. The alliance between Henry III. and the leader of the Huguenots was therefore henceforth an accomplished fact, and it was on hearing of this that, in the Consistory of the 5th of May, the Pope, with the approbation of the whole of the Sacred College, decided on drawing up a monition. He hesitated for another week as to publishing it, and it was only on the 12th that the document was sent to the Legate, who never received it. On the 24th its publication took place in Paris and in Rome. Since April 30 the interview between the two kings had sealed their alliance. It is wrong, therefore, to attribute to Sixtus V. the fact of its being brought about. The union between the two princes was inevitable: it was the necessary and fatal result of the attitude assumed by the Duke of Mayenne after the bloody *coup d'état* of Blois. Henry III. had aimed a blow at the leadership of the League, not at its heart. Instead of destroying, he had given to it new strength. After this there remained for him nothing but a union with Henry of Navarre.

As regards Rome the whole question lay here. The murder of a member of the Sacred College, and the imprisonment of another, were merely insisted on *pro formâ*. The real motive of the quarrel was Henry's abandonment of the cause of religion. Such at least his alliance with 'the Béarnais' was supposed to be in Rome. That alliance was not necessarily the triumph, or in the future the necessary succession to the throne of France, of a Protestant prince, but it might probably lead to that result. In the eyes of Sixtus V., the serious event was not the catastrophe of Blois, but its consequences—the fusion of the interests of the two kings. It did not belong to him, nor even would it have been prudent, to speak from the chair of St. Peter of the temporal interests of a foreign country. The public temper of the times would not have allowed the interference of the Papacy in the internal affairs of other States. The Pope, therefore—or, as he said to Badoer, 'out of modesty'—did not speak of the union of the two kings, either in his monition or in his conversations with the Bishop of Le Mans. As it often happens in diplomatic transactions, he had touched upon the question without naming it, in an indirect manner, while confining himself to the facts which rightly came under his notice, and which were connected with the murder and the imprisonment of a member of the Sacred College. To him, the monition was not necessarily a rupture. As a priest and a Pontiff, he still hoped that Henry III. would repent. As a man of politics he wished it more than he hoped for it. The world thought otherwise. The King of Spain,

Olivarès, the Duke of Mayenne, the League, all looked upon Henry's defeat and ruin as an accomplished fact. The friends of the latter declared that he could not submit to the monitory decree. Among those who censured Sixtus V., the Duke of Nevers, who had joined the King since his return from Rome, was one of the loudest in his expressions of blame. He committed them all to writing, in a letter to his agent in Rome, Camillo della Volta, a Bolognese gentleman, who was one of the most officious and troublesome members of the diplomatic body, and, unfortunately for the Holy See, a Roman subject, who, on that account, did not enjoy the privileges of diplomatic immunity. Volta was commissioned to see the Pope, and dexterously to express to him the Duke's feelings of grief and sorrow, to make him beware of false or exaggerated reports which he might receive from France, to acquaint him with the prosperous state of the King's affairs, the distress of the League, and, finally, the reinforcements which Henry III. expected from Switzerland and from Germany. Volta, who was personally hostile to the Pope, took great pleasure in making this letter as public as he could.[1] The Holy Father did not disguise how hurt he felt. 'That Duke,' said he to Badoer, 'came formerly to tell us all kinds of horrors respecting the King, imploring us to join the League, and asserting that King Philip, the Archduke Ferdinand, the Duke of Parma, and other princes would do the same, and that it was the only means of saving the kingdom; but

[1] Duke of Nevers to Volta, July 6, 1589.

we would not listen to him. Now that same Duke of Nevers wishes to act as mediator, and to excuse the union of the King with the heretics; but we tell you that, if the King does not repent, he may meet with the fate of Saul; he will end badly.'[1] Those prophetic words were uttered two days before Henry III. was stabbed by Jacques Clément. Soon after, vague rumours of an attempt against the King's person floated about Rome; but, owing to the interruption of communications in the south of France, it was only on August 20, in the evening, that the Pope received, by a messenger from the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, official intelligence of the assassination.[2] Even in Lyons, it was only known for a certainty on August 16, through a note dated Paris, August 2, written by the Duke of Mayenne to the Duke of Nevers, which the latter had communicated to his brother, the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin. 'Our Lord God,' said the letter, 'has looked down upon us with an eye of mercy at the time of our greatest distress. It is a miracle. The bearer of this letter will give you every detail. Do not doubt it, our worst enemy is dead.'[3]

[1] A. Badoer to the Doge, July 29, 1589.

[2] A. Badoer to the Doge, August 20, 1589.

[3] Morosini to Montalto, August 16, 1589. The Legate translated the French note into Italian.

CHAPTER V.

CHANGES OF POLICY AFTER THE DEATH OF HENRY III.

IN consequence of the death of the last of the Valois, the affairs of France had assumed a new phase. The proclamation of Henry IV., the act which rallied to him all the heads of the Catholic nobility, without his consenting to embrace their creed, produced the most painful impression at the Vatican. 'Henceforth,' it was said in Rome, 'there are but two camps: on the one hand the League, on the other the leader of the Huguenots, who, it is true, is recognised by many Catholics, but who, besides his personal capacity, is strong by the powerful army which he commands, and the nucleus of which is Protestant. If Henry comes out victorious, as is almost certain if the League is left to its single forces, heresy must triumph with him, for it is evident that the Protestant element is in the ascendant among his adherents. It is also very clear that those who placed him on the throne of France will not allow their efforts to benefit the Catholic religion: they are not likely to give up the cause for which they have fought and conquered.' This perfectly logical reasoning was based besides upon the position of affairs at the time, such as it appeared immediately after the death of Henry III., or, at least, such as it

was known, or supposed to be, in Rome towards the end of the month of August. If, however, noblemen, prelates, and Catholic cities continued to espouse the cause of Henry, he would no longer be only the representative of the Huguenot element. The day might even come when the parts would be changed, when the Protestant troops would not be in the majority, and in that case the triumph of Navarre would not necessarily be that of heresy. To understand the conduct of Sixtus V. it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind these two possible contingencies, the second of which had not yet entered his mind at the time of which we are speaking, that is in September and until the end of the year. Then, in his opinion, faith ran the greatest risks in France. To save it at any price, even if Philip (though he hated the thought) should become the arbiter of that country's destinies, appeared to him to be a sacred duty—one of imperative necessity, and second to no other consideration. If Henry III., after he had broken with the League, had been obliged by the force of circumstances to become allied to Henry of Navarre, it was his duty as Head of the Church, when he saw a portion of the Catholic nobility rally round a heretical prince, to strive to save the Church of France by an alliance with the League. If (as he presumed) the League was too weak of itself, then he must ask the King of Spain for protection.

Philip II. had learnt the death of Henry only at the end of August. His delight was great, but not unalloyed; and his Court cried with one eye while it smiled with the other. All the governors of the Spanish

Provinces which were bordering upon France received orders to collect men, and the Duke of Parma was commanded to concentrate his troops in Flanders.[1]

When Sixtus V. assembled the 'Congregation of the Signature' on the 1st of September, he expressed himself with much reserve as to the course he intended to adopt. He did not, he said, intend to mix himself up with the affairs of others.[2] On the 9th, in the Consistory, he spoke of the King's death. It was a not very flattering funeral oration which began by the words, 'A Domino factum est istud.' He then enumerated the favours he had showered upon that unfortunate prince, who had thus been miraculously punished for his crimes. Owing to his not having repented, he regretted he could not order obsequies in his honour. As regarded the League, he had not been asked for help; he would therefore act according to circumstances, and, before he granted subsidies, he should wait until the coalition had made some real progress.

M. de Dieu, who was sent by the Duke of Mayenne, was received on his arrival, but not suffered to assume the character of an ambassador. He was not allowed to make a solemn entrance, or to have a seat at the chapels. Notwithstanding these official reticences, Sixtus decided on adopting the course to which we have pointed—namely, that of strengthening his ties with the leaders of the Coalition, and at the same time with Philip.

As Henry III., during the last days of his life, had

[1] Tomaso Contarini to the Doge. Madrid, September 3, 1589.
[2] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, September 1, 1589.

fallen in the Catholic opinion, the question of succession had assumed greater importance. What were the intentions of the King of Spain? None could tell; all that men knew was, that the Duke of Mayenne had ambitious but powerless views. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany had lost no time in taking steps in Rome, in favour of his father-in-law, the Duke of Lorraine. Sixtus V., without deciding on this point, approved the proclamation of the Cardinal of Bourbon, which had been published in Paris and in the camp of the League. He found that it gave time for an understanding with the Duke of Mayenne, with the Grand-Duke, with Venice, and especially with Philip, who, according to him, had also an opinion to give. 'You,' said he to Nicolini, Ferdinand's envoy—'you never think of any but Italian affairs. We likewise think of them; but, as Pope, we must think still more of religion. We must exterminate the heretics, that is Navarre, and to do so we want the shoulders of Spain.' He spoke in the same sense to Badoer, and to all who came near him. At that moment it formed his sole and intimate preoccupation. 'No doubt,' said he, 'that France is a good and a noble kingdom, which possesses an infinity of livings, and is particularly dear to us: let us therefore try to save it; but we care more for religion than we do for France.' Filled with these ideas, he finally recalled Morosini and appointed another legate, Cardinal Gaetano, 'as particularly agreeable to the King of Spain, and on good terms with the others.' This change of policy was most distasteful to him, nor did he make any secret of it; but it seemed to him the only one he could adopt.

Cardinal Gaetano started on the 2nd of October. He received on the previous day his instructions, which were prepared by the Congregation of France. Its principal points were the following:—

'1st. Your illustrious lordship will not lose sight of the object of this mission, which is to preserve the Catholic faith throughout the kingdom of France, to extirpate heresy, get rid of the heretics, unite in harmony princes, nobles, and people for the service of God, the public good, and the preservation of the realm, in order that, under a good king, they may live in peace in the Catholic religion. Your duty will be constantly to meditate upon the best means of arriving at this end.

'2nd. You will conform to all the private advices which, His Holiness has given you as to what you are to do, during your journey as well as after your arrival in France.'

These private advices are then given in detail. The Legate is to travel as quickly as he can, to see the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and give him the brief of His Holiness, tell him the object of his mission, and ask his advice. He must also visit the other Courts of Italy, but these will evidently be only visits of ceremony. That which he is to pay to the Duke of Savoy, however, must be of a different character. He is to be asked, in the name of the Pope, to join, with all his power, in that 'holy enterprise,' and he must recommend him to avoid that which might awaken suspicion in the minds of the Catholic princes. In Lyons, which was one of the great centres of the Holy Union, he is to

give solemnly, in the Cathedral, the apostolic benediction, and is to transmit to the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin the private blessing of the Pope. He is to convoke the council and aldermen of that town, and beseech them to persevere in that holy union of the Catholics.

He is then, as the state of the country may allow, to choose between the road of the Bourbonnais and that of Burgundy. If he chooses the first road, he must pass through Moulins, Nevers, la Charité, Montargis, Orleans, and Etampes. If he prefers the Burgundy line, he must go through Mâcon, and continue through Châlon, Dijon, and Troyes. During his stay at Lyons, he must inquire how the town and parliament of Grenoble are disposed; and should they be well disposed towards the League and the Catholics, he will send them the Pope's brief through one of the prelates of his suite. He will instruct another prelate to do the same in Provence, especially Marseilles, Aix, and Arles, and in Languedoc, where he must communicate with the Duke of Montmorency. He will then go to Toulouse to see Marshal de Joyeuse, and to Bordeaux, and will place himself in communication with the town and parliament, as well as the governor, Marshal de Matignon, if it be true that the latter has gone against Henry of Navarre. To all these people and bodies politic he will, if he thinks fit, remit the Pope's brief. These private missions must be fulfilled in conformity with the object of the Legation, and the verbal instructions of His Holiness. Wherever the Legate shall pass, he must revive the zeal of the Catholics, and try to bring back the lukewarm to a more fervent faith, and

the undecided to the cause of religion and of the Holy Union.

Sixtus V. attached special importance to the Duke of Nevers being brought round. He was one of the principal personages who had taken up the cause of Henry IV. The Legate is to see the Duke, to tell him the object of his mission, to give him the brief of the Pope and his blessing, to insist on the Pope's good intentions towards the kingdom and all the Catholics of France, and to express his concern for their salvation: to represent to him that, as a Christian, as a nobleman, as a prince, his duty obliges him to side with the Catholics, and therefore to leave off all relations with the Protestants, and, as he did in other times, to unite with the other Catholic princes, in order to exterminate heresy, to preserve the kingdom, and to elect a king who shall be a good and a zealous Catholic. The Legate must likewise strive to detach the son-in-law of Nevers, the Duke of Longueville, from the service of the pretended King of Navarre.

His instructions point out the towns which he is to visit, and the prelates and noblemen whom he is to gain over or confirm in their good resolutions.

He is to enter Paris with the greatest solemnity, and to give the apostolic benediction in Notre-Dame. If the king (Cardinal de Bourbon) is liberated, he is to treat with him, but if he be still a prisoner, with the Duke of Mayenne, with the 'General Council' of the League, and with such princes as may be in Paris. He must state the object of his mission, and assure them of the 'paternal love,' the fervent zeal, desire, and intention of

His Holiness to help them, to favour their cause, and to be useful by all the means of which he can dispose.

His letters of credence were addressed to the Duke of Mayenne and to the 'General Council.' He was to negotiate, as the case might be, with the Municipal Council, the University, the Sorbonne, and the principal personages. If the Duke of Mayenne should be absent, he was not to await his return, but to place himself in direct communication with him. As regarded the 100,000 scudi which His Holiness had given him in letters of credit, and which were destined as a subvention for the Catholics of the League, as well as the sums which were still to be sent, the Legate was to conform to his private instructions concerning the mode and time of payment.

The instructions did not touch upon the question of succession. A member of the Congregation, Fachinetti, had proposed an article providing for the election of the Cardinal de Vendôme after the death of Cardinal de Bourbon. The Congregation considered the question as inopportune. The Legate was simply told to take in that case the Pope's instructions. He was finally to oppose by every means, and even to recommend the Duke of Mayenne to resist by force of arms, the assembling of a national council, and as much as possible the convocation of a general assembly of the princes and noblemen who were partisans of the late King, and were now the allies of the King of Navarre.

This document, and the mention of the large sums placed at the disposal of the Legate, show clearly how resolved Sixtus V. was to resist 'the Béarnais.' The

instructions are equally clear as to the alliance which the Pope was contracting with the League; but they show at the same time what his wish was—namely, to detach the old royalist-Catholics from the party of Henry IV., to effect a union between them and the League, and in fact to collect all the French under a single standard. It was one way of doing away with the League. With this object in view, he wrote to the one and to the other, sending his blessing indiscriminately to the Dukes of Nevers and Mayenne. This was what he called 'neutrality.' He wanted to be neutral, not as regards Henry, but between his Catholic adherents and the League. He also wished as much as possible to preserve his own liberty of action. It was with this object, as much as for the purpose of bringing Catholic Europe to a coalition, that he resumed his former idea of an intimate alliance between the Courts of Italy, and specially of Venice and Tuscany. He requested the Government of the Republic to instruct their envoy in France to reside in future at Paris, and to communicate with the Legate, who was commissioned to act in conformity with the course taken by Mocenigo. He hoped that this alliance, which he intended to extend, would become the means of restraining both the anti-national dispositions of the League and the ambition of Philip.

The news which he received from Venice was not satisfactory. The Republic was evidently in favour of Henry IV. Badoer denied that the Republic had styled him King, but confessed that there was a good understanding between them, which the Pope could

not disapprove of, since it was always far better to soften things down than to embitter them. Sixtus, however, made him understand that he would have to leave Rome, and the Nuncio would be recalled from Venice, should the Republic recognise Henry as King of France.

About this time a sanguinary act of justice, if so we may call it, was performed in Rome. On the 7th of September, as he was coming out of his house, Camillo della Volta was arrested and shut up in the prison of Tordinona. This agent of the Duke of Nevers, of whom we have already spoken, belonged to that class of intriguing men who may be met with in all the great political centres, and who contrive by the back stairs to see those in power, give them the news of the day, whether it be true or false, hear the word of command and spread it about. Such men are ready to serve all parties. They make up for the loyalty and discretion which they lack, sometimes by cleverness, but always by audacity, and make themselves useful at times, though they generally end by compromising those who are imprudent enough and have the bad taste to make use of them.[1] Volta, who was a clever man, was known to be a '*mauvaise langue.*' M. de Pisany

[1] Camillo Volta to the Duke of Nevers. He wrote that, at the Vatican, the news of the murder of the Guises had been hailed with pleasure, and that everyone was delighted that His Majesty was king at last, but that people regretted that the cardinal was not spared: the Pope and the Sacred College were put out at this, but hoped the King would not release the prisoners (!), would treat them well, but keep them in the fear of losing their lives as hostages. All this was a tissue of falsehoods, which were intended to please the King and the Duke of Nevers, but which are sufficient to justify our appreciation of their author.

had to complain of him. Morosini corresponded with him.[1]

His arrest caused some sensation in the diplomatic world. The ambassadors had some difficulty in discovering the cause. They were told that he had spoken rather freely of His Holiness in letters addressed to the Duke of Nevers which had been intercepted, and had therein stated that the Pope had shown great delight on hearing of the death of Henry III.[2] Some time after it was said that Volta's trial was to be based upon three heads of accusation. The one was that he had advised the Duke of Nevers to rally the party of the King of Navarre; the second that he had shown a letter which he said came from the Duke, but which he had himself forged, and in which the Pope was said to have been pleased at seeing France perish, as, of old, Nero from his tower had amused himself in looking down upon the fire of Rome; and, finally, that he had proposed the convocation of a National Council in France and the election of a Patriarch. The Inquisition being intrusted with the trial, the agent's friends began to fear for his life. His son fled to Venice, taking with him the ciphers and compromising papers belonging to his father. The latter was found guilty of having censured the Pope's conduct, and that of other high ecclesiastical authorities

[1] Here is a sample of that correspondence: 'To look out for the rules of the policy followed here, would be to look for the rules of folly. Such however, is the ungrateful task which has fallen to my lot.' And again: 'We live here without a king, without a queen, without war, without peace, and without melons.'

[2] Various correspondence from Badoer, Nicolini, Mario Volta, the Duke of Nevers, Monseigneur de Nazareth, Pisany, and Villeroy, 1586-1589.

in the affairs of France, and to have kept up relations with the Huguenots. During the night of the 14th of October he was beheaded in prison. The next day his body was exposed for two hours at the bridge of St. Angelo, was then carried to St. John of the Florentines, and buried that same evening at the Minerva with all the honours due to a gentleman. This example of severity against so well-known a man was almost unheeded. Cardinal de Sens was the only one who availed himself of it to frighten a secretary of the Cardinal de Gondi, Bishop of Paris, who had come to Rome with messages from the Catholic royalists. He predicted to him the fate of the agent of Nevers, and the abbé, who was nearly dead with fright, took refuge at the Tuscan embassy.

A more serious event made men forget the tragic end of Volta. It was the unexpected arrival of the Nuncio from Venice, who, without asking for orders, had broken off relations with the Republic. A quarrel therefore between the Republic and the Holy See seemed inevitable. This is what had taken place.

The Venetian Government had noticed, with increasing anxiety, during the last month, the turn which French affairs were taking. They deplored the murder of Blois, not that they had too great a partiality for the victims, but because, with their usual foresight, they felt what its consequences would be.[1] Not the least among the dangers resulting from the murder was that

[1] Mocenigo, who was gifted with less foresight than his Government, called the event at Blois an act of great wisdom and of absolute necessity His despatch was published by M. de Mas-Latrie in 1867. Paris.

of seeing Sixtus V. give way to the pressure of Spanish diplomacy, and every effort was made to prevent it.

The Senate sent message after message to the Pope to say that if he opposed Henry III. (then still alive), the united forces of the latter and of the King of Navarre, which were daily increased by the rallying of Catholic gentlemen, and by the natural reaction which the excesses of the League produced in France, might, at a given time, turn against Rome herself, and expose Europe to a universal war, by giving the Turks an opportunity of resuming hostilities. In support of these remonstrances, the Senate produced the reports which it received from Constantinople and from all the Christian Courts. The Senate, in fact, spoke sense; and Sixtus V. never lent a deaf ear to such advice. 'We have but one wish,' the Doge wrote to Badoer, 'and that is to preserve peace throughout Europe. We cannot believe that Sixtus V., who is so great a Pope, will fail in his duty, which is to avert the dangers which threaten the Christian world; and that, following the example of Him whom he represents upon earth, he will use clemency, and will not have recourse to acts which would drive the King to desperation.' The question as regards the Republic lay entirely there. If the Pope interfered by force of arms, and in concert with Philip II., the existence of France was threatened, the Republic could no longer maintain its neutrality, and (which he most dreaded) would be attacked by the Sultan. 'We are aware,' added the Doge, 'that every prince must be respectful to the Church, and that this is a first principle; but there

are extreme cases which compel a departure from rules laid down, and constrain us to accommodate ourselves to the necessities of the times and of circumstances. Besides which, it is not asking too much of the Holy See to take sometimes into account the interests and wishes of princes, since they have so often fought for the preservation of the Church.'[1] When the Republic learnt that the monitory letter had been published, there was no concealment of its disappointment; but, undaunted, it continued its good offices in Rome, and especially endeavoured to bring the Pope to stop on that fatal slope which led to a Spanish alliance. It did not forget its illustrious countryman, Cardinal Morosini, whom Sixtus V. had treated so ill. It defended him well, and succeeded so far as to cause the Legate to be reinstated in the Pope's good graces.

As long as the Venetian Government confined itself to amicable representations, which were not unfavourably received by the Pope, whose anti-Spanish sympathies were shared by Venice, the relations between the two Courts continued, as usual, to be intimate and friendly. But when the Pope learnt that the Republic intended to suit their actions to their words, his fury knew no bounds. He had already been very much put out by the Republic having styled Henry III. 'most serene,' when he was already under sentence from Rome, and his displeasure was greater still when he heard that, after the King's death, the Venetian envoy had received orders to present himself before Henry of Navarre. The Senate, being more than ever afraid

[1] Badoer to the Doge, and the Doge to Badoer, September 1589.

of the Spanish preponderance, thought proper to make excuses. 'A wise prince,' said the Doge, 'endeavours, on political grounds, to maintain he friendship of others. This Republic is specially in the habit of doing so. The King of Navarre, having informed our envoy Mocenigo, through princes of the blood and through cardinals, that, after the King's death, the principal personages in France had sworn fealty to him, and that he had given his promise to maintain the Catholic religion, and expressed his desire to establish good relations with Venice, we were obliged to reply by compliments which do not commit us in any way. But, in following the sage advice of His Holiness, we are resolved to observe the march of events, and to abstain from all intervention.'

The appointment of a new Legate, who should reside in Paris; the nature of the person selected for the mission; his hurried departure (the Pope would not wait for the arrival of the Duke of Luxemburg, which had been announced); and, finally, the desire of His Holiness that the Venetian embassy should be transferred to Paris—all these facts united were likely to increase the suspicions and fears of the Government of the Republic. The rumour of an agreement between the Pope, Philip, and the Duke of Savoy gained ground daily, and in Venice it was thought that the Pope's words did not much correspond with his acts. 'His conduct,' the Doge informed Badoer, 'is such as to attract the heretics into the camp of the Catholic royalists, and to increase rather than prevent the danger of a general conflagration.

These complaints were, however, addressed only to

the ambassador, and could scarcely appear in the respectful language which he was to hold to the Holy Father. He was to instruct him, but not to irritate him, for if once put out he would throw himself into the arms of Spain. If not enlightened, he would perhaps fall into them unawares, simply because he was ignorant of the real state of affairs—such, at least, as the Republic considered that state to be, and such as Badoer was to represent it in Rome.

While the Venetian diplomatists were using at the Vatican all the precautions necessary in their speeches, were sparing the passionate humour of the Pope, and were careful not to offend the religious feelings of the priest; while they silently, but actively, struggled against the efforts of the Spanish party and of the agents of the League, the Nuncio at Venice, Monsignor Matteuci, who was of a less penetrating and more timorous character, fearing to displease if he were too easy, thought to do well by creating a scandal.

In the first days of October, M. de Maisse, who had been the late King's envoy, received orders from Henry of Navarre to appear at Court as the ambassador of France at Venice. The Nuncio at once informed the Doge that if that French gentleman appeared at the public ceremonies which were to take place that day he would leave Venice by order of the Pope. As M. de Maisse had not yet delivered his letters of credence, he was not invited, on that ground. A few days afterwards he informed the Government that his letters had arrived, and requested a public audience as the ambassador of Henry IV. The very next day

Monsignor Matteuci went to the Senate, and inquired whether they intended to treat with the representative of Navarre. He ended his 'uncommon and extraordinary mission' by an eventual protest against the admission of M. de Maisse. 'In consequence,' said the Doge, 'of this serious step, which has troubled our soul,' Badoer was instructed to inform His Holiness 'that the Government of the Republic are ever decided to strive to maintain peace, if threatened, and to remain neutral; but equally resolved to benefit by all rights of sovereignty, and to receive and hear the foreign ambassadors; and in this to follow the example of the Pope and of the Emperor, who has likewise received the agents of the King of Navarre.' To give further explanations on the subject, an envoy-extraordinary was to be sent to the Holy Father.[1]

Monsignor Matteuci had protested. He left the house as M. de Maisse was received in public audience. In the evening, without taking leave, he left Venice for Rome.[2]

It can be easily understood what a sensation such a departure produced in the Council and amongst the people. Cabinet messengers were dispatched that same day to Prague, Madrid, Turin, and Florence, bearing instructions to the several envoys of the Republic, to make known variously to the Emperor, to the King of Spain, to the Grand-Duke, to the Duke of Savoy, or, if the latter were absent, to the Infanta, and to the Duke of Terranuova through the Venetian Secretary at Milan,

[1] The Doge to Badoer, October 11, 1589.
[2] The Doge to Badoer, October 14, 1589.

the facts which we have related—the reception of the envoy from France, and the departure of the Nuncio. The Spanish ambassador was invited to come to the Senate, there to receive similar information. The Senate in these despatches, which were all written with admirable clearness of style, in measured terms, and in a manner suited to the dispositions of the several princes to whom they were addressed, while they never deviated from the truth, expressed a hope that peace would be preserved, announced their firm resolution to maintain neutrality in the event of a war, and urged especially upon Philip that to receive an ambassador from Henry was merely an act of international courtesy which in no way committed the policy of the Republic. This last point constituted the principal, and, let us say it, the weakest argument in these documents.[1]

Leonardo Donato, who had been envoy at the Court of Gregory XIII., and who complimented Sixtus on his accession, was intrusted with the difficult mission of appeasing the wrath of the Pontiff, and of keeping him, if possible, from assuming any but a neutral attitude. He was instructed to mention the facts as they had taken place, and to employ all the arguments we have already made known, to defend the Venetian Government against any unfair imputation, to bring out especially how dangerous would be a war with the Sultan, whose armies were already being concentrated on the Polish frontier, and whose harbours presented the somewhat alarming spectacle of an unusual activity—who, in fact, was evidently preparing a maritime expe-

[1] The Doge to the Venetian Ambassador at Prague, October 14, 1589.

dition, and who seemed to be resolved to invade the Adriatic.[1]

The Nuncio's conduct was severely censured, but with measured expressions. His protest was a breach of sovereign rights, that inestimable treasure handed down from generation to generation in the Republic of St. Mark. If princes there were who were interested in the independence of Venice, they must be the Italian sovereigns, and none among them more than the Pope. In acting as the Republic had done, in giving the title of King of France to the King of Navarre, in receiving M. de Maisse in his new capacity, the Republic had only exercised a prerogative, and had acted with prudence, following the customs and usages common to all nations. It had acted according to precedent, given by Popes and by Emperors; and had obeyed an undoubted maxim of international politeness, which requires that even the envoys of Powers with whom a State is at war should be graciously received. The Holy Father did not object to the Republic receiving M. de Maisse as the ambassador of the King of Navarre, but objected to his being received as the envoy of France. The Republic, on the other hand, would not admit the difference, on the ground that it had no right to solve implicitly the question of succession in France, and that it would be entirely in the wrong if, through such an assumption of right, it brought upon the country the wrath of a prince who had been proclaimed king by the army under the very eyes and with the consent of the dying Henry III.; who had been hailed

[1] Instructions to Leonardo Donato, October 21, 1589.

by princes of the blood, by cardinals, by many prelates, and by a great part of the French nobility; who was besides desirous to preserve the Catholic religion in the country, and had sworn to do so; and who was himself disposed to become a Catholic. Navarre had also raised a hope, which appeared to be justifiable, that he would soon quell the rebellion in France; but how dangerous might he become if, driven to desperation by all issues being closed to him, he were, by the help of the Germans and of all those who daily increased his ranks, to turn against the Catholic princes, and to seek a refuge in a general war, which would set the whole of Christianity on fire, and of which Italy and Rome would no doubt be the first victims! Such were the instructions of the envoy-extraordinary. To facilitate his mission at its outset, M. de Maisse was requested not to appear at the public ceremonies.

While the Republic was trying to avoid difficulties with Rome, events in France were producing somewhat of a reaction upon the feelings of Sixtus V. At times the possibility of Henry's conversion struck him in a less unfavourable light than formerly, when he was at the head of the Huguenots, when he could hope for victory only through them, and when his victory implied the triumph of Protestantism. The adhesion of so many members of the high aristocracy and nobility of France had changed matters. If he gained a victory he would owe it principally to them, and his conversion would follow as a natural consequence. It would not be necessarily a pretended one, for it would no longer be a means of success, since the

Catholics would not have asked it of him before joining his standard. It might even be sincere, and this in the Pope's mind was the essential point. Henry, besides, must in all probability be victorious, and undoubtedly so if Spain did not interfere. Such interference, however, could be much less easily justified after Henry's abjuration, and after his obtaining the forgiveness of the Head of the Church. At one time, but for a moment only, Sixtus V. entertained this idea; and, without belying his previous language, he showed himself more disposed to listen to the arguments of Henry IV.

On his return from Sermoneta, from one of his rare and short excursions, this change, which was but momentary, was noticed.[1] The Pope had at first insisted on the Republic holding no official intercourse with the envoy of the King of Navarre, but afterwards relented, without, however, agreeing to his being recognised as ambassador of the King of France. Now he even conceded this point, but on the condition that M. de Maisse should not reside permanently in Venice.

On leaving his post at Venice, Monsignor Matteuci had lost not a minute in reaching Rome. He had arrived during the absence of the Pope, who, on his return, showed his displeasure and would not receive him. He made no secret of it to Badoer, who suggested that the Nuncio should be ordered back to his post, which, he said, would be the best means of satisfying the Government of Venice. Without a moment's reflection, the Pope rang the bell and told Monsignor

[1] Badoer to the Doge, October 21, 1589.

Bertinat, who was his 'cameriere segreto,' 'to inform Archbishop Matteuci that as he came *incognito*, he was to return at once by the way he had arrived; that he was to get on horseback without delay, and that he wished to know that very evening whether he was gone, as he allowed no answer.' It was evident that he was better disposed. Towards the end of this audience, the conversation took a more important turn, and exceeded all the hopes of Badoer. Sixtus always maintained that an ordinary French ambassador was not to be admitted, that the Emperor acted so, and had never replied to the letters of the King: that he even thought he had committed a sin in reading them, but that on this head His Majesty was mistaken, since one could not sin involuntarily, and he repeated several times that the Republic had a fine opportunity of advising Navarre to be reconciled with the Church. 'If he did so, he would be much favoured, and we would all of us embrace him.' While these intimate outpourings were still going on, the unfortunate archbishop mounted his horse on his way back to Venice, to which place he travelled as quickly as he had travelled from it.

While the Venetian envoy was much delighted, the Spanish ambassador was in the same measure desponding. One word from the latter produced a certain impression upon the Pope, and almost made him regret that he had sent back his nuncio. 'If,' said Olivarès, 'M. de Maisse is received, both the King, my master, and the Duke of Savoy will recall their ministers, and there will remain at Venice none but the representatives

of the Pope and of a heretic.' The word told. In the next Consistory Sixtus V. excused the fact of his having sent back Monsignor Matteuci by saying that he had left of his own accord, but added that he was always determined to recall him should M. de Maisse be received as resident envoy at Venice. The great majority in the Sacred College approved this resolution, and Cardinal Cornaro went to Badoer's to tell him what had passed, as well as of an interview which he had had with the Pope.

'You men of Venice,' said the Pope, 'have caused us much trouble, though you are reputed to be wise, slow in making up your minds, and clever in turning time to your advantage whenever there is a doubtful question. We have seen old engravings representing old Venetians, with glasses to their eyes, and looking at others; and we have heard it said that, as regards the Papacy, the Venetians always liked to look out of the window. Now they are acting with haste, wish to receive a resident envoy from a heretic who has been excommunicated, and do that which no prince, great or small, has ever done. Where is the prudence of those who pronounce in favour of a man who is still armed, and whose final success and victory are yet uncertain? It is said that Christian princes had negotiated with the Queen of England without incurring the ecclesiastical censure; but Elizabeth was crowned a Catholic, and, though she has been declared to be deprived of her kingdom, she has never lost possession of it. We love and respect the Republic. We know that there are many honest people in Venice, but there

are also many bad ones, and the old people are frightened by the young, who have not all the necessary prudence. We must wait for the arrival of Donato, who knows so well how to defend the interests of his country, except those which concern religion; but eloquence is not sufficient where there are no good reasons to allege. We have nothing to reproach the King of Navarre with, except as regards religion; we would not excommunicate him because we would not drive him to despair, because we wished to leave a door open to negotiations, which we can no longer do unless he himself begins them; but when we were elected, the bull was ready, there only remained to put the name of Sixtus V. instead of that of Gregory. God has ever protected us; He will still do so in the event of our being obliged to make some manifestation against the Republic.'

The noise made by Monsignor Matteuci's immediate return to his post had not ceased. So violent were the outcries of the Spanish faction that the Pope in another Consistory finished by upbraiding the Republic of Venice. In presence of Badoer, however, his official anger ceased; his zeal and deep love for Venice showed itself; and what most struck the intelligent ambassador was, that the idea of a reconciliation, to be brought about by the Republic, through the intervention of M. de Maisse, was getting a stronger hold over his mind. During his interviews, Badoer gave proofs of infinite tact, cleverness, and readiness. The Holy Father asked him 'whether the Republic would have more respect for an excommunicated sovereign

than for the Head of the Church?' 'Would your Holiness be led away into doing the business of others?' 'Certainly not,' replied the Pope, whilst he complained of the terrible and tiresome activity of certain ambassadors at his Court. By touching upon the tender point of the pressure exercised by Olivarès, and by turning to profit the secret and deeply rooted susceptibilities of the Pontiff, Badoer succeeded in averting the storm from breaking, in preventing any fresh disagreeable demonstration, and in preparing the way for Leonardo Donato.

The attitude of the Republic of Venice, which was more and more favourable to Henry, had, as may be remembered, brought down upon it the displeasure of Philip II. Venice tried to justify its conduct either through its ambassador in Madrid or through Badoer, who was always most attentive in his manner towards Olivarès. Contarini, who succeeded in getting an audience of the Catholic King, explained the policy of his Government, and in a few words hinted at the encroachments of the Papacy upon the temporal power of sovereigns. He knew it was a means of pleasing Philip, who received him graciously, and with that cold but courteous affability which he always showed to representatives of foreign Courts, on the rare occasions when they were allowed to see him. Not a word of reproach escaped his lips; nothing showed any wish on his part to enter into a discussion. Such was not the duty of a king. Ministers, not sovereigns, were the proper people to discuss matters. To the studied and long statement of Contarini he replied in vague words.

Two expressions of his, however, struck the ambassador. 'In French matters,' said the King, 'faith is in question. That is why they are important.' This was equivalent to his saying, 'My mind is made up; I shall support the League to the end, because the question is one of faith, and upon such questions it is impossible to compound.' With regard to Donato's mission to Rome, the King expressed his conviction that that ambassador would easily succeed in calming the Holy Father. The somewhat sarcastic tone in which these words were uttered made Contarini believe that, in the opinion of the King, the understanding between Rome and Venice was more complete and more solid than was generally believed. These two little phrases produced a greater effect upon the Venetian envoy than did all the vociferations of the Madrid public, which at that time was much excited against Venice, or the vehement discourses of the preachers, or the strong remonstrances of the ministers.

It was only towards the end of November that the Nestor of Venetian diplomacy, who had been so impatiently expected, arrived in Rome. Accompanied by Badoer, he had at once an audience of the Pope, and was received both graciously and cordially.[1] The question respecting M. de Maisse was discussed, and both sides used the arguments known already to the reader. 'How,' exclaimed the Pope, 'could the good old sages commit such a frolic? They are not fools enough to do that which no other prince has ever

[1] Badoer and Donato to the Doge, November 25, 1589.

done!' He spoke of the eyeglass as being the emblem of the prudence of Venice, spared no blame, but controlled his temper and spoke with good humour and all the openness of a true and faithful friend who, regretting the fault that has been committed, is anxious to help in repairing it. On neither side was anything said which might be disagreeable to Philip. The Venetian envoys, however, in complaining of the ill-natured rumours which had been purposely spread, made a slight allusion to Spanish diplomacy. Sixtus at once asserted that Olivarès always showed himself most kindly disposed towards the Republic. This mutual reserve shows how great at that critical moment was the influence of Spain in the Catholic party. Donato and Badoer wished especially to find out what the Pontiff really thought of Henry's conversion. 'It cannot be painful to His Holiness,' they said, 'to learn that there is an agent of Navarre in Venice. It will be the means which will enable the Republic to interpose its good offices.' The Pope was, in fact, of that opinion. He had himself declared it several times to Badoer, but would not enter into any transaction of the kind without the knowledge of the Spanish diplomatists. 'No,' he replied, 'we do not ask, nor do we wish that the Republic should act as intermediary with Navarre. That would produce a contrary effect, would make the man more assuming and more proud than he is already. Three princes were excommunicated—the late King, the Prince of Condé, and Navarre. The two first have ended miserably. We do not doubt that Navarre will finish his days in the same way.'

The audience lasted two hours, and both ambassadors took leave with the impression that, unless unforeseen circumstances occurred, the Pope would not break with Venice. 'He is full of good sense,' they wrote to the Doge, 'and takes a sincere interest in the affairs of the Republic. His interests are ours, and both parties will try and settle the difficulty.'

The second audience was less satisfactory. Donato had begun by asking leave to return to Venice, for, he said, he believed his explanations had satisfied His Holiness, and hence his mission was at an end. The Pope was not of that opinion; a long discussion ensued. The same arguments were repeated over and over again, the Pope got more and more excited, while the ambassadors kept as calm as possible in the midst of the storm. 'You are afraid of Navarre! Why? Let us see, let us talk between ourselves! He will have much to do to ingratiate himself with his subjects, and to quiet a country so torn by factions and revolts as France. The Republic has nothing to be afraid of from him. If necessary, we ourselves shall defend Venice; we shall give her money and soldiers, and we are wanting in neither. We can do you more good than he can do you harm. The Catholic King issued his decision as regards titles, which was an offence against us. He revoked the decision. The governor at Gaëta insisted on our galleys being the first to salute the forts; we interdicted him, and would have done even more had not the Catholic King arranged matters to our satisfaction. Why did he do it? Because he was afraid? But as regards material force, we are but

a fly and he is an elephant. He did it out of respect for the vicar of Christ upon earth. So should those good old senators act, who everyone of them are capable of governing the world. We do not ask that Maisse be expelled from, or not received at the Senate, but only that he should not be received with all the carpets and honours due to the rank of a French ambassador. It would be an insult to us, an encouragement to Navarre, who is a heretic and excommunicated, and a serious injury to the Catholics.'

The ambassadors left the Pope's closet in an anxious but not a despairing frame of mind. The Holy Father did not intend to break, but required that some outward mark, however slight it might be, should prove that the Republic did not intend to be the first and only Catholic power to recognise Henry as King of France. The ambassadors understood this, and tried to find the means of satisfying the Pope in this respect. It often happens in diplomatic transactions that matters of primary interest are discussed under the guise of a secondary, if not a most unimportant question. Here was a question as to the succession to the throne of France, the preservation of the Catholic religion in that country, of the position of Europe and the independence of the Holy See. If Venice was alone to recognize Henry, before the latter had recanted, a new phase, and in the eyes of the Pope a bad phase, would be entered upon. Unable to solve the matter according to his own wish, he tried to postpone it. The Republic must be stopped, without breaking with it; for if he broke with it, then it could not be stopped. This very serious com-

plication, the most serious one of that day, appeared under the guise of a question of etiquette. One carpet more or less could decide the state of France and of Europe, just as a small iron bar or a point out of order can cause a train to run off the rails. That means, then, was to be found. Twice the Pope had spoken of a carpet. Was it that of the ante-chamber of the college of senators, or another? That is what the ambassadors inquire of each other, for the Pope has not explained himself more explicitly. Perhaps it would be enough if the Doge remained sitting when M. de Maisse was ushered into his presence, or if the latter were received in the Doge's private apartments instead of in the senate-hall. Donato decided on postponing his departure, and on requesting the instructions of his Government as to these childish points, under cover of which momentous interests were being discussed.

Six days after they had their third audience. At its outset the Pope appeared to be exceedingly angry, and stopped Donato every time the latter wished to speak. He had always, he said, intended to provide for the succession in France, in concert with the Emperor, with Spain, and with the Republic; but the latter wished to act alone, nor was it true that it was obliged to act so because the Emperor had likewise abstained.

Meanwhile, the ambassadors had received despatches from the Doge, ordering them to abide by their instructions. The Government of Venice seemed to be resolved not to give way. Out of respect for the Holy

Father, M. de Maisse was informed that he would do well not to appear at public ceremonies. It was impossible not to receive him as a minister-resident. If the Pope, as he had repeatedly told Badoer, desired their unofficial intervention in getting Henry to become more friendly with Rome, they were quite prepared to use every endeavour for that purpose. The Duke of Luxemburg had announced himself as the bearer of letters from the King and the Catholic princes of the blood royal, notifying the death of Henry III. and the accession of the King of Navarre. The Duke must be received; but, contrary to usage, no deputation was to be sent to meet him. Finally the Doge declared, as regards the Pope's new request (about the carpet which had so perplexed Donato and Badoer), that he neither could nor would make any further concessions.[1]

These peremptory orders put an end to the last hopes of an understanding. When, on the 15th of December, the two representatives had another audience of the Pope, they found him very much excited. He had heard of the arrival in Venice of the Duke of Luxemburg, blamed the manner in which he had been received, and gave way to his angry feelings. He told Donato that if he wanted to leave he might do so that same evening, that he (the Pope) would not retain him, and that Badoer was equally at liberty to depart. At one time the rupture seemed to be complete. But the old diplomatist would not allow that he was beaten. He had nothing new to say. He therefore made use of the same arguments, but pre-

Correspondence of the Doge with Donato and Badoer, 1589.

sented them in an eloquent and kind tone, and in so logical a light that the Pontiff became calmer. He no longer spoke of dismissing him, but on the contrary recommended him to stay. He wished to reflect during the time of Christmas, and await the arrival in Rome of the Duke of Luxemburg before he gave his final decision.

At this point Donato was happily inspired. 'What,' said he, 'your Holiness wishes to wait for the arrival of the Duke before giving me leave to depart? But would not this be a contradiction of your Holiness's words? Would it not be giving to my mission the appearance of its relating to the affairs of France, whereas it is foreign to it, and whereas it only refers to a question of etiquette?' The Pope was silent for a few moments: then 'inspired by God,' wrote the ambassadors, 'or perhaps also by the force of our arguments at a time when we least expected it, he said, 'You have conquered us, but we must speak of it to the Cardinals and to the Congregation of France. We will tell them that we got angry with you, but that you got the best of us. You may write in this sense to the Senate, but add, that as regards matters of religion they must in future act with more prudence and circumspection and with all the deference due to the Holy See.'

A few days later Donato took leave of the Pope, who kissed him, repeated to him his former good advice, and added a few words of friendship, even of tenderness, for the Republic, showing how evidently pleased he was that, notwithstanding the Spanish pressure, he had

avoided a rupture with the first Italian State, and how still more delighted he was at having thereby maintained the friendly relations between the Catholic States, which he considered to be now more important than ever. If Navarre did not repent, the coalition against him was safe, and, as will be seen, it was then that Sixtus was engaged in forming it. That coalition was to crush Henry, and their religion would be saved, though it is true at the expense of the integrity of French territory. But if Navarre recanted, as the Pope did not cease to hope, though he only allowed it in moments of freedom with his intimate friends, that union between the Catholic countries would be still more useful, as it would make him the supreme ruler, and would allow him—by making use of the fears which Spain inspired at Venice, at Florence, in Germany, and even at Prague—to check Philip's ambition with the help of those very countries, and thus to save France and religion at the same time.

CHAPTER VI.

EFFORTS OF HENRY OF NAVARRE TO GAIN THE POPE OVER.

THE union of Henry of Navarre with the princes of the blood and with the Catholic nobility of France, of which country he had been proclaimed King, brought the Duke of Luxemburg again upon the stage of the world. He reappeared in Italy, passed through Venice, Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence, at each of which places he remitted letters from the King, the princes, the cardinals, and the great Catholic dignitaries of the State. As has been seen, he was received unofficially as a temporary ambassador of the King of France. The Grand-Duke Ferdinand, while he received him most graciously, refused to take the King's letter, and only read those brought to him from the princes. He explained his conduct by his deference to the Head of the Church, to whom he wished to leave the initiative in this matter. The Duke of Mantua did the same. The Duke of Ferrara had received the King's letters, but sent them to the Pope, saying that they had been deposited upon his table without his perceiving them. With the exception, therefore, of the Duke of Savoy, who was a vassal of Spain, all the other Italian princes went with the Pope.

On the first of the year (1589) Sixtus V. called all

the cardinals and ambassadors into the room where he was wont to dress before going to chapel. He wished them a happy new year, told them the last news from France and from Poland, and announced the coming arrival of the Duke of Luxemburg. As he was leaving the room, Badoer, seeing the Pope so well disposed, took a favourable opportunity of whispering into the Pontiff's ear, 'You must pray God that He inspire Navarre. The day your Holiness gives him the kiss of peace, but that day only, France will be all right again. Humanly speaking, there is no other means of pacifying that kingdom.' The Pope merely answered that God would do everything for the best, and that as for himself, he was content to wait.

The Duke of Luxemburg arrived in the first days of January, and, to the great displeasure of Olivarès and of the Spanish faction, was received two days after. A gracious message from the Pope to the French envoy, which was taken to him by Cardinal Montalto, seemed to augur favourably.

The Duke went to the Vatican with his suite in twenty-two coaches; but, when he arrived at the palace, he found the door of the Pope's apartment shut, the guard strengthened, and the officers in waiting ordered to require that every Frenchman, except the ambassador, should give up his sword. When they arrived at the 'bursola,' which is the door of the Pope's closet, the Duke and three gentlemen of his suite were alone allowed to enter. Besides the indignation to which the Frenchmen gave way, there was a fear on their part that a trap had been laid for them.

Luxemburg himself had some vague apprehension, and was much surprised to find himself received with open arms by the Pope, who asked him news of his journey, and told him that he would have liked to give him hospitality in the Vatican, made him sit down—an honour which the ambassadors of kings could alone expect—and listened patiently to the long statement which the Duke made to him. When the latter had finished, the Pope confessed to him that he had not perfectly understood him (the Duke had spoken in French), and begged of him to bring an interpreter with him at the next audience. These receptions, 'intra et extra muros,' were not at all alike, but answered rather well to the position taken up by Sixtus V., who had half engaged himself to the League, by Gaetano's mission to Philip, by his recent steps, which we are about to describe, and was more and more shaken in his resolution by reflecting over what Donato had said, and regretted already that he had gone too far with Spain.

Luxemburg did not forget to pay the customary visits to the Pope's grand-nephews, to Donna Camilla—to whom he hinted that Henry IV. had no intention of taking away from Cardinal Montalto the rich abbey which Henry III. had promised him—and to all the members of the Sacred College. According to the etiquette of the day, each visit was to last two hours. On the day following his first audience he had another, and again found the guard strengthened, the doors shut, and, on being introduced into the Pope's presence, the same cordial greeting from the latter. Up

to that time Luxemburg had only spoken of the state of France, and, by drawing the darkest picture of the country, had produced a great impression upon His Holiness. In his first audience he had prudently avoided speaking of the object of his mission. He had not mentioned the name of Henry of Navarre. This time he broke the ice. He had on leaving taken the orders of His Majesty. 'What do you wish me, sire, to tell the Pope from you?' 'Tell him,' the King had replied, 'that I am not an heretic; that if I am in error he should point it out to me, and I shall give it up. Remind His Holiness that I have begged of him to let me know the truth, in order that I may embrace it.' 'It is true, it is true,' exclaimed the Pope. 'Now,' added the Duke, 'this is what the King told me whilst talking familiarly with me as behoves relations, "We all believe the same thing, since we believe in the Apostles' Creed." "Your Majesty," said I, "believes in the Creed, but that is not all. You believe in God, sire, but do not believe in His omnipotence." "How so?" said the King. "Since you do not believe," I replied, "that He can actually be present in the consecrated host and in the sacrament of the altar." "In this respect," said the King, "we are wrong; and, as for me, I believe in it firmly; and, if there are no other difficulties, we will soon agree."' 'God be praised,' exclaimed Sixtus V., joyously; 'that is really good news which you bring us. But is all you say quite true? How can we believe it?' 'Because I tell it you, Holy Father.' The Duke then touched upon the practical conclusions of the question, and asked authority for

those Catholics who had joined the King to continue their allegiance to him without incurring the penalties of the Church. He also asked that priests should be sent to the King to instruct him in the Catholic religion, in order to save his soul and those of many of his subjects. The Pope agreed to the latter request, but did not acquiesce in the former. He asked the Duke himself to name the person whom he would like to see intrusted with this mission. The Duke replied that he left it entirely with His Holiness, who then proposed Monsignor Seraphino, who was then the French 'auditore di rota,' and showed by such a selection, much more than by his gracious language, how kindly disposed he was towards France.[1]

While Henry's envoy was daily gaining ground at the Vatican, the struggle between the two parties was carried on with increased vigour. The Spanish faction was numerically the strongest, as well as the most influential, in the Sacred College; and the most powerful, because it was backed by the armies of Philip, who was master of one-third of Italy, and was then levying men in the kingdom of Naples and in the Milanese. These troops were, it is true, destined to support the League, but would, if necessary, be also employed against Rome. Olivarès, the Cardinals Madruccio, Deza, and Mendoza, had daily interviews. Sometimes Cardinals Rusticucci and Como took part in these deliberations. From these assemblies the word of command was sent to M. de Dieu and to the Cardinal of

[1] Sixtus himself gave all these details to the Venetian Envoy. Badoer to the Doge, January 20, 1589.

Sens. No means of pressure, of persuasion, or of intimidation was spared. On the other hand, the Duke of Luxemburg and the Venetian ambassador, who acted in concert, tried to frustrate as well as they could the intrigues of their adversaries. The pontifical palace was turned into a field of battle.

Olivarès and his friends asked that the Duke of Luxemburg should be dismissed. Sixtus positively refused, and said to the Spanish cardinals, 'You want to teach us what we are to do! What have you to tell us that we do not know? We were a monk at the age of nine; we have constantly since then read and studied the canons of the Church, sacred history, the writings of the theologians, and, especially, the decisions of the Popes and of the Councils. We do not choose that everyone should deem himself called upon to become our teacher, because it is evident that we know more than any of you.' Such reasoning could not go far with Olivarès; but the Pope kept to his purpose, and the Duke remained in Rome. How could this resistance, then, be conquered? Olivarès tried another means. He softened down in his language, and, speculating upon the Holy Father's aversion to give money, he prevailed upon M. de Dieu to declare, in the name of the Duke of Mayenne, that, now that the Holy Union was supported by the Catholic king, it no longer required the subsidies which it had asked of the Holy See. To support the agent of the League, Olivarès made an official overture in which the Spanish king solemnly declared that, in mixing himself up in the affairs of France, he had but one

desire, which was to give France a truly Catholic king, which, therefore, could under no circumstances be Henry of Bearn.

Assuming also the Pope's zeal in the cause of religion, and his economical habits, as points of departure, Badoer represented to him how impossible it was to make France accept a king who should be a foreigner, or not born of royal French blood, and concluded that Henry of Bearn was the only important, in fact the only possible, candidate. If His Holiness be led into the error of supporting other combinations he would be involved in heavy expenses, and perhaps left to support alone the whole weight of the war, while he would be chargeable with bringing it upon Italy and upon Rome. If, on the contrary, the Pope lent himself to the conversion of Henry, not only would he save the soul of that prince, but the souls of millions of Frenchmen who, though heretics now, would in all probability follow the example of their sovereign, and would insure to the Church the rich livings, abbeys, and relics of that kingdom, and, finally, save her finances. 'What can we do, what can we do?' the old Pontiff exclaimed, wringing his hands. Presently he added: 'M. de Dieu told us that according to a rumour come from France, it was said the King of Spain had caused himself to be proclaimed Protector of the League and of the Catholic religion in France. So much the better, because that will make the French unite against the Spaniards, and may be that "inter duos litigantes, tertius hæres gauderet." We do not intend to dismiss Luxemburg. We are pleased to have

him here. If he had not come we should have been obliged to call for him, inasmuch as he is an hostage. Not that we intend to treat him as one—quite the contrary, but he is a guarantee of the sincerity of those who sent him to us, and as long as he is here they cannot make game of us. If it be God's will that we are to make use of that means, we are not likely to shut it out.' The Pope cried, and assured the Venetian diplomatist that his words had most done him good during these terrible trials.

At one time he had a notion, which he soon abandoned however, on its being condemned by the Congregation of France, of intrusting to a certain number of bishops and French prelates the care of examining and instructing the King of Navarre, with permission to absolve him if there should be occasion to do so. The very day that the Congregation had declared against this notion one of its members was seen, as soon as the sitting was over, to drive in great haste to 'Santa Maria in Via Lata,' which stood next to the Spanish embassy, and confer with Olivarès in one of the chapels of the church.

At the Consistory held on the following Monday, the Pope gave way to a violent outburst of anger. 'There are blind and imprudent men,' he said, 'who condemn us because we are courteous in our treatment of the Duke of Luxemburg; because we do not dismiss him, and do not excommunicate those who have joined the King of Navarre; but those who speak thus do not know how we should behave with heretics. We know it. There is a wide difference between treating and

compounding, and not only shall we listen to Navarre, but also to the Turk, to the Persian, to all the heretics of the world, nay to the devil himself if he come here.'

But Luxemburg was growing impatient. He renewed his requests for an answer to his letters, and gave out that he intended to leave. The Holy Father replied with much kindness that he was at liberty to go, but that his doing so would give great pleasure to those who did not care about his presence in Rome. Henry's ambassador therefore remained, and a few days later received briefs from the Pope for the Cardinal Vendôme and the princes and dignitaries of the Court. These were answers to letters written by them to the Pope. He moreover obtained that, by a fresh instruction, the Legate should be commissioned to confer with the Catholic partisans of the King outside Paris, in a place which should not appear suspicious. 'By this means,' said Sixtus to Badoer, 'we will begin the parley which, if God wills it, will have a favourable result.'

The bitter remarks which the Pope made in the Consistories against several cardinals, and indirectly against the Spanish Ambassador; his complaints of Gaetano's conduct, who, he said, instead of remaining neutral, had made himself the agent of the League, and promised on his own authority both money and men; the whole attitude, in fact, of the Pope showed plainly that he had firmly resolved upon coming to an understanding with Navarre. The Duke of Luxemburg told him on one occasion that Henry

would write to His Holiness, and would send an embassy for the purpose of asking for his absolution. The Pope replied, 'May God will it so, for in that case matters would soon come to an end.'

It was true, therefore, that he was about to escape from the influence of Spain. After using in vain every means of persuasion, and every promise, Olivarès had recourse to intimidation. Penetrated with the gravity of the imminent crisis, he took upon himself to give out that coercive measures might be used, that hostilities might ensue; in fact, that a war with Spain might be brought about. The Pope spoke of it to Badoer. 'The Spaniards,' he said, 'threaten us with war, and want to oblige us to do their will by frightening us; but they have mistaken the way.' 'Holy Father,' answered the cunning ambassador, 'you do not, I hope, doubt the piety, prudence, and respect of the Catholic King for your Holiness?' 'No,' said the Pope, 'but his ministers speak and write in the tone we have mentioned to you. We do not mean to say that we are not afraid of men, but we fear men less than God; and if we serve God, we care little for the rest. It may be that, if we settle the Navarre business quickly, we may give them something to reflect upon; and when that dog will hang to their ear, they will lose the desire to tease us. We cannot believe that the King has really the intention which is ascribed to him, since, notwithstanding the war waged against him by Paul IV., he sent the Duke of Alva to Rome to ask for his forgiveness, and never went to war against the Holy See when Pius IV. granted precedence to

France notwithstanding all his protestations. His ministers now are very loud in their remarks, are wanting in respect towards us, and constantly threaten us; but dogs that bark do not bite.' He spoke like this for two hours, striving to give himself courage, but showing his anxiety, and ending, to the astonishment of Badoer, by asking him to reflect upon the possibility of a defensive alliance between the Pope, the Republic, and some other Italian prince. After promising to give his opinion at his next audience, Badoer took leave, with feelings of surprise and of anxiousness. There was reason for it.

This is what had taken place. The reader remembers the instructions given to the Legate on leaving Rome in the beginning of October, at a time when the affairs of the League were going on very ill, and when the only thought in the Pope's mind was to save religion at any price. With various modifications that tendency of spirit lasted throughout the remainder of the year. It has been seen how the Pope had, in a conversation with Verita, condemned the anti-Spanish tendencies of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. We have spoken of the vehemence with which he had opposed the reception of M. de Maisse in Venice, and that only towards Christmas, owing to the eloquence, cleverness, and presence of mind of Donato, he had decided not to break with the Republic. Donato's mission had a further result. He had enlightened the Holy Father upon the state of affairs, had given a fresh impulse to his Spanish antipathy, and revived the hope of coming to an understanding with the King of Navarre. The

Duke of Luxemburg, who arrived at that moment, which was a propitious one for him, completed the change which the Venetian envoy had begun, and finished by convincing the Pope that Henry fully intended to be converted to Catholicism. Up to that time—that is, from September to the middle of December—the Pope, though he sometimes entertained contrary wishes, had looked only to the League for salvation. This being the case, he had, according to his active nature, entered zealously into the new line of action. The events in France, Philip's usual slowness, and especially the pending interruption of relations with the Republic, alarmed him. There was evidently some danger brooding at home. It was under the force of these impressions, and during the negotiations with Donato, which, with the present attitude of the Republic, seemed likely to fail, that he took the initiative, in regard to Philip, of measures of the highest importance. Conferences on the subject which had begun with Olivarès, and had been carried on by Cardinal Gesualdo, who was devoted to Spain, were concluded about this time. On December 15 Donato had an audience. It was to be the last, for the Holy Father, who had been informed of the refusal of the Venetian Senate to make the concessions which he asked for, no longer doubted that the Republic wanted to shake off his influence. A quarrel with Venice, however painful it might be, had in his opinion become inevitable. It has been seen how at the last moment Donato succeeded all of a sudden, and when he himself expected it least, in calming the Pope, and

in preventing a rupture between Rome and the Republic. The audience had therefore ended in a double surprise, for both the envoy of Venice and Sixtus V. had despaired of arriving at such a result. By one of those singular coincidences which sometimes occur at the time of a great crisis, and less seldom than one thinks—for fate is often malicious—while the Pope 'allowed himself to be conquered,' as he said, by the eloquence and logic of Donato, as much as by his great desire not to break with the Republic, on that same day, and at that same hour, Count Olivarès was sending off a messenger bearing the proposals of the Court of Rome, which we are about to make known. The following morning, December 16, the day on which the messenger left for Madrid, Cardinal Gesualdo brought to the embassy an account of his last interview with the Holy Father. It was the complement of the preceding overtures. Thus, at the time when one of the principal motives of this grave resolution, the impending quarrel with Venice, had disappeared, Sixtus found himself morally engaged to Philip.

The proposals of which we are speaking were written down in the form of verbal notes, which Cardinal Gesualdo, by order of his master, had placed in the hands of Olivarès, and of which the following is the substance.

His Holiness is disposed and resolved to conclude an alliance with his Catholic Majesty. The object will be to save religion, so gravely endangered in France, in the event of an heretic becoming king of that country, and to preserve the bordering States from the con-

tagion. In the event of the death of Cardinal de Bourbon, His Holiness will favour the candidate whom King Philip may recommend. Promptitude of action and vigorous measures being necessary, the Pope is ready to help in the same proportion as the King, or even more so. He specially recommends activity, and hopes that by the spring the allies will be able to take the field. He intrusts to Philip the care of working the plans of the campaign. Meanwhile he is of opinion that the greatest secrecy is requisite. He, therefore, will not as yet recommend the other princes of Italy to enter into the alliance. The adhesion of the Duke of Savoy may be depended upon. The Grand-Duke has considerable forces at his command, but he must himself ask to form part of the alliance. Mantua and Ferrara are weak. The Venetians will certainly try to remain neutral. If they assumed a hostile attitude, the Pope would undertake to keep them in check.

On December 16[1] the Cardinal gave the ambassador of Spain another note, which reproduced the language held by the Pope, subsequently to the framing of the document we have just analysed. The Pope implored the King not to lose time—not to allow the adversary to profit by it—and recommended him to follow the example of Cæsar, whose name was synonymous with emperor, and of Charles V., whom he calls one of the greatest of sovereigns. He estimated at 15,000 the number of soldiers in the pay of the King of Navarre,

[1] Copia del segundo papel que entregó el cardenal Gesualdo en las cosas de Francia para embiar á S. M., December 16, 1589.

including the auxiliary troops of the Queen of England and of the Protestant princes, and believed that, if he and the Catholic King could muster 40,000 or 50,000 men, they might depend upon great success from the outset.

Here a question presents itself, to which we can answer only by suppositions. Why did not the Pope stop the Spanish messenger when he had decided not to break with the Venetian Republic? Why did he not, while it was yet time—that is, between the 15th and 16th of December—fall back upon his proposals which tended to an alliance with Philip and the League? In all probability for the following reasons:—First, because, intimidated as he then was, he dared not—because he dreaded the anger and violence of Count Olivarès; and also because the position taken up by Venice was still very equivocal. The possibility of seeing her declare in favour of Henry still existed. This being the case, he would not run the risk of a quarrel with Philip, by withdrawing his proposals at the very time that he was making them. Finally, at that time (middle of December) he still considered war with the Huguenots as the only means of restoring unity of faith in France. On this point, the future conversion of Henry, he had been shaken in his belief by Donato, but not yet convinced. It was only gradually that the wise words of that diplomatist acted upon his mind; and the favourable change as regards Henry took place only when the Duke of Luxemburg, who arrived a fortnight after the events we have related, had succeeded in making him believe in the

King of Navarre's serious intention of returning to the old faith.

The messenger of Olivarès had arrived in Madrid on January 17. On the 28th Philip replied,[1] that, having himself no other interest than that of religion, the understanding between him and the Pope as regards the succession question must be easy. He accepted the military co-operation of His Holiness, and took note of his offer to bear the greater part of the expenses of the undertaking. He believed with the Pope that forty or fifty thousand men would be enough. He had ordered a levy of arms in Flanders and in his Italian dominions, and the command of these troops would, according to the wish of His Holiness, be intrusted to a 'captain-general' chosen by the Pope.[2] He approved the idea of keeping the alliance secret for the present; but, later, it would be necessary to invite the princes of Italy to co-operate, and even to use spiritual arms against those who, directly or indirectly, would act against so holy an enterprise. That answer, which was communicated under flying seal, arrived in Rome on February 22. Signed by Olivarès, who bore witness to its authority, and translated into Italian, it was the same day taken to the Pope by Cardinal Gesualdo.[3] We know what change had taken

[1] Lo que su magestad es servida que se responda de su parte á Su Santidad sobre lo que ha propuesto por los dos escritos que el cardenal Gesualdo dió al conde de Olivarès para remedio de las cosas de Francia.

[2] That important point, showing the Pope's desire to be the Supreme Head of the movement, is not mentioned by Gesualdo, so it must have been transmitted to Madrid by Olivares.

[3] Repuesta de S. S. por el cardenal Gesualdo, sobre la offerta de ayudar á las cosas de Francia.—Simancas.

place in the Pope's mind during the two months that had elapsed since the first sending off of His Holiness's proposals on December 16. When he had read the answer, Sixtus expressed himself vaguely, saying that he was always ready to act with the King in the settlement of the affairs of France; that, since the murder of the Cardinal de Guise, he had spoken of it to Count Olivarès; that, in this order of ideas, he had fulminated a monitory against the late King, and assumed a still more hostile position on receiving the news of the death of His Very Christian Majesty. He confined himself to these generalities. The Cardinal became pressing, and asked what reply he should give to the Spaniards. The Pope answered, that he must first hear from the Legate; that there was a division in the League; that Mayenne had coldly received the offer of foreign troops which had been made to him by Cardinal Gaetano; that peace was spoken of between the Duke and Henry of Navarre, and that, notwithstanding the opposition of the Legate, hasty manifestations might only accelerate such an end.

The Cardinal spoke much of the necessity of excommunicating those Catholics who adhered to Bearn. The Holy Father, on the other hand, reminded him that the Legate was instructed to place himself in communication with them, and to try and gain them over by kindness; but that he was also authorised to excommunicate them should persuasive means fail, in which case he would himself do it.

When Gesualdo ventured to remark that, under the present circumstances, it would be well to act promptly

and severely, he was told that it was necessary to observe the canonical laws—that is, to publish the monitories first, and then to excommunicate if necessary. In such a spirit had the instructions sent to Gaetano been conceived.

Replying to the arguments used by the Cardinal to obtain the dismissal of Luxemburg, the Pope said that it was not he who encouraged culpable hopes, and developed his idea at length, condemning the heretics, blaming Henry, deploring the captivity of Cardinal de Bourbon; but, in fact, holding that it was impossible for him to send back Luxemburg so abruptly.

This vague but significant language, which was at once reported to Olivarès, put the latter beside himself. He had on February 28 a most stormy interview with the Pope. He read letters from his sovereign which alluded to the proposals made by Sixtus V., and announced that a Spanish corps d'armée had been organised in Italy, under the command of Don Pietro de' Medici, which was composed of a thousand German lansquenets, six thousand Spaniards, and six thousand Italians. These troops were destined to go to war against the Huguenots. The King was doing his duty; the Pope must do his, and at once send the Duke of Luxemburg back to France, declare Navarre incapable of ever succeeding to the crown of France, and excommunicate without further delay all the cardinals, prelates, princes, and lords that had embraced his cause. Should His Holiness refuse, the King would advise for himself, and place all his forces at the service of the cause of Our Lord.

Sixtus V. had several times tried to interrupt him, and, when the violent ambassador had done, he began in his turn: 'The King's letters did not appear to him to be authentic. He had received others which were full of kind words and were altogether different, and which he, Olivarès, had read to him. Either these letters came from the King or they did not. If they did not come from the King, then the ambassador's conduct was not that of a gentleman; if they did come from the King, he would reply that His Majesty had signed a truce with the Turks without informing him, as was his duty; that he had entered into an alliance with the heretical King of Denmark, without the fact being notified in Rome; that at Prague his ambassador was the only one who, among the agents of the Catholic powers, had given scandal by visiting and feasting the Danish envoy.; that now His Majesty wanted to dictate the law to him and teach him how to treat the heretics. Let the King beware! He would see what a Pope could do if justly irritated. If the King went on so, he would excommunicate him, and make his subjects in Spain and elsewhere rise against him; would deprive him of every grace, and summon him to give an account of the million in gold which he had drawn from the property of the Church.' Having said this, he got up, turned his back upon the ambassador, and left the room. Olivarès, who was pale with rage, quitted the room abruptly, crossed the ante-rooms without even trying to hide his emotion from the prying Sangaletto and the crowd of courtiers who were present,

and who were not long before they filled Rome with the rumour of a quarrel with Spain.

The secret, however, was well kept. Nicolini, who was the Grand-Duke's agent, could not get at it, though Cardinal Gesualdo had hinted so much.

On both sides it was felt that each had gone too far. The Cardinal and a few of the initiated interposed. Sixtus promised to receive the ambassador on condition that the latter should not speak to him upon the burning question. It had been hinted to the latter that His Holiness was quite ready to recede if he could do so with honour. Olivarès declared that he was ready to help the Pope in doing so. These preliminaries being at an end, Philip's representative heard mass on February 28, received communion, and then went to the Vatican. But the audience of reconciliation was far from reassuring him. When he entered, the Pope spoke, and continued for a whole hour, without giving him an opportunity of saying a word. He could not, he said, dismiss Luxemburg as yet, but would do so under certain circumstances; but he must be able to do so with honour. In any case he must wait for the Legate's reports. Some fresh incident must take place which can justify the Duke's dismissal. When he had said all he could on the subject, it was impossible not to let the ambassador speak. The latter this time was courteous in his manner, but insisted on the immediate departure of the Duke. He was anxious to communicate the fact of his dismissal as soon as he could to the King. The Pope replied that

Gaetano's despatches were to arrive in a few days, and Olivarès declared that he was ready to postpone until the Saturday the departure of his messenger. That was his 'ultimatum.' He himself wanted to gain a few days, because, to intimidate the Holy Father, he conceived an extreme measure; this was to have a protest against the stay of the Duke of Luxemburg in Rome read out in the next public Consistory in the name of the King. He did not deceive himself as to the sense of the evasive words he had just heard.

These days were for Sixtus V. days of anxiety and hesitation. He fought, but became weaker. The language he held with the principal actors in the drama, with Olivarès, Gesualdo, Seraphino, who was always expecting his order to leave for Henry's camp, and with his confidant Badoer, bears the mark of the state in which he was. Moments of despair alternated with energetic resolutions, which were more in harmony with his character and with his predilections. When he speaks to Badoer of the concessions made to Olivarès he palliates their importance. He shows himself to have been more courageous than he actually was when he tells him of the scenes which he has had with Olivarès. This reserve, however, does not deceive anyone. It only points, on the contrary, to the struggle which is going on within him. To the Duke of Luxemburg he repeats his ardent hope that Navarre may sincerely return to the Catholic faith; to Seraphino he speaks in the same sense, and in saying this he only utters that which he truly wishes. These expressions are so many wishes, and not engagements; it is not even any

longer the solution for which he hoped, because he had evidently been intimidated. He in fact almost allowed it to his friend Badoer. 'The Spaniards are terrible,' he said to him. He has learnt by the despatches of the Nuncio at Naples that their armament is being carried out on a large scale. Then all of a sudden he asks whether he has reflected upon a league to be formed between Rome, Venice, and an Italian prince; and when Badoer replies that Venice would never consent to enter into such an alliance, the Pope does not know what to say—speaks of Philip as the head of the projected league, loses himself in a mass of contradictory argument, and gives to the Venetian envoy the impression that the Spaniards are for the present masters of the situation.

Badoer was not mistaken. The Pope struggled, but was giving way. The 3rd of March, the date fixed by Olivarès, had gone by. That day Olivarès went to the Vatican to hear the Pope's final decision as to the three requests made to him: the immediate departure of Luxemburg, the declaration against the Béarnais, and the excommunication of the Catholic Royalists. Sixtus tried to diminish the importance of the concessions he had made at the last audience. He even said that it would be imprudent to exasperate the King of Navarre in the event of his being successful. The ambassador thought the moment propitious 'really to frighten the Pope.' He declared that His Majesty was surprised to find that the acts of His Holiness corresponded so little with his words, and that he intended to protest publicly, with the aid of Doctor Martos, who was presi-

dent of the 'Summaria' at Naples. He therefore asked the Pope's authority. A long discussion ensued. The Pope began 'to howl with rage,'[1] and threatened to excommunicate Olivarès and all those who should assist him in this impious act, and to dismiss them and himself from Rome. He even appears to have said that he would have them killed.[2] Olivarès, who was cold and impassable, let him speak without interrupting him. When the old man could speak no more from fatigue, he briefly replied that ambassadors enjoyed certain immunities. If His Holiness intended to violate them by putting his threats into execution, and wished even to go to the last limits, it would not be a reason for him to abandon the instructions he had received from his King. He therefore intended, with his permission, to cause the protest to be read in the next Consistory. 'Does the King,' asked Sixtus, 'wish to make himself Pope? In this case we will first make him a cardinal!' 'No,' replied Olivarès, 'my master does not wish to go beyond his rights;' and he again asked to have the protest read; but the Pope refused.

[1] 'Empezó á chirriar con gran coraje.'

[2] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, March 10, 1590. This is what the Pope told Badoer himself. But we know that he was wont to colour a little when he repeated to his friends the conversations he had had with ambassadors. Apart from this, the account of the audiences as told by Badoer does not materially differ from that of Olivarès, who, on the other hand, also tries to modify the sense of the sharp words he had used. It is this violent scene that has given rise to the popular legend that has been reproduced in the MSS. of the period, and confirmed by Leti, that the Pope, incensed with Olivarès, actually had the scaffold raised before the Spanish Embassy. This act of courage constituted in the minds of the Roman people one of the glories of that Pontificate; but in reality he was more frightened than Olivarès.

The ambassador took his leave, decided upon pushing matters to an extremity, though he was uncertain as to what would be the issue of the crisis. He expected to be dismissed, and was resolved not to give way except against armed force. In the expectation of such an event, he begged the King to give the necessary instructions to the Duke of Sessa, who was already announced as an Ambassador Extraordinary, and who was shortly to arrive in Rome.

Olivarès intended never again to go to an audience, while the Pope purposed never again to receive him. Cardinal Gesualdo again interposed. A fresh respite was agreed to. The Duke of Luxemburg would leave Rome temporarily, and give as a pretext that he was going to Loretto. Olivarès was to postpone his public protest, and take the King's orders. On March 7 Luxemburg started for Loretto, leaving a portion of his suite in Rome. Both the town and the Court were persuaded that he was going to Paris, and would not return. Badoer was of that opinion too, because he knew that the Pope, through Monsignor Seraphino, had recommended the Duke to leave Rome. On the 9th the messenger of Olivarès left for Madrid. He was bearer of a letter from the Pope to Philip. Sixtus assured the King of his love for him, reminded him of the obligation under which he was to listen to heretics, protested against the threats of councils and schisms, and declared that he could not admit that secular princes could constitute themselves judges of the Vicar of Christ. In a postscript he added, in his own hand, that to facilitate the reading of it, he had had the

letter copied, but that it had been composed by himself.

In Rome the Spaniards considered themselves victorious. Their rejoicings reached the ears of Sixtus, who stoutly denied having changed politics. He told Badoer that he was always the same, but the latter did not believe it. He replied by a few respectful words, but abstained from making any remonstrance, which, he wrote to the Doge, 'might have been compromising, since they would have irritated the Pope as much as the Spaniards, and would have been useless, since the thing is done.'[1]

The truce which had been negotiated by Cardinal Gesualdo did not last twenty-four hours. At his next audience, on the following Saturday, Olivarès no longer spoke of Luxemburg, who was gone, but asked for the immediate excommunication of the Catholic adherents of the King of Navarre. Then followed another of those lamentable scenes in which the Pope flew into a passion, called Olivarès the stone of scandal, accused him of being a liar, and of acting against the orders of his master, threatened him with prison, and fled from his closet.[2] With Badoer he came back to the idea of a league, and found that envoy, whose previous refusal to entertain the proposal had been approved by the Republic, quite as little disposed as formerly to enter into such an alliance. What was to be done? Abandoned by everybody; bereft of the support which he had hoped to find in Venice; seeing the armaments

[1] Badoer to the Doge, March 10, 1590. [2] Id. March 17, 1590.

of Philip both at Milan and Naples carried on with extreme energy, contrary to the customary slow habits of the Spaniards; the old Pontiff seemed to sink beneath the weight of the dangers that surrounded him, of the threats showered upon him, of the anxiety which broke his rest, of the fever that undermined him. When he laid the state of things before the Congregation of France, the cardinals were surprised to find him so careworn and so depressed. He read to them the instructions which had been drawn up with Olivarès, and which he had just sent to the Legate, with a view of coming to an understanding with Mayenne, who had quarrelled with Aumale and Nemours, and who seemed disposed to come to terms with the King of Navarre: an alliance which Gaetano, with the aid of Mendoza, was to try to prevent. He read to them the letter to Philip. The members of the Congregation found all these documents very weakly written, and much beneath the requirements of the situation. One of the cardinals, though dependent upon Spain, had the courage to say that it would be better to authorise the protest, and to answer with dignity, than to allow himself to be thus discouraged. The Pope listened in silence, but the remark deeply impressed him.

Olivarès could perceive this at his famous audience of the following Saturday. The whole of Rome was excited. No one knew exactly what was the matter, but everyone was aware that the Pope's closet was the theatre of a desperate struggle. When the ambassador came in, Monsignor Sangaletto, the little monk (*el monacillo*), as Olivarès used to call him con-

temptuously, lifted the door curtain, and, profiting by the opportunity, saw that the Count was scarcely kneeling, and that the Pope was seated, and did not look at him in the face. The same demands were made on the one hand, the same refusals were repeated on the other. Three times Olivarès threw himself at the feet of the Pope, asking to be allowed to make his protest, and demanded that the Catholic royalists should be excommunicated, and Navarre declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of France. The Pope made him get up, became more and more animated, and taxed him with being the author of all the evils. When Olivarès declared that, if the Pope refused, the King would free himself of his obedience to the Pope, and would himself see to the requirements of God's cause, the Pope abruptly left the room, after overwhelming the Spanish diplomatist with the harshest terms. The Count himself lifted the curtain, went to Cardinal Montalto, and declared to him that he maintained every one of his requests; for he had rather have his head cut off by the Pope than lose it by the order of his King.

Sixtus, who saw no issue out of the difficulty, and was a prey to mortal anguish, convoked a Congregation, which was purposely composed of cardinals belonging to the Spanish faction. The vote of such an assembly could not be doubtful. This wretched means—the only one which seemed left to the unfortunate Pontiff—was adopted in order that he might justify, by the advice of the Sacred College, the last step he was about to take—the step which was to

consummate his submission to the will of Philip. On the eve of the meeting, during the night, Gesualdo, and other agents of Olivarès, took the word of command to the twenty-three cardinals who were to form part of the Congregation. The sitting took place on March 19. The Pope, having in measured terms recounted the facts with which the reader is acquainted, put the questions which required an answer. Must he allow the protest of Dr. Martos? Must he at once excommunicate the adherents of the King of Navarre? He himself asked for a delay of fifteen days.

Cardinal San Giorgio, as the oldest there, stood up and said that he left the matter to the discretion of the Pontiff.

Cardinal Gesualdo then spoke at length, and rather vaguely. He, however, said that on both heads the answer should be a pure and simple acceptance of the Spanish demands. Madruccio, Deja, and Como were of the same opinion.

The Cardinal Bishop of Aragon said, 'that having sworn to shed his blood, if necessary, in the service of the Church, he was all the more disposed to express his opinion freely; that he believed that, by so doing, he would best serve the interests of his sovereign and benefactor, the Catholic King, whom he should betray if on this occasion he did not express his ideas frankly and honestly. Nothing could be more prejudicial to His Majesty than to overstep the limits of obedience to His Holiness, or, in questions of religion, to protest against the acts of the Sovereign Pontiff. Evils and scandals without end would ensue, not only in Spain,

but in the whole of Christendom. In France such a protest would produce an effect quite contrary to the interests of His Majesty. The whole of the nobility, and nearly all the elergy—that is, the whole kingdom —would suddenly be excommunicated by the will of the King, and not by that of His Holiness, who, on the contrary, by his Brief, had given them prospects of obtaining his blessing. The result would be that, contrary to the intentions of the King, who wished to see France Catholic, that country would, in despair, separate itself from the Church. It would produce the apostasy of that kingdom, and later of the whole world; or a national council would be convoked, and then a schism would ensue.' Going to another subject, the wise and courageous vassal of Philip II. added: 'Deeply wounded in their honour and in their interests by such a measure, and situated as they were between "the Béarnais," who was ready to defend them, and the opposite party, who were apparently little disposed to receive them, the nobility of France, and a great portion of the French people, would elect to support Navarre. To declare the whole House of Bourbon incapable of succeeding to the throne of France was only to revive the ancient love of Frenchmen for their princes of the blood. Thus, for two reasons—the one of religion and the other of state—and in the interest of the Catholic King himself, the ambassador's requests should not be acceded to. It would be well to delay the excommunication of the adherents of Navarre until the result of the endeavours which Gaetano was instructed to make with them should be

known, and to fulminate the spiritual censure only at the last moment; and not against the whole body, but individually, so as to await for a few days the Legate's despatches.' In finishing his speech, the Cardinal proposed, out of respect for the ambassador, that he should be informed of the discussion, and of the conclusions at which the Congregation might arrive.

It was with an increasing astonishment that the assembly of cardinals had listened to that eloquent discourse, which was so little expected, and which was so powerfully logical as to make all the other cardinals, who were themselves surprised at the courage they showed, adhere to the vote of Aragon. The Pope could not believe his ears. He commissioned, on the spot, Cardinals Colonna the elder and Sforza to go, not in his name, but in that of the Congregation, to give an account to Olivarès of the result of the deliberations.

That day he breathed more freely. When undressing in the evening he appeared quite lively. 'It is God,' he said to his attendants—'it is God who takes care of us. It cannot be said that we chose our own men: the Spaniards themselves drew up the list of the cardinals that were to form part of the Congregation, and yet our counsels have been followed.'

The next day, against all expectation, and to the great displeasure of Olivarès and of his friends, but to the great joy of the French faction and of the Venetian envoy, the Duke of Luxemburg, who, it was thought, had returned to France, came back unexpectedly from his pilgrimage. The atmosphere seemed changed. It

was not a solution of the difficulty: far from it. But it was like a charge of powder that had been blown off, and in a great crisis. They who think themselves lost enjoy even a moment's respite, and cling to the least symptoms which appear to be of good augury; for man likes to hope. With hope, however little it may be justified, he regains the courage that had deserted him, the presence of mind that had left him, and a resolution to fight to the last. He finds, in fact, all those qualities which, though they do not insure success, at least make it possible. In fact, only a fortnight's respite had been gained; but they were fifteen very precious days. If heaven, that had performed the miracle of obtaining a vote given against Spain by Spanish cardinals, and was evidently propitious, should interfere a second time during that short period—if it should send some news, and proclaim some great event, such as 'a good and great battle,' then the old Pontiff would be himself again—would hold out against the terrible Olivarès and that little Neapolitan doctor who held in his portfolio the abdication of the Papacy or the schism of Spain. 'A second and greater miracle is necessary,' it was whispered about at the Venetian Embassy and in the Navarre coteries; 'and, if it fails, France must be dismembered, and universal monarchy be established.'

CHAPTER VII.

QUESTION OF SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.

THAT much-desired event was not long in coming. It had even taken place five days before the memorable Congregation of March 19. On the 14th the Duke of Mayenne had been hopelessly defeated. His army was destroyed, and Henry's victory was complete. The latter, it seemed, had only to march against Paris to take possession of it, and thus to become the arbiter of France. The great news of the battle of Ivry, which first reached Rome as a kind of vague rumour, was only officially confirmed during the last days of the month. It produced at the Vatican and at the Escurial very different impressions. It revived the zeal of Philip, and slackened that of Sixtus. 'The expedition must be hastened,' said Philip to his ministers. 'We must not irritate Navarre too much now, when he appears to be victorious,' thought the Pope. He did not attempt to disguise this belief from Count Olivarès. In a friendly conversation with Badoer, he added: 'If Henry becomes sincerely converted to religion, all will go well.' He even admitted that it would be insanity to ask the King of Navarre to recant at such a time, when more than ever he seemed to require the help of the Huguenots. He repeated this opinion in private.

One evening, at supper, after a long silence, and as if he was waking from a dream, he suddenly exclaimed: 'How could Navarre become a Catholic now? He would at once be left in the lurch by the Queen of England and the German princes, and the King of Spain would suck him as an egg?'[1] These words were reported to the Spanish Embassy, and transmitted to Madrid.

To Luxemburg he was less explicit. When the latter brought him kind messages from his master, and spoke to him of Henry's intention to declare himself a Catholic as soon as Paris was taken, he listened to him kindly, even with pleasure, but silently. In the Congregations, which met almost daily, he complained bitterly of Olivarès, of the Legate, of Philip, who had not replied to three of his letters. But he always made a distinction between the respectful King and his representative—'that stone of scandal, that villain,' who was, in his opinion, the cause of every evil. Ever alarmed when there was a gathering of troops on the frontier of Naples (the sack of Rome and the defeat of the army of Paul IV. justified these apprehensions), he asked the Congregation of France on one occasion if it would be well to dismiss the Spanish ambassador, and to raise troops to meet the difficulties which might arise. On both points the cardinals answered in the negative. The Count laughed at the chimerical fears of the Holy Father. 'They are only a few recruits and valetudinarians,' he wrote to Philip. He, how-

[1] Sessa to Philip II., August 20, 1590.
[2] Olivarès to Philip II. Rome, 1590.

ever, changed his tone, went seldom to the audience, no longer spoke of a protest, and sent back Dr. Martos to Naples. On the other hand, Sixtus withdrew the order by which, under penalty of excommunication, he had prohibited any member of the Sacred College communicating with the Spanish ambassador. It was a kind of truce, which was based on the fifteen days agreed to under the pretext of waiting for despatches from the Legate, but really upon news received by Olivarès from Madrid. He had learnt that the King disapproved his conduct. Meanwhile, the Nuncio wrote that the King had personally, and in affectionate terms, begged of him to represent to His Holiness the state of France, and to recommend to him a vigorous intervention against Henry of Bearn.

What was, then, the position of Sixtus V.? It is necessary to make it out in order to understand the line he had taken. He himself explained it in one of the Congregations, and in his interviews with Badoer. The frankness of his speech, which sometimes is even too ingenuous, helps us in clearing up the sort of party intrigues, and the rather apparent than really irresolute or contradictory character of the Pope.

It may be remembered that, during nearly a whole year, which had elapsed since the murder of the Guises, he lived under the impression that religion in France could be saved only by the help of Spain, and by supporting the League. To insure the co-operation of the Catholic King, he had made up his mind to accept beforehand as the future King of France the candidate whom Philip might choose to name. To render the Spanish co-operation

efficacious, he had reserved to himself the supreme direction of the enterprise, and had, for that purpose, offered to furnish a greater number of troops than the King. It was, at the same time, the means of giving greater authority to his word, when, after the victory, the moment would have arrived definitively to settle the fate of France. To believe that he would thus succeed in paralysing the preponderance of the King of Spain was an illusion. He knew it; but it was necessary, above all, to save religion; and, if necessary, to sacrifice France. Apart from some feeble desires in another direction, these were his ideas during the whole of the year 1589; and it was according to these that he framed his instructions to the legate Gaetano, as well as the important overtures which he made to Spain through Cardinal Gesualdo. We know what changes took place in his views after the Donato embassy, and after Henry's message, which the Duke of Luxemburg had brought, and which actually did convince him, as it was intended to do, that the King of Navarre seriously intended to recant. The news from France favoured these new ideas. Nothing decisive had taken place; but there were two positive facts, upon which everyone henceforth must agree—the powerlessness of the League if unsupported, and the certainty of Henry's victory if no foreigner intervened; nay, further, the force and vitality of the Catholic spirit in France—a fact which no one would have believed until then. No; France would not be faithless to the Catholic creed. The proof was, that almost all the nobility, and a great portion of the clergy, and two cardinals, were among Henry's adherents, con-

vinced, they said, and probably with truth, that he would return to the religion of the country as soon as he could dispense with the aid of the Huguenots. And would Sixtus V., who wanted to save both France and religion, at such a moment abandon that noble land to the ambition of Philip, and himself lend his money and his men to sacrifice France, Italy, Europe, the Papacy—in fact, the independence of the Holy See, which would no longer be anything more than the first living, of which the monarch of the universe could dispose? But, alas! that terrible Gaetano was fulfilling to the letter the unfortunate instructions he had received. What about those two despatches of Gesualdo? The reader remembers the Pope's anguish, remorse, and wish to disengage himself. Was he really engaged? That question he often asked himself. When a man initiates a proposal, and when the person to whom the proposal is made accepts it, it appears to us that the proposer is morally engaged, unless events of a momentous character modify affairs meanwhile. The overtures made by Gesualdo, which were sent from Rome on December 16, had arrived in Madrid on January 17; and the King's answer, which was sent on January 28, was put into the Pope's hands on February 22.[1] It was impossible to have it in less time. The Pope's complaints as to Philip's silence were only caused by his desire to escape his engagement. But perhaps events that had taken place

[1] Philip II. wrote from San Lorenzo on June 12, 1590, to the Duke of Sena: 'No se puede decir que se le dió tarde esta respuesta, pues habiendo llegado su despacho á 17 de Enero á Madrid, tubo S. S. la respuesta á 22 Ebrero.'

between December 10 and February 22 could be brought to explain the change. No; Henry had not yet been victorious at Ivry, and when that success was known in Madrid, it only stimulated the King to greater activity. There was undoubtedly an event which, in the eyes of the Pope, was far more important than the defeat of Mayenne; and that was the conviction he had acquired during the two last months that Henry seriously thought of becoming a Catholic. This fact he could not allege to Philip, who had ever given out as an axiom, which the Pope had admitted, that Henry's conversion must necessarily be feigned, and should not therefore be accepted. Sixtus was, therefore, in a dilemma. Either he must act with Philip, as he had himself proposed; or disengage himself, declare himself neutral, and let the king be named by Philip. In the first case, he himself helped the issue he most dreaded, next to the fatal results for the Catholic religion—namely, the establishment of a universal monarchy. In the second case, he would have been accused, with seeming justice, of disloyalty, have contradicted himself, have been said to favour heresy, and very likely been besieged in Rome, as Clement VII. and Paul IV. had been, vanquished in all probability, and for ever dishonoured.

In this dilemma he did what a man generally does under such circumstances—he tried to gain time. He strove above all to postpone the crisis, to hide from the public the true state of things, to avoid all scandal, and therefore to prevent the Spaniards from protesting. We have seen how he fought against the merciless

Olivarès; how he succeeded, after scenes which were much to be regretted and which produced a great effect in Philip's cabinet, in obtaining an order that the Count should behave with more respect, and should dismiss the president of the Court of Naples. To screen himself against fresh attempts of the kind, he commissioned two cardinals, Matteo and Pinelli, to draw up a constitution based upon the words of Christ—'Quodcunque ligaveris'—and which reserve to the Pontiff alone the right of absolving the King of Navarre. That work was not persevered in.

To gain time, which was the esssential point, he defended himself on the plea that it was necessary for him to be better informed of what was going on in France, not by hearsay only, but by the despatches from his Legate. Meanwhile he blamed the latter, partly on just partly on unjust grounds, calling him the Legate of Spain and not his Legate, making use of words little worthy of coming from the mouth of a pontiff, as well as not being logical at that moment, since he declared that he wanted to regulate his conduct according to the information which he expected to receive from an agent whom he suspected of not being faithful to him, and considered to be unequal to his duties. Gaetano was not wanting in loyalty, but he had no political instinct, nor was he clear-sighted. He kept to his first instructions, without taking into account the progress of events.

It is time[1] that we should retrace our steps and follow

[1] I write the mission of the legate Gaetano from original reports preserved in the archives of the Vatican. They fill up the half of two files

that statesman in his long and perilous peregrination through the South of France. He was frequently stopped, owing to the war, and escorted from town to town, giving everywhere the apostolic blessing, and promising help from the Pope. At last he arrived, not in Paris but in Dijon, after ten weeks' travelling, having been detained several days by the order of the Duke of Mayenne at Lyons. From Dijon then, on December 21, he sent off his first despatches. The reader remembers his instructions, which were to obtain the liberation of Cardinal de Bourbon, to organize the war against Henry, to support the Duke of Mayenne, to try and detach from their allegiance to Henry, by dint of persuasion, the principal Catholic adherents to his cause, and especially the Cardinal of Vendôme and the Duke of Nevers. It is clear that even in allying himself to the League the Pope did not trust the leaders. His only thought was to unite in one camp all the Catholics of France.

When he reached Dijon the Legate already experienced the influence of the atmosphere which he breathed there. His first despatches prove it. In these he insisted that the Pope should at once send him help, and explicitly excommunicate all the followers of the King of Navarre. He begged the Holy Father to declare without delay that all the dignitaries of the Church and all the prelates whom he was to try to

of papers, containing—the one, the despatches 'in claris,' the ciphered despatches signed by the Cardinal; the other, deciphered despatches. Many passages are underlined, probably by Sixtus himself. History requires that we should note how alike are all the reports given by Olivarès and by Badoer of the Pope's conversations.

gain over by kindness had forfeited their rank, and were incapable henceforth of holding any preferment in the Church. These despatches arrived on February 11, at the very time of the Pope's desperate struggle with Olivarès, who was asking precisely what the Legate advised him to do.

Towards the end of January the Legate entered Paris. The Duke of Mayenne at once came to meet him. He told him that the issue of the war lay in the possession of Paris, but that the state of that city was distressing. If considerable subsidies were not sent at once, it must fall into the hands of Navarre. 'There are,' said the Duke, 'three classes of men in Paris: the merchants, the officers of the peace, and the people. The merchants only think of doing their business, do not want war, and are recommending peace. The men of the law are composed partly of good Catholics and partly of politicians and partisans of Navarre. The latter never cease to excite the people. The people are easily kept under as long as they live in abundance, but each time provisions become a little dearer they become turbulent. We have no hold upon them.'[1] The Legate at the conclusion of the first interview gave Mayenne 50,000 scudi, which was the half of the credit allowed him by the Pope. He thought it right to do this, he wrote to Montalto, in order to save the Duke from an imminent danger, to give authority to his own mission, and finally to belie the false rumour which the enemy had spread of the Pope refusing to lend his support to the Holy

[1] In this respect the Duke was mistaken, as the long siege of Paris proved.

Union. He congratulates himself, and thanks God that he arrived in time. 'People,' says he, 'in this country are much afraid of His Holiness. The knowledge that in Rome the drum is being beat (soldiers are being levied) is a sufficient reason with many noblemen for looking to their interests and abandoning Navarre. But money and troops, cavalry and infantry, are needed. With such help, and the excommunications, we must conquer the Huguenots or despair of the salvation of this kingdom.'

Mayenne sounded him as to the plan which had already been thought of by the heads of the League of appointing Philip Protector of the Crown of France. The Legate asked that that honour might be reserved for the Pope. He finally transmitted the wishes of the Duke, who recommended a close alliance between Rome and Madrid.

If we put ourselves in the position of Sixtus V., who, instead of finding in his agent's reports the arguments he wanted against Olivarès, found on the contrary the same requests repeated, we can understand his wrath, which was so far unjust that his agent not only had orders to support the adversaries of Henry, but was justified on other grounds. The Legate only saw through the eyes of the League, and forgot an essential part of his mission, which was to negotiate with the Catholic royalists.

Formally, however (for he did not expect any result from such a step), Gaetano had placed himself in communication with the Cardinal of Vendôme. The latter sent him word that the only means of tranquillising

France was to 'reduce Navarre to the Catholic religion; *let the Legate cite him and exhort him*,[1] and then we shall see.' Gaetano finds no words strong enough to condemn the Cardinal's blindness and lukewarm nature. He reverts to the dangerous state of affairs; to the urgent necessity there is for the Pope to open hostilities, to the intention which, as he supposes, Henry has, if victorious in France, of penetrating into Italy and of marching upon Rome. All the phraseology of the League-partisans and of the Spanish agents is to be met with in his reports; and each messenger sent by him roused afresh at the Vatican the anger of the Pope.

Knowing what value Sixtus attached to an understanding with the Duke of Nevers, the Legate attempted to bring it about, but was convinced beforehand that such an attempt must fail. 'He is,' said he, 'a very intelligent knight. But, to say the truth, he has an exalted opinion of himself, and is strongly pledged to the House of Bourbon. He cannot see the Duke of Mayenne in the position held by the latter. His mind is so devoted to speculation that he often pursues an illusion.'

When Mayenne, who was almost at complete variance with Nemours and Aumale, thought of making peace with Henry, the Legate tried to prevent him. In fact, he was certain that Paris would already have surrendered to the King of Navarre if he had not prevented such a fatal issue by the 50,000 scudi which he gave to Mayenne from His Holiness.

[1] These words are evidently underlined by Sixtus himself.

The despatches of Cardinal Montalto being ever full of expressions showing how displeased the Pope was, Gaetano begged of his brother, the Patriarch of Alexandria, to go to Rome, to justify his conduct, and to insist on money being sent until the arrival of the Pope's auxiliary troops, and to impress especially upon the mind of His Holiness that Henry, who was an obstinate heretic, should never be allowed to recant.[1]

Pledged on the one hand, and far too much so, to the League, in good understanding with Spain, then kept back by subsequent orders at the time of the great change that took place, as the reader knows, at the Vatican, the unfortunate Legate lost his head completely, and did not know how to escape with credit from a position which was daily becoming more false. Shortly after the battle of Ivry, he had at Noisy an interview with Marshal de Biron. The time was certainly not well chosen for an attempt to detach that personage from Henry's cause. That meeting also had no practical result. The Marshal scandalised the Legate by his lukewarmness,[2] saying that he was not serving the cause of heresy, but that of the legitimate King, with the well-grounded belief and hope that he would soon become Catholic.

It was after this interview that the representative of the Holy See published the censure of the Church. He wrote to Cardinal de Vendôme and to the prelates who were partisans of Henry, and who had congregated at

[1] The Legate's instruction to his brother is now in the possession of the Duke of Sermoneta, and was published in French in the *Revue du Monde catholique* of April 10, 1867.

[2] 'Se conocia en él muy poca religion.'—Olivarès to Philip II.

Tours, that they were all excommunicated. Vendôme replied that they were with the King by authority of the Pope; that they were trying to convert him, and that therefore, as for himself, he could not hide from the Legate the astonishment he felt at seeing how little informed he was of the Pope's desires.

As to the eventual conversion of Henry, the Legate did not believe in it. That prince, said he, pretends that the occupations of the war prevent his having time to be instructed; but this pretext is a false one, since few Frenchmen are better informed on matters of faith. He thinks of other things than of religion, and already meditates being crowned King of the Romans. Finally the Legate sent word that at Tours, which was the principal seat of the ecclesiastical heads who had become followers of Henry, a Dominican friar had preached that, far from proceeding against the followers of the King, the Pope was ardently hoping for the conversion of his Majesty, and was most gracious to the Duke of Luxemburg.

Sixtus V. had these letters read before the Congregation of France. He praised the discretion of Biron; approved the answer given by Cardinal de Vendôme; and strongly condemned the conduct of the Legate, who did nothing, or acted when it was not necessary, who himself said that nothing could make the League less popular in the eyes of Frenchmen than the union of its leaders with Spain; and yet, in the face of that assertion, called public attention to his intimacy with Mendoza by showing himself every day in his company in the streets of Paris. In fact he

spoilt every plan. He knew, and constantly repeated that the name of Spain was quite sufficient to exasperate France, and yet he had the imprudence to declare that Henry could not be king because Philip would not allow it. He was right to carry on confidential relations with the Spaniards, as his first instructions had prescribed his doing so; but he was wanting altogether in tact, and compromised his own Government, by daily announcing to the Parisians that the Holy See was going to send aid, when, since the defeat of Ivry, the League was no more than a corpse. Seeing the progress of the King of Navarre, seeing the rebellion in Flanders, which prevented the Duke of Parma from coming to the rescue of Paris, and seeing the general state of things, he did not intend any longer to give either men or money. 'We are accused,' said he, 'of being avaricious. We are not so, but do not wish to spend the treasures piled up in Fort St. Angelo except for a good motive, such as for building monuments or erecting obelisks (and he enumerated all he was doing), impelled as we are by a certain desire for glory from which we do not defend ourselves:[1] but what we will not do is to throw money away without deriving any benefit from it, or without any other result than more and more to offend the now victorious King of Navarre, and to prevent his giving heed to the good intentions which he may possess.' For all these reasons the Pope wished to temporise, while each messenger from the Legate brought him despatches recommending him to act.

[1] 'Certi spiriti di gloria.'

The Spanish ambassador watched jealously the proceedings of the Congregation of France, and especially of the Congregation called 'The General.' In his correspondence with Philip he gave an account of the position taken up by the cardinals who were vassals or pensioners of the Catholic King; he established a distinction between those who 'during the storm' behaved well, that is, in favour of, and those who voted against, the interests of Spain. He proposed rewards, praises, or the expression of the King's displeasure and punishments, according to what each had deserved. If the pleasure which the conduct of certain cardinals gave him shows the wretched dependence of some members of the Sacred College, his rage against others indicates that there were some who dared go against the wrath of the powerful monarch. 'In those sittings,' writes Olivarès, 'the Pope explains matters in his own way, justifies his conduct by words uttered with the intention of not acting up to them, or which he never said, or even heard said. He communicates or keeps back whatever suits him, gets angry whenever the slightest objection is made to him, and declares everyone to be rebellious against the Pope who is not of his opinion. From his twenty-three creatures he exacts an implicit obedience to his will. The old cardinals (those who were promoted by former Popes) are afraid of making an enemy of Montalto; others fear the passionate nature of the Pope, who is very capable of doing them a bad turn.' The truth is that the great majority of the cardinals were favourable to Philip, and if Olivarès complained of Sixtus V. the latter regretted publicly

how devoted to Spain were most of the cardinals, who wanted, he said, to make him spend the money of the State, and thus to place the Holy See under the control of other princes.[1]

Out of regard for the King of Spain, the question of recalling the Legate had been negatived. The Cardinal's brother, the Patriarch of Alexandria, arrived; but he could not appease the Pontiff, who even availed himself of a little circumstance to put him under arrest. Two preachers, a Capuchin monk and a Theatine, had, at the instance of the Patriarch, recommended the faithful to pray for the success of the League. They were both imprisoned. An order was published at the same time, prohibiting any preacher, under the severest penalties, from making any allusion to political matters.

It was thus that the spring and a portion of the summer went by. Olivarès held secret meetings outside the Porta del Popolo with Deza, Sens, and other cardinals of his way of thinking; while Sixtus, who was almost alone, confided his sorrows to the Venetian ambassador. With Olivarès he confined himself to vague expressions and frequently contradicted himself, as often happens with people who talk much, and therefore forget what they said or kept back at other times. He, however, showed but too plainly to Olivarès that his sympathies were all with Henry, who, he was sure, only wanted to get Paris to become a Catholic; to Badoer that he had been obliged to make concessions to the Spaniards, and to all how anxious he was to

[1] Olivarès to Philip, June 19, 1590; and various correspondence of Badoer with the Doge.

disengage himself from the pledges he had given. He mistook times and dates, tried to make his various sentiments at both epochs agree, and was daily sinking in strength. But he wanted to be well, as he was resolved to die standing, to fight to the last with that terrible Spaniard who disregarded orders and entered the old man's closet whenever it suited him, who poisoned his life, and humbled him in his own eyes, since he frightened a man who had never before known what fear was.

We have seen that the Venetian ambassador constantly called the Pope's attention to the dangers which threatened Europe on the part of Turkey. This he had done for a long time, and especially so since Philip II. had openly declared in favour of the League —a source of increasing anxiety for every Government. What would the Sultan's conduct be in the great European conflagration which appeared to be imminent? All felt sure that he would not remain idle.

That very apprehension had induced the Venetian Government — which, next to the Empire, was the Power most directly interested in the maintenance of peace—to depart from its policy of abstention, and to favour indirectly a prompt solution of the pending questions in France. The prolongation of civil war in that country, and a participation in it of other countries, would necessarily bring the Turks again upon the scene. According to a rumour prevalent in Pera, the Sultan, at the request of the Queen of England, was meditating a naval expedition, with the

co-operation of the Dey of Algiers, against the coast of Provence, and with the object of taking possession of Marseilles.

Henry of Navarre, who was anxious to make use of such powerful auxiliaries, not to bring them into France, but to direct them against Spain, wrote to the Sultan and to the Grand Vizier, at the time that he was himself besieging Paris.[1] After telling him briefly of the assassination of Henry III., which he attributed to his rebellious subjects, who hoped thereby to take possession of the crown of France, he notified to him his own accession as the legitimate sovereign of that country. The rebellion, it is true, he said, still continues. It is supported by Spain, which is the enemy of all monarchies, and especially of that of the Sultan. Hence the obligation under which he lies to provide for the war which has hitherto been fortunate to his arms. He informs the Sultan of his victory at Ivry, of his taking many towns and provinces, and of the hope which he has of soon becoming possessed of Paris. He finishes by excusing himself for having so long delayed (owing to the war which he carries on in person) to resume with the Sultan those amicable relations which so happily existed between the Sultans and the Kings of France, his predecessors. But he will shortly make up for this omission—he will send an ambassador who is worthy of the confidence of both himself and the Sultan. The man at Constantinople then, M. de Lancôme, does not deserve that confidence, having espoused

[1] M. Jacques Savarie, ambassador of France at Constantinople since 1585, got hold of a copy of Henry's letter.

the cause of the rebels, and the King begs the Sultan not to consider him any longer as the representative of France.

This letter which, excepting the significant sally against Spain and the passage against M. de Lancôme, is not out of the common, was sent to M. de Maisse at Venice, and through him to the British agent at Constantinople. It arrived there on the 13th of July, and was a few days later placed by that diplomatist in the hands of the Sultan. The First Pasha, as he was then called, showed himself much pleased with this step of the King's, and was very happy, he said, to find on the throne of France a prince who was both an enemy of Spain and of the Pope, the Sublime Porte being always opened to those who sought the friendship of the Sultan. The next day M. de Lancôme was informed by a servant that he had to give up his functions. His endeavours with the Grand Vizier resulted in a permission to prolong his stay in Pera. He had expected worse, and congratulated himself upon getting off with the loss only of his official character. Turkey being looked upon as in a perpetual state of hostility towards the Christian Powers, the ambassadors from foreign States at Constantinople were not placed under the guarantee of international rights, and many times had to undergo very severe treatment. If we may believe M. de Lancôme, both M. de Maisse, by his correspondence, and the representatives of England and Venice at Constantinople, by their persuasive arguments and by their presents, tried to make the Turks declare in favour of Henry, and create a

diversion by directing upon Marseilles or upon the coast of Spain the two hundred galleys which they had armed at the express request of the Queen of England. An English squadron was in the spring to land troops in Portugal, and to revive the insurrection, under the direction of Don Antonio.

Such was the news which the French ambassador gave M. de Dieu, the agent of the Duke of Mayenne in Rome, requesting him to stop at Lyons the messengers bearing the correspondence of Henry and Elizabeth with the enemy of Christianity.[1]

Meanwhile an event of great importance had taken place in France. Cardinal de Bourbon, the Charles X. of the League, had died.[2] For the League, and for Philip, the throne of France was now vacant. A successor must be found, and the question henceforth was all-important. According to the Legate, who speaks of it in one of his reports, there was no prince in France who could satisfy the people, Navarre being a heretic, and therefore ineligible. Cardinal de Vendôme was too intimate with Henry, and not a soldier; the Prince of Conti was almost deaf and dumb; Soissons was suspicious, religiously speaking; the young Prince of Condé was a bastard and a heretic; the Duke of Montpensier and his son were weak and incapable. After thus excluding all the princes of the blood, he examined all the members of the houses of Guise and Lorraine, who were ineligible, being strangers; the

[1] Lancôme to M. de Dieu, July 21, 1590. Henry to Amurath, April 28, 1590.

[2] May 8, 1590. Badoer to the Doge, June 9, 1590.

Duke of Savoy, who was detested because of his attack upon Saluzzo, as well as for being a foreigner. That being the case, Gaetano concludes that God must be asked to provide.

Such was not the opinion of Sixtus V. According to him, one man alone was eligible, and that was Henry, who, master of Paris, would become Catholic, and be then proclaimed King by universal acclamation. The Legate's conclusions, however, satisfied Philip; for if Henry of Navarre, if the princes of the blood, if the Guises and the Lorraines were excluded, it was evident that the King of Spain would solve the question. In his instructions which he addressed in May and in June to his Lieutenant-General Tarsis, to the commandant Moreo, and to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Philip expressed his intimate thoughts. He commissioned Parma, he said, to enter France with all the troops at his disposal. He could not do more, and Mayenne must try and obtain the aid of His Holiness, who, there was reason to hope, would join the undertaking. French territory once invaded, they would profit by the opportunity to take possession of Cambrai. An effort must be made to dispel the suspicions which existed in the League against the Duke of Savoy. A good understanding was necessary between the latter and the Duke of Mayenne. The Duke of Savoy, by occupying Provence, could prevent the Turks from setting foot upon that territory. The Duke of Lorraine was an important member of the League. He must be helped, and both Mendoza and Tarsis would take care to give him at once 20,000 ducats,

and a similar amount later under certain specified circumstances. They must offer him the Golden Fleece, and obtain an edict prohibiting any communication with 'the Béarnais.' The King was disposed to accept, either for himself or in common with Sixtus V., the title of Protector of the League. His representatives must be careful to get the Legate to 'stimulate' the zeal of the Pope. They must sound the Duke of Mayenne as to the question of succession. 'The Infanta, my eldest daughter,' the instructions go on to say, 'has undoubted rights not only to certain portions of, but to the whole of, the kingdom of France.[1] The Salic law and the customs of France cannot be alleged as obstacles. A marriage of the Infanta can also be hinted at.'

There were two great dangers to be avoided: first, the rehabilitation of Bearn, and the Pope's acquiescence in his abjuration, notwithstanding the contrary engagements entered into by His Holiness. The other danger consisted in an agreement entered into with Henry by the Catholic towns and people who might be tired of the sufferings they endured. Mendoza, Moreo, and Tarsis, must oppose any such solution. They must therefore make use for that purpose of the Legate's support.

In a second instruction[2] the King entered more fully into the examination of the question of succession. He applauded the courage and perseverance shown by

[1] Isabelle Claire-Eugénie, daughter of Philip and Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Médicis.

[2] June 1590.

the inhabitants of Paris, who were then besieged by the troops of Henry, promised his co-operation, and instructed his agents to issue public declarations respecting the succession. It would, however, be necessary to come to an understanding with Mayenne, to dispel any suspicion he might conceive, to tell him that in any case and whatever prince might be called to the throne of France, he would occupy the second dignity of the kingdom as its lieutenant-general. Here the King wrote, *manu propriâ*, in the margin, a note saying that it might perhaps be best not to tell him this.[1] The passage was therefore modified. The young Duke of Guise, who was still a prisoner, was to be provided for. As soon as an understanding should have been come to with Mayenne, an agreement with the Legate was to be arrived at. It would be dangerous to assemble the States-General, and to intrust to them the election of a King. It would, perhaps, be better to have him elected by the Parliament of Paris, in which case the other towns would follow the example of the capital. If His Majesty's will were asked as to whom he would like to see on the throne of France, the ambassadors were first to give evasive answers, and say that their master would prefer the candidate who should be looked upon as the strongest, and most likely to restore the Catholic religion in the kingdom. Hence the exclusion of Cardinal Vendôme and of all the members of the House of Bourbon, since all of them had fought for the cause of heresy. This point

[1] 'No sé si es bien decirle esto, ni yo lo intiendo muy bien y asi se mire como se pondrá.' The secretary added the word 'mudarse.

once settled, they were adroitly to hint at the claims of the Infanta specified in the instruction, and they would combat any opposition on the ground of the Salic law, that law being a fiction, as allowed by the best French lawyers. The matter must be treated with a great deal of tact, and all causes of irritation must be studiously avoided in the discussion. His ambassadors must let him know how matters go on, and await his instructions as to the various candidates; but if the election were hastily carried on, he did not object to the choice of the Marquis de Pons nor to that of the Duke of Guise, and all the more so that in either case Mayenne would retain the second dignity in the State, which was due to him, together with the highest authority, and the absolute control of the army. In the event of an election, the capitulation signed by him and the Cardinal de Bourbon must be ratified, and the clause respecting the restitution of Cambrai must at once be executed. The new king would pledge himself not to marry except in conformity with the desire of Philip. In the event of a second armada against England, it must be settled what French harbours of refuge might be placed at the disposal of the Spanish fleet, and what assistance France could afford. If the choice fell on a son of the Duke of Lorraine it must be stipulated that that duchy should never revert to France, but must be ceded to Spain, and thus form a link between Burgundy (Franche Comté) and the Netherlands. If the cession could not be made, the agents must insist, at least, on the duchy going to the second brother of the Duke of Lorraine, and to his

descendants. The question of the marriage of the Infanta was more delicate. If others put it forward, the plenipotentiaries must neither allow nor refuse its being discussed, but confine themselves to a declaration that they did not know His Majesty's wishes respecting that point. They must add that their master loved his daughter dearly, that France was a country much divided by factions; in fact, they must try by happy insinuations to produce a conviction that such a union would be of very great advantage to France. They must give out that all the Infanta's titles, rights, and privileges would go over to the crown of France; and, further, that that kingdom might henceforth depend upon the favour and protection of the King of Spain. Lastly, his Majesty, said the instruction, confided in the ability of his plenipotentiaries, and still more in the success of his armies under the Duke of Parma.

In fine, according even to Cardinal Gaetano, no prince of the blood, except one whom he rejects, Henry of Navarre, had the slightest chance of being accepted. The members of the Houses of Guise and Lorraine and the Duke of Savoy were in a similar predicament. All foreign princes would be rejected by the country, if the country were allowed to choose their king. This opinion was that of everyone, and nobody dared contest it. This being the case, there remained only a last alternative, which was to let either France or Spain elect a king according to the success of either one or the other in war. Should the French be successful, Henry's election was certain: should Philip be vic-

torious, he might dispose of the kingdom at will. He would place his daughter on the throne and marry her to a French prince; he would make her reign in spite of the Salic law, or France must be dismembered.[1] This last solution especially flattered Mayenne's ambition. As the reward of his election, he offered Philip the cession of Burgundy, Provence, Dauphiné, and Brittany! This proposal he transmitted through his agent in Rome, Cardinal de Sens; and, as the latter was about to leave Rome for France, he made it known to Olivarès through a common friend.

By the force of circumstances, and not by the will of man, in virtue of the individual incapacity of those who were called by birth to succeed to the throne of France, Henry of Navarre, by his superiority and birth, as well as by the position in which he found himself, was the only possible king of France, and France could exist but with him. If he failed, then France, under whatever title, must become a fief of Spain.

[1] Olivarès to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, July 28, 1590. Simancas.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DUKE OF SESSA'S MISSION.

THE Duke of Sessa, who had been announced for several months, was expected by the Pope with an anxiety which he could not disguise, by Olivarès[1] with an impatience which was not without a touch of spite, and by the Court and people of Rome as the man who was destined to put an end to the great crisis, and oblige Sixtus V. to adopt the policy of Philip, or throw him into the arms of the Huguenots. That diplomatist had lost several weeks in the port of Carthagena, waiting for the galleys which were to take him over to Italy. He arrived at last, on the 21st of June. Two days later he was introduced, by the ambassador Olivarès, to the Pope, and had his first audience. The Duke of Sessa, who was a son of the former Governor of Milan, was, notwithstanding his youthful age, the confidant of his master, and the instrument chosen by him to accomplish, if possible, by gentleness,[2] what Olivarès had not been able to do, owing to his

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., June 19 and 20, 1590. Simancas.

[2] Sessa to Philip II., June 30, 1590. 'Conforme lo que V. Magestad me ordena en mis instrucciones probar con S. S. el camino de los medios suaves y apurar si correspondieran las obras con la buena voluntad que en sus palabras mostraba.'

violence, which, in Philip's opinion, had been carried too far.

The object of his mission was to obtain the immediate and full execution of the proposals of the 16th of December, which, for reasons already known to the reader, the Pope had thus far left unheeded. Besides the true object of the military intervention, which was to be organised without delay, the Duke was to prepare the way for the solution of another question, which was that of the succession to the throne of France, in the sense of the instructions given by the King to his agents in Paris.

The first audience passed off in mutual exchange of affectionate greetings on the Pope's part, and deferential compliments on that of the young ambassador. It was only at the second audience that matters began to be discussed in earnest. The Pope's emotion was visible. While the Duke spoke, in his master's sense, of the misfortunes that beset France, and of the means of remedying them, the Pope's hands trembled convulsively, not with rage, but with emotion and with fear, so says Olivarès, who was present. Evidently Sixtus had expected a more energetic tone, harsher reproaches, greater demands, and had come to the audience under the fear, which weighed upon him as a nightmare, of being forced to carry out what he called his proposals, and the Spaniards his pledges, according to the terms proposed by Cardinal Gesualdo. But nothing in Sessa's language pointed to any demand of the sort. Sixtus took courage, and with his courage he resumed, in subsequent audiences, his old manner of speaking.

He gesticulated, got angry, and screamed, says Olivarès, until he was hoarse.

The Duke recalled, in respectful tones, the engagement entered into on the 16th of December, expressed the King's regret at the delay which had occurred in its fulfilment, and showed that there was real danger to be apprehended. He finally made a peremptory request for the immediate formation of an army, and for the decrees of excommunication, but did not mention subsidies.

The Pope replied 'that he had always maintained Gesualdo's proposals; that they had not been framed as a convention; that if he had done nothing, the King had done but little, and indeed nothing to succour the Duke of Mayenne during the siege of Dieppe; that he was constantly threatened with protests, but that nevertheless, leaving the past alone, he was ready to make a convention (a capitulation as it was then called); that he was able to raise men in the space of a fortnight; that, nevertheless, he was resolved to throw all his money into the Tiber rather than send it to the Duke of Mayenne; that in giving funds to that duke his Legate had gone beyond his instructions, and that as for him he was resolved never to aid the League, because the enmity between the Houses of Bourbon and of Guise was the result of old jealousies and had nothing in common with the interests of religion; that for this reason many cardinals, princes, and noblemen, who were enemies of Mayenne, had joined Navarre, and that for this reason he would not appear as the protector of Mayenne. In being neutral, and loudly

declaring that the Pontifical and Spanish intervention was exclusively for the purpose of giving a Catholic king to France, and not to favour the League, he saw the only means of uniting all the Catholics of France under a single standard.' These wise words are the true expression of the intimate thoughts of Sixtus V. He was perfectly sincere in this respect, but he went no further. He did not say the last word, which was, that he was convinced that that Catholic king, the only possible one in France, and the only one definitively excluded by Philip, was Henry of Navarre. To these political arguments, which were designed to explain his firm intention not to identify himself with the passions and essentially anti-national tendencies of the League, he added a long list of grievances against the Duke of Mayenne. The latter, he said, had been wanting in respect towards him in the person of the Legate, whom he detained a long time in Lyons, and did not properly receive in Paris. He had sent to Rome, as his ambassador, first a bookseller and next a poor knight of Malta. He was in general wanting in respect towards the Holy See, and allowed his soldiers to commit all kinds of horrors. The Duke's conduct, that of the Legate, and the little confidence with which they both inspired him, were the causes of his inaction. He was also told from Spain, though he could scarcely believe it, that the King had no other object than to make him spend the money he had economised.

The ambassadors replied that the Spanish contingent was ready in Savoy, and prepared to march into France at the same moment with the Duke of

Parma at the head of the Army of Flanders. 'That is the way,' said the Pope, 'to spend money uselessly. Nothing is worse than to scatter one's forces, to leave them idle, and to pay them without deriving any profit out of them. If it suits the King, he may do so, since his galleons bring him yearly all the riches of India. But we are not so situated. We shall enter into the campaign as soon as we are ready, and then, if necessary, we would sell even our mitre. As regards the spiritual measures spoken of by the Duke, he should, to discuss the question properly, have studied theology. We have studied it, and know what must be done under the circumstances, and when that should be done. We do not, besides, intend to drive the Catholic partisans of Navarre to despair.'

He then touched upon the most important point of the Duke of Sessa's mission, which was to establish unity of action as regards the succession. On this head, his language, which has a touch of irony, was intended to hide his real meaning. He first maintained his oft-repeated declaration, that he would accept Philip's candidate. If Philip wanted France for himself, let him take it; he, the Pope, would not prevent him; he would even help him. This was a great secret, 'which,' says Sessa, in his report of the conversation, 'he has told to a hundred thousand people.' If the King decided in favour of the Dukes of Savoy and of Lorraine, or even of Mayenne, though he did not like the latter, he would make no opposition. Every king was good for him, provided he be Catholic; and Sixtus said to himself: While we are negotiating here, Henry will have

taken Paris, been converted, and been proclaimed King of France.

Touching then upon the mode of election, he held that it was not the French nation, but the Pope who should choose the king, as had twice been done at the time of Pépin and Hugh Capet. Such a claim was not a serious one, but it helped to gain time.

At last, notwithstanding the remonstrances from both ambassadors, who insisted on his executing simply and absolutely the terms of the proposals of the 16th of December, it was agreed that two cardinals should be appointed by His Holiness to arrange with Philip's representatives what the text of the convention should be.

The audience had lasted several hours, and the ambassadors, who were quite overwhelmed by the flood of words from the Pope's mouth, the sense of which they scarcely understood, took leave with the firm conviction that Sixtus only intended to temporise and disengage himself. Their third audience on the 30th of June confirmed them in this opinion. On the other hand, the Pope had told Graziosi—who was agent of the Duke of Urbino, and who took care to repeat the remark at once to the Spanish ambassadors—that he saw through the designs of Philip and of the Duke of Mayenne, and that these were to dismember France.

While Sessa tried to impress the Holy Father with the necessity of fulfilling his engagements, a messenger brought him fresh instructions, together with an autograph letter from the King to the Pope.[1] Philip

[1] Philip II. to Sessa. San Lorenzo, June 12, 1590. Simancas.

justified his not having answered the Pope's letters, and insisted upon the prompt execution of the proposals of the 16th of December; quoted, to show his earnestness, the dates we have already given; and concluded, that the Court of Rome was pledged. He shared the suspicions of Olivarès, and finally asked that the monitory against the Catholic partisans of Navarre might be issued, and Luxemburg be dismissed. This instruction contained nothing new, but shows that, apart from his threats of bringing about a schism or a war, and apart from his arrogant ways, Olivarès had not gone beyond his master's wishes.

The King's letter was an answer to that which the Pope had written to him on the 8th of March, and of which we have spoken above. To the complaints of the Pope, Philip II. answered by bitter reproaches. 'Nothing,' said he, 'has surprised me more than to see your Holiness, after an act inspired by God (the bull against Henry of Navarre), leaving time to the heretics to take root in France, without even ordering that the Catholic partisans of "the Béarnais" should separate from his cause. The Church is on the eve of losing one of its members; Christendom is on the point of being set on fire by the united heretics; Italy runs the greatest danger, and, in the presence of the enemy, we look on and we temporise! And the blame is put upon me, because, looking at those interests as if they were mine, I hasten to your Holiness as to a father whom I love and respect, and as a good son remind him of the duties of the Holy See! By God's mercy, where have you found in the whole course of my life reasons for

thinking of me as you tell me men think of me, and by what right do you tell it me? God and the whole world know my love for the Holy See, and nothing will ever make me deviate from it, not even your Holiness by the great injustice you do me in writing such things to me. But the greater my devotion, the less I shall consent to your failing in your duty towards God and towards the Church, who have given you the means of acting; and, at the risk of being importunate to your Holiness and displeasing to you, I shall insist on your setting to the task. . . . Whatever occurs, however, I depend upon the Divine protection, that will enlighten me and guide my steps, and as for the rest I subscribe to what the Duke of Sessa will tell your Holiness.'

Sixtus did not wish to push matters too far. He wanted to appear tractable. He therefore did not see the Duke of Luxemburg any more, but continued to receive Monsignor Seraphino, who, as Olivarès said, was the soul of the Bearnese cabal. The Patriarch of Alexandria, brother to the Legate Gaëtani, and the two monks who had preached in favour of the League were released; and the Cardinal of Aragon, who had become reconciled with Olivarès, was, with Cardinal Santa Severina, who also belonged to the Spanish faction, commissioned to treat with the ambassadors. A meeting took place at once; other meetings were rapidly held in succession; and on the 19th of July a draft of a convention was agreed to of which the principal clauses were these :—

Article I., the introduction, declares the intention of His Holiness to interfere in the affairs of France by a

military occupation and without delay, as he would have done already had there not been some impediments.[1] The object of the intervention is to maintain the interests of the Catholic religion in France, to unite the princes and people of that kingdom, to protect them against the violence of the heretics, to facilitate to them the means of electing a Catholic and Very Christian king, and of insuring the independence and integrity of the kingdom.

Here the ambassadors added in the margin: 'His Holiness wished to avoid inserting in the treaty anything that could be interpreted as an intention on his part to favour the League (here follow the Pope's words on the subject, which we have quoted above). On this point His Holiness has been inexorable, and we have been obliged to content ourselves with a draft which should not be contrary to the wishes expressed by your Majesty, or arrived at between your Majesty and the League.'

Article II. shows that Philip and the Pope are both animated with the same desire of preserving the Catholic religion, of exterminating heresy, of preserving the crown of France, and of re-establishing peace and tranquillity in that kingdom. No mention is made of its integrity. It is to the accomplishment of that object that Philip is pledged.

The following articles bear upon the nomination of the Duke of Urbino to the chief command of the Pontifical and Spanish troops, upon the number of troops, which is fixed at 15,000 infantry and a thousand light cavalry in the pay of the Pope, and at 25,000 troops

[1] Sessa to Philip II., July 8, 1590.

furnished by the King of Spain. This engagement is entered into by both parties for the space of a year. If in that space of time the King of France is not chosen, it is understood that the intervention ceases, unless a prolongation be stipulated for by both the contracting parties.

The Pope's contingent was smaller than what he had led the King to hope it would have been; but Philip's plenipotentiaries, on the strong recommendation of the two cardinals, accepted the diminished number, in order, as they remarked in the margin, not to give him an opportunity of breaking off the negotiations.

The last article (16th) reserved to the Pope authority to invite the 'potentates' of Italy to join in this holy enterprise. By a secret capitulation,[1] the Holy Father engaged to accept and to recognise as King of France, provided he were Catholic, the prince whom Philip should name. He put, however, the following conditions: The nomination and declaration of a king of France must be made in conformity, it is true, with the wish of the Catholic King, but by means of an election, or in any other way that may be just and legitimate, after the King of Spain shall have informed the Pope confidentially of the name of the prince he has fixed upon. Such a choice will be kept secret, and the election will take place at latest within three months after the troops of His Holiness and of His Majesty shall have together, or separately, evacuated French

[1] Capitulacion secreta entre S. S. y Su Magestad sobre las cosas de Francia.—M. Sessa's Report of July 19, 1590.

territory. The future king must pledge himself never to contract an alliance with infidels, heretics, or schismatics; must publish in his kingdom the decrees of the Council of Trent, maintain the Tribunal of the Inquisition, and re-establish it there where it has been suppressed; put an end to the hateful sin of simony; maintain all the immunities and liberties of the clergy, and, finally, call into his Council, as well as into the Council of State, such a number of prelates or other ecclesiastics as shall not be less than a third of the number of members of such councils.—The Spanish plenipotentiaries exclaimed. One of those clauses especially appeared to them to be premature and compromising (that which said that the evacuation of the territory should precede the election). But His Holiness, they added in the margin, is decided upon breaking off the negotiations, so all they can do is to agree.

The framing of the last article cost them most trouble. The Pope insisted that Brittany and Provence, which were called 'countries of obedience,' should be restored to the authority of the Holy See as regarded the preferments in the Church and other ecclesiastical matters. The ambassadors made a separate and distinct article, by which their sovereign engaged to ask of the King of France the concessions above mentioned. In this wise, while conforming, as regards Brittany, to the wishes of the Pope, they did not say that it was of the future King of France that Philip would have to demand these concessions; for that would have implied, to the prejudice of the claims of the Infanta, the recognition of Brittany as an integral portion of France.

The care bestowed by the ambassadors upon the framing of that article had not escaped the Pope. Explanations took place, and the Spanish diplomatists were called upon to declare what was the intention of their king. They declared that His Majesty was in any case decided upon an expedition against Brittany, and to maintain the rights of the Infanta, but that he would settle that question afterwards by the marriage of his daughter with the future King of France, and by giving her Brittany as her marriage-portion.

These last difficulties were finally settled, and the articles expressed in the way we have pointed out. The difficult negotiations were therefore successful, and the document to be binding upon the two sovereigns only required the signature of the plenipotentiaries. That formality had not yet been fulfilled, but was to be so shortly, when the Pope, who was ill with fever, called the Congregation of France into his room. To the inexpressible astonishment of the cardinals of that Congregation, who believed, with the ambassadors, that an understanding had been arrived at with Philip, Sixtus submitted to them the question whether, if the throne of France were vacant, it belonged to the Pope to elect a king: 'an electio regis Franciæ, vacante principe, ex corpore sanguinis, spectet ad pontificem?' This came upon Olivarès and Sessa, who expected much, like a thunderbolt. They could not see the Pope, on account of his illness; but they sent him endless messages, requests, and ill-disguised threats. He begged of them to be patient, to believe that he was animated with the best intentions, but to give him a little rest during the

great heats. They insisted, nevertheless, and used every means. At last they sent an ultimatum. If the Pope had not given his sanction to the convention by the 1st of August, they would send off their messenger, and dispatch the documents to Philip, telling him of what they termed the Pope's treason. But Sixtus did not give his sanction. He pleaded his duties as Head of the Church, which obliged him to maintain the rights of the Holy See. He had warned the Duke of Urbino, and told him to be ready, for he was to take the command of the troops which he was about to raise but had not raised as yet. Before finally pledging himself to the Catholic King, His Holiness wished to be enlightened upon the question which he had put to the Congregation. That was his answer. The ambassadors could not obtain another, and the 1st of August having come, they dispatched their messenger, bearing the draft of a convention which was no convention, which was but a document without any official character, and anything but a treaty, since it had no signature.

During these days of crisis, while the ambassadors and the two cardinals were working towards engaging Philip and the Pope to one another, the adverse party had not remained inactive. Badoer was its most intelligent and most important agent. Notwithstanding the dog-days, and the Pope's fever—'that fearful cold which has tormented him for the last few months,'—the Venetian diplomatist peered into the intentions of Sixtus and guessed them. He enlightened the Pope as to the true state of France, and brought him the last

news from Paris, which was reduced to the greatest misery, and the taking of which was a mere question of days or hours. However secret the negotiations had been kept, Badoer had got at their purpose. He knew all, but said nothing to anyone, except to the Doge, in his correspondence, which, always interesting, is just at this time especially valuable, not only for his Government, but also for the historian, who, after three hundred years, finds in it the key to the hitherto inexplicable behaviour of the Pope, his intimate thoughts, and the means employed by him to get rid of the influence of Spain, in order that he might save France, and together with France the independence of the Church and of Europe.

On the 14th of July, Badoer had already become acquainted with the principal articles of the convention, the framing of which was settled only five days later.

'If the Pope signs,' he wrote to the Doge (July 14, 1590), 'it is in the hope that the Spanish armaments will not be finished at the time fixed by the treaty. He intends to make it a pretext for disengaging himself. God grant that His Holiness may not be mistaken, and that, once the convention is settled, it may not be impossible for him to retire.' On one occasion he told the Pope all he had heard respecting the negotiations. The Pope shook his head. 'We do not know as much,' he said; 'the Spaniards promise much, but do little. If we were to have believed them, Provence was to have been taken by the Duke of Savoy last December; but up to the present time operations have not even begun.

Now they wish suddenly to make great preparations. We shall see,' he added, with an air of incredulity, 'and then we will speak of the affair. They speak of nothing but the Duke of Urbino, of troops and other miracles. Well! we shall see, and when we have seen with our own eyes we shall speak; but meanwhile we do not believe, more than is necessary, all that they tell us.' The ambassador praised the Pope's prudence; but 'I could not,' he wrote to the Doge, 'prevent myself from putting in a word respecting the advantages of neutrality, which is so much in harmony with the duties of the Universal Father. As long as he will remain so he will always be the master of his actions, and able to act according to his Divine inspirations; but once saddled with another party, it will be difficult for him to retrace his steps, and in any case he will have forfeited the good opinion of the adverse party, much to the prejudice of his reputation if matters go wrong, and certainly will have endured much anxiety and spent enormous sums.'

The Holy Father was of his opinion, but did not say a word respecting the negotiations which were being carried on. He told Badoer what he had heard from France and from Flanders. All was wrong in Spain. The Nuncio at Cologne had written to say that the army of the Duke of Parma was not paid, that sedition had appeared in the ranks, that the general had much to do to maintain himself in the Netherlands, and, 'that being the case,' added the Pope, 'they speak of the armies which they are to send to France. They would like to conquer the world, and are not capable of taking

Cambrai. An attempt to re-victual Paris had failed. The convoys, the troops, the artillery, all had fallen into the enemy's hands. The King of Navarre wrote to Luxemburg that he occupied the bridges of Charenton and of St. Cloud, and that the Parisians were reduced to fasting. The Legate had shut himself up in Paris, and was eating grass like a pig: he only has what he deserves. He tries to excite the people to resist; but, when Mayenne is next defeated, they will think more of their interests than of the Legate's exhortations.' That audience left a hope in the ambassador that the treaty would not be signed.

A fortnight after, on the 28th of July, just at the most critical moment, Badoer found the language of the Pope much more explicit. His resolution was evidently taken. He would not sign the convention. 'We will not,' he said, 'enter into an agreement with Spain; but we must do something for France. We shall follow the example of three of our predecessors. We shall not do anything without informing the Republic, in order that, should it suit them, they may advise and support us. We do not wish to oblige the Republic to do so; but it will be enough for us to learn that the Government of Venice have said: "The Pope has done well." In fact we want to re-establish peace in France without pandering to the passions of others.' The ambassador, who felt much re-assured, bowed and said nothing. 'We think,' continued the Pope, 'that it is better to work for the good of France, rather than join any other Power. That will spare us much anxiety and much expense. If necessary, we shall come

to the rescue of the elected king, without troubling anyone.' But who was that future king in the Pope's mind? asked the ambassador of himself. He tried to find out. 'But, Holy Father,' said he, 'it will not be easy to get rid of Navarre, powerful and victorious as he is; and if he became a Catholic what would your Holiness do?' 'We are not likely to exclude him more than others,' rejoined the Pope, 'and certainly if he becomes a Catholic, he will be elected, and be the master of that kingdom, and no one can oppose him. But you will soon know all; meanwhile write what we have told you.'

The Congregation of France had finished its examination of the question as to the succession to the throne of France. After listening to the several opinions expressed, the Holy Father gave his own. 'I have maturely considered,' said he, 'the opinions of the cardinals, and after a careful examination of them I have arrived at the decision that I shall send two cardinals, the one Monsignor Seraphino, to the princes of the blood, to the prelates, and to the nobility of the kingdom of France; and the other, Monsignor Borghese, to the towns and other places belonging to the League, there to invite everyone to assemble within a certain time for the purpose of electing a Catholic king. Both prelates are to strive their utmost so that the votes of all may fall upon one candidate only.' The king thus elected might depend upon the support of the Holy See, the Pope being resolved to help him by every temporal or spiritual means in his power. He then asked the opinion of the cardinals.

Santa Severina spoke first, and said that His Holiness would do as he pleased; but that, for himself, he could never approve the mission of a Papal agent to the Court of a heretic. The anger of the Pope got the better of him, and a violent discussion ensued. The opinions of the other members of the Congregation were divided, but it was finally agreed that a memorandum of the proceedings should be drawn up and communicated to the Spanish ambassadors. That document was to start on the principle that the wish of His Holiness and that of the King were identical, namely, to give to France a Catholic king, and then to show that the means adopted by the Congregation were justified by precedents. It was lastly resolved upon, for the justification of the Pope himself, that the memorandum should be sent to all the Christian princes.

The ambassadors did not wait for the official communication of a resolution which evidently aimed at accelerating the conversion and election of Henry. By dint of pressing requests, and notwithstanding the excuses of the Pope for not receiving them, and the great heat, which he put forward as a pretext for declining their hateful visits, they contrived to have an audience. It was on the 7th of August. When the Pope saw them coming in, he at once spoke to them, and indulged in interminable repetitions respecting the state of affairs in France, the successes of Henry, the mistakes of Mayenne, and the unwarrantable conduct of the Legate. Those who have treated matters of

the kind know what efforts are necessary not to be dismayed by the calculated prolixity of the adversary, which rather tends to make the other lose his presence of mind than to disguise his own thoughts. The two Spanish ambassadors listened quietly and patiently. At last an explanation was necessary, and the Pope told them that before sending troops he had decided on sending prelates. Count Olivarès asked him whether it was true, as it was rumoured, that Monsignor Seraphino was to be one of the delegates to Henry of Navarre. 'And if it were true,' exclaimed the Pope, 'what would be the consequences?' The Duke of Sessa asked what advantages the Pope intended to derive from this mission. 'We are not bound to tell you our secrets,' was the reply. The Duke, who was for ever interrupted by the Pope's angry remarks, replied that 'it was not a question of a secret, but of matters known to everyone, of news that was spread about the streets; and that the mission of a pontifical agent to an heretical prince was a scandal, a bad means of detaching from his cause his Catholic followers, and a cruel offence to the King of Spain, since, after offering to send an army to France, the Holy Father merely sent an embassy. In fact,' he added, 'if Monsignor Seraphino leaves for the camp of Bearn, both he and the Count would write to their King that they had nothing more to expect of His Holiness.' Sixtus exclaimed that they had come to insult him in his own closet; that the King was a good prince, but that his ambassadors falsified his intentions. 'How do you know,' asked the Pope, 'that His Majesty will take it

ill if I act as I propose? We are not the slaves of the King, and obliged always to do his will, or to render him an account of our actions. We are the Spiritual Father, and it does not behove the children to give him advice when he has not asked for it. When, shortly after our election, we dismissed the French ambassador, when we published the monitory against the Very Christian King because he had killed a cardinal, we did not act after His Majesty's advice, but of our own free will; and you who wear swords—you pretend to know more of theology than we who have taken our degrees in theology, in medicine, and other faculties! By what right do you come and threaten us? Because of rumours that you have heard in the streets? Why, after all, did you come to Rome? You were announced in December last only, and now already you want to compel us. It would have been better for you not to have come. What prevented the King from prosecuting the war? What has he done in France? Nothing important.' Here the ambassadors put forward the merits of their sovereign, but the Pope interrupted them. 'The Catholics of France,' he said, 'have been victorious up to the moment when the King allied himself to Mayenne. From that time their reverses begin, and God grant similar disasters may not occur in Spain.' At last he offered to delay the mission of Monsignor Seraphino until he should have received later news from Paris.[1] The ambassadors took leave, and were convinced that he intended to

[1] On August 18 the Pope told the story of this audience to Badoer, who then saw him for the last time.

profit by their violent language to break altogether with Spain.[1]

In the Congregation which took place immediately after that stormy audience, the Holy Father complained of the behaviour of Sessa and Olivarès; and Cardinals Santa Severina and Facchinetti then hastened to the former to beg of them to let the Pope have his own way. To insist further in their opinion would only confirm him more and more in his determination to give up the expedition to France.

The mission of the Duke of Sessa had evidently failed. The ambassadors themselves were not mistaken on this point.[2] 'The Duke,' wrote Olivarès to Ydiaquez, 'has shown himself as adroit as could be desired, but his embassy has had no result.' This failure he attributed to the gentleness recommended by the King, while in his mind it was fear, and fear only, that could have broken the opposition of the Pope.[3] Besides, Olivarès was disgusted with his duties. The small satisfaction which he derived from the Duke's want of success was counterbalanced by his devotion to the King. The part of wise mentor to the young Duke which he was made to play did not suit him, and he begged his friend, the Secretary of State, to express to their master how much he regretted that he should be removed from the number of those who were looked upon as having deserved well of His Majesty.

Both he and the Duke did not cease, however, to

[1] Sessa to Philip II., August 7, 1590.
[2] Olivarès to Ydiaquez, August 19, 1590.
[3] 'La via del rigor.'

beset the old Pontiff, who was daily getting more ill, but who was not yet broken, and fought bravely against fever, and against Philip's representatives, the sight of whom filled him no longer with fear, but with disgust and anger. Curiously enough in the last days of his life, from the time when he had the courage to let the messenger of Olivarès go off with the unsigned convention, he had got back all the energy of his character, and was resolved no longer to allow himself to be alarmed. He hoped from day to day to hear of the surrender of Paris. He trusted to accomplished facts which time would bring about; for time, as everyone felt, was favourable to the cause of Henry, which was that of France, and at the same time that also of the Papacy. 'They will kill us,' he said to Badoer,[1] a fortnight before his death; 'they will not let us live, those Spaniards, and they wish to tell us what we have to do, but we do not want their teaching. We shall send troops to France, but not now, and not with Spain, but to uphold the Catholic prince that shall have been elected King of France, and meanwhile we shall send prelates there.'

On Sunday, the 19th, Olivarès and Sessa came to the Vatican. Sixtus was very ill; and, to revenge himself, he obliged them to leave their cool residence of Urbino in the middle of the day, to ascend to the Quirinal, where he resided in the summer. That audience lasted but a few minutes. The ambassadors pressed their demands, protested against the mission of Mon-

[1] August 11, 1590.

signor Seraphino, and insisted on his levying troops according to the engagement he had, 'as it were,' taken.[1] The Pope got angry, and made use of very harsh expressions; and when they declared that, if he again treated them thus, they would never again present themselves before him, he said that they might at once leave the room, which they did, never again to see him. On the 21st Sixtus V. called the Congregation of France, renewed his complaints[2] against the representatives of Philip, and asked whether the prelates were or were not to start on their mission to France. The cardinals advised that their departure should be delayed, in order not to appear to have acted out of spite, as well as out of regard for His Catholic Majesty. His Holiness agreed, and got calmer, for at that moment nothing served his purpose so well as delay.[3]

[1] The Pope gave these details himself to Graziosi, the agent of the Duke of Urbino.—'Relacion de lo que pasó con Gracioso, agente del Duque de Urbino' (Monday, August 20, 1590), addressed to the Duke of Sessa.

[2] Sessa to Philip II., August 22, 1590; with the Report of the Proceedings of the Congregation of France, by Cardinal d'Aragon. Simancas.

[3] Badoer to the Doge, August 28, 1590. 'Forse perchè la dilatione fa più a proposito della sua intentione d'ogni altra cosa.' Venice.

PART THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER I.

DEATH OF THE POPE.

We have reached the end of these long and painful perplexities. Sixtus V. came out victoriously. His mind was made up. Everybody understood it. The Papacy was not to be the instrument of political ambition. It would lend its ecclesiastical powers and its treasures hoarded in Fort St. Angelo neither to Philip nor to the League. It would serve the cause of religion, which is, at the same time, that of society. France was to remain Catholic, and not to disappear from the map of Europe. The European equilibrium was to be maintained. It was the end of the crisis which for eighteen months had kept the world in suspense. It was the Pope's final word. His task was done. He had now only to die.

Since the spring, since that terrible month of March which had been spent in incessant discussion with Philip's ambassador, his health had visibly declined.[1]

[1] Badoer's various correspondence with the Doge, 1590. Nicolini to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, May 11, 1590. Olivarès to Philip, April 27, 1590.

A catarrhal fever, of which proper care had not been taken, assumed an intermittent character. Was it tertian or quartan fever? No one knew; for he obstinately refused to have his pulse felt, and instead of following the diet prescribed in such cases, he did as many of the peasantry do in Italy, he tried to drown the fever in a few extra glasses of wine. At first, reliance was placed upon the strong constitution of the patient; but his state soon gave cause for great anxiety.[1] On the day of the Ascension, he was seized, during mass at St. Peter's, with an attack of fever. His sick look was noticed; his weakness was perceived.[2] When the great heats of July and August came on, these attacks became more frequent, of longer duration, and more violent in character. He had an attack while speaking of the affairs of Poland in a public Consistory; another when presiding over the Congregation of France; others when he gave audiences to the ambassadors. He was with difficulty prevailed upon to lie in a bed for a few days. His strong nature, coupled with his great energy, struggled against the disease; but he seemed himself to feel that his days were

[1] 'Por haversele renovado á S. S. un terribilísimo catarro que en otra compleccion se pudiese tener por sospechoso, pero en contrapeso de la buena que Su Santidad tiene hace grandes desordenes y bebe mas cantidad de la que bebia cuando estubo sin él, y no quiere haverse ningun remedio. Con todo esto no ha tenido hasta agora calentura que se sepa, porque él no quiere dar el pulso á medico.'—Olivarès to Philip II., April 27, 1590. Arch. Simancas, S. de E. Rome, Leg. 956.

[2] 'Con gran flaqueza, caimiento y melancolia, y á la misa es cierto que tubo gran calentura, y le ardian mucho las manos. No sé, acabado este ardor, si es erratica o cuartana, porque ha despedido los medicos y quedádose con el suyo ordinario, y de aquel hace lo que le parece. Tiene con gran miedo á los suyos ver que con haberle venido evacuacion natural de sangre, en lugar de mejorar ha empeorado.'—Olivarès to Philip II., 1590.

numbered. On August 13 he held his last Consistory. The allocution, which he made, while it touched upon several subjects, was like an historical summary of his pontificate, as an adieu to his cardinals. After proposing Cardinal Alessandrino for the church of Vercelli, he said: 'As Jesus Christ shared the good and the evil days with His Apostles, so he, His vicar upon earth, made it his duty to communicate to his cardinals both his rejoicings and his afflictions. He had that day three announcements to make to them. The first was a very happy one—viz., the conversion of the Margrave of Baden, respecting which he entered into many details. He then told them of other causes for rejoicing, such as the taking of three corsairs by his galleys, 'the first success of his navy, which was evidently favoured by Providence, since he had created it only for the purpose of sweeping the pirates from off the seas, and not to molest any Christian prince.'

After this good news came the bad news: the licence indulged in by Spanish preachers, the sermon of the Jesuit father who had dared to accuse the Pope of favouring the heretics. He spoke at length upon that subject, and pointed out that it was in Madrid, at the Catholic Court of so Christian a prince, that such a scandal had taken place. But he depended upon the help of Providence, who would protect him, the Church, and his States, which at that time were much tried, in consequence of a bad harvest. If, however, the Pope's granaries were empty, his coffers were full of gold; and he proposed to the Congregation to

appropriate a sum of 500,000 ducats to the relief of his distressed subjects. He was happy to be able to give easily such important sums, but still more so, by so doing, to convince the world that he had hoarded up these treasures only in order to have the means, in times of distress, of helping his subjects, and not with the view of waging war.

The misery of the people and the famine of 1590 were not the only evils that, in those last days of his life, arose to cloud the brilliancy of his reign, and to give a terrible denial to the proud words which, on his accession, he had addressed to the municipal authorities of Rome, when he promised that during his pontificate they should never lack abundance. The banditti likewise reappeared:[1] Piccolomini in Tuscany, others on the frontiers of the Papal States. During the last days which preceded the death of the Pope, brigands were seen even at the gates of Rome. Ottavio Cesi was sent in pursuit of them, but he was obliged to return, his soldiers having refused to fight. This bad news had been at first concealed from the Pope: when he heard it he experienced the deepest affliction, and at once ordered most strenuous measures.

But he was near his end. On Sunday, the 19th, he had received the Spanish ambassadors. The emotions of that interview caused him a restless night. On the Monday he had an attack of fever. On the following Tuesday morning he convoked (for the last time) the

[1] Badoer, Olivarès, 1590. *Avvisi*, July 4 and 18, and August 4, 1590.

Congregation of France;[1] complained, as usual, of the Spaniards; and said that Philip, who intended to have himself proclaimed God, would meet with the fate of Nebuchadnezzar; and hoped that Henry might be converted. Seraphino, he said, would be made a cardinal if he succeeded in making him recant; and then, in answer to a question of the Cardinal of Aragon, he asserted that he would not recognise Henry as king. His speech was the confused, incoherent, and contradictory language of a man who is a prey to an attack of fever. When the Congregation was over, and towards the end of the day, the Pope had a crisis which might, it was feared, prove fatal. Doctors were hastily called in. Towards 2 in the night (10 o'clock), the attack came on with great violence. Cardinal Aldobrandini, who, as 'datario,' lodged near the Quirinal, arrived in all haste; and for two hours the Pope seemed as if he were about to leave this earth. Notwithstanding all the supplications of the doctors, he got up the next morning, and dined off a melon and a few glasses of wine. He then transacted business for a long time, as was his wont, with Aldobrandini, with the Governor of Rome, and other people. On Thursday the 23rd, though very weak, he got up, said mass, and presided during four hours over the Congregation of the Inquisition. Towards the end of the day there came on another attack. On Friday, the 24th, he found himself obliged to put off the audience which he was to give that day to

[1] Sessa to Philip II., August 22, 1590. 'Relacion del Cardenal Aragon de lo que pasó en la congregacion de Francia, Mártes, 21 de Agosto de 1590.' Badoer, August 25, 1590.

the diplomatic agents at Rome. The doctors declared that the fever was of a continuous nature, coupled with an intermittent character. They deemed the state of His Holiness to be dangerous, rather on account of the impossibility of making him follow any diet, than of the gravity of the malady from which he was suffering. In transmitting the bulletins to the Doge, Badoer added: 'May it please God, in these days of great calamity, to preserve the life of this good and wise Pope, who is so anxious for the peace and prosperity of that poor kingdom of France.'

The Pope's old friend and private 'cameriere' took care of him. 'If,' he wrote to Monsignor Usimbardi, 'he would obey the doctors, he would soon get well; but if not, not. This evening he will be told so crudely. He will be informed of the state in which he is, and I have to break the ice, for no one else will dare to do it; but your Sangaletto is a martyr when it is a question of serving His Holiness.'

On Sunday, the 26th, he suffered greatly. The Pope allowed the physicians to do as they pleased. His strength was rapidly declining. Mass was said in his room, and Donna Camilla, entering without being announced, embraced her brother, and remained crying near his bedside for many hours. On the following morning, Monday, August 27, after spending a restless night, he asked to hear mass. During the elevation of the host, he tried to kneel, which he could only do with the aid of Sangaletto. Towards twelve he fell into a swoon: at one time it was thought that he was dead, and Donna Camilla, Cardinals Gius-

tiniani, Pinelli, Aldobrandini, and his confessor were called in all haste. Young Montalto, who was heart-broken, fell to the ground. The attacks were several times renewed. At intervals the sick man rallied, groaned, and opened his eyes, to shut them immediately after. They administered to him the sacrament of the extreme unction, and at seven in the evening, while a violent thunderstorm was breaking over Rome, Pope Sixtus the Fifth breathed his last.[1]

[1] Sangaletto to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, August 27, 1590. It is the letter of a man who has lost his head under the weight of his responsibility, and who was frightened because he had not warned the Pope in time of his dangerous state, and left him to die without the sacraments. At the end of his letter, which he closed a few minutes before the Pope's death, it is said that His Holiness had confessed at 6 o'clock, but that it was impossible to give him the communion. In another letter, of the 29th, he wrote to the Grand-Duke thus: 'That good and holy old man wished to die. He has received every attention, both temporal and spiritual, which he required.' This manner of gliding over the question of the sacraments, which had preoccupied him so much in his former letter, written at the bedside of the dying man, confirms the reports of the Spanish ambassadors, who wrote to the King that the Pope had died without confession, and who would not have asserted the fact if it were not positive. We should not notice the circumstance if Olivarès and Sessa had not profited by it to satisfy their hatred against the Pope by accusing him of want of piety. Many writers have asserted that Sixtus was poisoned by the Spaniards. Such a fable does not even deserve contradiction, or, rather, is contradicted by the despatches of Badoer and of Sangaletto. Had there been the least suspicion, the least rumour of the kind, neither one nor the other would have remained silent. It is evidently one of the numerous inventions of Gregorio Leti, published seventy-nine years after the Pope's death. Olivarès and Sessa undoubtedly helped to shorten the life of the Pontiff, but not with poison. In an 'avviso' of Rome, August 29, 1590, it is said: 'The illness was so violent, and His Holiness was so lukewarm as regards the salvation of his soul, that he could not finish his confession. . . . . his body has been opened, and found to be in a perfect state (*nettissimo*), from which it is supposed that his illness was caused by an abuse of pure and young wines.' The author of this notice is no friend of Sixtus, and looked upon his death as an act of Divine mercy. Had the rumours of a violent death been spread in Rome, he would have delighted in reporting it.

Ambassadors dispatched their messengers, who had been expecting the great news, one foot in the stirrup. Impressions written hurriedly almost always render faithfully the minds of their authors. Badoer tells briefly to the Doge the last phase and fatal ending of the illness of Sixtus V. 'His family and his friends are in tears,' he adds, 'and all good people are really anxious. This death comes at a most inopportune moment. For me, I mourn over it sincerely, on account of your Serenity; for, notwithstanding the natural severity of His Holiness, and thanks to his very favourable disposition towards the Republic, we could always, with patience and ability, depend upon a good result in every negotiation we had with him.'

All the hatred of Olivarès, and the savage delight which the Pope's death caused him, appear in the few lines which he wrote to Philip. 'The attack was so violent that His Holiness died without confession, and even worse, worse, worse (*peor, peor, peor*): may God be merciful to him!' He already saw him in the deepest recesses of hell. The Duke of Sessa wrote to Ydiaquez: 'This evening, at seven, the Pope died, without confession. There is a cardinal who says that he has not confessed for years. May God welcome him above! He could not have died at a worse moment for his reputation, for he will leave a worse name than any other Pope that has reigned for many years.'

Badoer wrote to the Doge an account of the days that followed the death of Sixtus V. 'Here,' he said, 'there were few signs of mourning. On the contrary, on the following morning, a crowd of gentlemen and

of common people proceeded to the Capitol to pull down the statue of his Holiness. The tumult was with difficulty appeased by the Constable Colonna (the husband of the Pope's grand-niece), who was accompanied by a great many noblemen, and by Mario Sforza, who had been sent thither by the Sacred College. The people were told that for a time the statue should be covered up. It was also resolved that, while henceforth no statue should be raised to a living Pontiff, so neither should any be erected after his death unless he had proved himself worthy of the honour.

'Now, thanks to the wise precautions of the noblemen, matters are quiet. In the first Congregation, Don Michael Peretti, grand-nephew of the late Pope, has been appointed commander of the army, and at the request of Montalto, who wishes to place that family under obligation to him, Duke Onorato Gaetano has been appointed the commander's second. The latter has been charged with the levying with the shortest delay possible two thousand infantry for the defence of Rome. At present the Roman people themselves through their "caporioni" have undertaken that task efficiently.' He adds, that the Pope's measures against the banditti have been modified by the cardinals. 'Besides the three millions of gold scudi which, according to the late Pope's will, cannot be appropriated to any other purpose than to the pressing requirements of the Church,' adds Badoer, 'another million and 150,000 scudi, which were at the disposal of the Pope, have been found in Fort St. Angelo. The latter sums have in the space of an hour been distributed by the

cardinals as follows: 500,000 scudi to the towns of the States; 400,000 scudi to buy corn for Rome; and the other 250,000 scudi to pay the expenses of the Conclave. . . . Cardinal Gaetano is to be confirmed in his post as Legate in France, and to receive a subsidy of 25,000 scudi. That will take place at the request of his family, and still more under the pressure of the Spanish grandees and of the ambassador of the League. Thus in one day everything has been turned upside down.'

Such is the history, told soberly, of the reaction which is wont to begin in the higher as in the lower spheres, whenever pigmies succeed to giants; and, enjoying their new liberty, are desirous of profiting by it, if they can, so as promptly to destroy the works of the man who has ceased to exist. They enjoyed his favours, but his superiority weighed upon them. Now they take their revenge and satisfy their petty rancour, generally to their own hurt, by doing the contrary of what he had done. If, in telling the facts as they took place, the intelligent Venetian diplomatist has no regret to express at this sudden change in favour of Spain and of the League, it is because he knows the Sacred College well. Whoever shall come out of the Conclave as Pope will not, he knows, be a Sixtus V. His favour or his hostility cannot be of much weight in the scale.

The news of the Pope's death was received with unalloyed pleasure both in Spain and in the camp of the League; with indolent sympathy at Prague;[1] with regret

[1] Curzio Picchena, chargé d'affaires of Tuscany, to the Grand-Duke

at Venice; and throughout Europe as an event of the highest importance. Contarini wrote on this subject to the Doge from Madrid, and said: 'The more men reflect over the death of the Pope here, the more they rejoice over it. Everyone speaks of it with much freedom and little respect. It is thought, and some assert loudly, that whosoever may succeed him cannot be more opposed to the policy of this Government, or more hostile to the League of France than was the last Pope.'

The Doge, in the name of the Government of the Republic, addressed letters of condolence, which were couched in warm terms, to the sister and grand-nephew of the deceased Pontiff.

Donna Camilla survived her brother many years, and died at an advanced age in the Cancelleria Palace.

Cardinal Alexander Montalto, who disposed of the numerous faction of his great-uncle's creatures, filled an important part in the Conclaves which resulted in the elections of Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., Clement VIII., Leo XI., and Paul V. No one knew better the sentiments with which each Pope was animated, and no one could turn them to better advantage. He had less mind, however, than heart; and the memory of his charity and his munificence has, under the form of anecdotes, been preserved by popular tradition. When he died, still young, in 1623, every

Ferdinand, September 7, 1590. He was the first to give the news of the Pope's death to the Emperor, as his Majesty was leaving chapel. Rodolph's features changed, but he said nothing.

shop was shut as a sign of mourning. All Rome proceeded to the Cancelleria, and wished to assist at his funeral, which took place at the Church of St. Andrea del Valle, which had been built mostly at his expense.

His brother, Don Michael, had two children of his first wife, the Countess della Somaglia, one of whom was Cardinal Francesco, and the other Donna Maria Felice, who died in 1656. By his second wife, Anna Maria de Cesi, he had no children. His daughter, Maria Felice, married Bernardino Savelli, and gave birth to a daughter and two sons. One was Cardinal Paul, and the other Giulio Savelli, the last descendant of the principal branch of that illustrious family. The daughter, Donna Margarita, married Duke Giuliano, the last of the Cesarini. They had only one daughter, Donna Livia, the heiress of the Cesarini, Savelli, Peretti, Somaglia, Cabrera, and Boadilla. She married Federico Sforza, who took the title of Duke Cesarini Sforza (1673). With his mother's brother, Cardinal Francesco Peretti, who died in the Conclave which elected Alexander VII. (1655), the name of Peretti disappeared. This name was only an adopted one, the family's real name being Damasceni. Giulio, who was the last of the principal branch of the family of Savelli, and the last of the Peretti through his mother, Donna Maria Felice, died on March 5, 1712, almost a ruined man, and obliged to alienate the greater part of the large estates of the two families of which he was the representative. The obligation under which the heirs of Don Michael were of returning to the house of Cesi the marriage portion of his second wife, had

made the first breach in the colossal fortune of the Peretti. The debts incurred by Cardinals Alexander and Francesco Montalto hastened the ruin. When the fortune came into the hands of the Sforza it was so impaired that little of it remained except a few lands that had belonged to Donna Margarita Somaglia, first wife of Michael Peretti.

We must not omit to mention the man who had done so much to enhance the prestige of Sixtus V., and had lived in his intimacy. Domenico Fontana could not escape the effects of the reaction. From the moment of the accession of Clement VIII. he fell into unmerited disgrace. Deprived of his post as pontifical architect of St. Peter's, and ordered to render an account of the expenses of building during the pontificate of his illustrious protector, he left Rome, and at the call of Count Miranda, Viceroy of Naples, accepted the position of royal architect and chief engineer of the kingdom. Under him, as well as under Olivarès, who succeeded Miranda, he executed many works of importance both in the capital and in the provinces. After changing the aspect of Rome, he embellished Naples, and died in that town 'rich in years, in money, and in honours.'[1]

[1] In 1607. Milizia, Architetti, 1785. He straightened the Chiaia and Santa Lucia: built the royal palace and the Museum (Studij); erected the beautiful fountain called the Miranda, and constructed some great hydraulic works in the provinces.

CHAPTER II.

PORTRAIT OF SIXTUS V. AND THE MEN OF HIS TIMES.

WE shall not try to give for the second time the portrait of Sixtus V. He has painted himself by his words, which have been recorded upon the testimony of those to whom they were addressed, and by his acts, which have been told in the official reports written by the principal witnesses. The reader who has had the patience to follow us in this long narrative is able to form his judgment. We shall not impose our own upon him. But we may be allowed to throw a glance back upon the most important portion of the reign of this Pope; that is, upon his intervention in French affairs.

In presence of the events of which France was the theatre, he aimed at two things: the preservation of the Catholic religion, which was seriously compromised, and the maintenance of France in the rank of the first Powers of Europe. He was convinced that if the new creed should be enthroned in France it was all over for some time, nay, perhaps for generations, with the Catholic religion in Europe. Its defenders would succumb in Germany; Italy would be invaded by heresy; Rome would fall. Spain also could scarcely resist the invasion. It is not a supposition of our own;

it is one which he was constantly expressing. In many instances it was reported by ambassadors, by cardinals, by those who approached him; and, what is more, that opinion, or rather that conviction, was shared by everyone. It is met with in both the hostile camps. The one dreads its possible realisation as the greatest of evils; the other calls for it with all possible energy as the complete realisation of all its dearest wishes. Such was the general state of Europe, and so great were already the prestige, power, and influence of France that she was to decide the issue of the crisis. If she embraced the reformed creed, it was said, then the Catholic religion must disappear from the civilized world.

The Catholic religion must therefore be saved in France. But if France was to fall from the rank of a first Power, if she was to become a vassal of Spain, she would undoubtedly remain officially Catholic, but the centre and great focus of the faith would lose its independence, and become the first living at the disposal of the Catholic Kings. The Catholic religion, mortally struck, must then have slowly but inevitably perished. Whether this opinion was a right one or not is not the question. What we have to note, as we have done by numberless quotations, is that for Sixtus V., as well as for the chief personages of his time, the question was an anxious, an incontestable truth.

Here, then, are the conclusions at which those had arrived who were interested in the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and naturally no one was more interested in it than the Head of the Church. Religion

and France must be saved; and if this could not be done, then France must be sacrificed to save religion. It was a hard and extreme alternative, which should be avoided as much as possible, but which must be faced when all other means had failed. When a man is in presence of two dangers, the one imminent and the other far off, it is clear that he will endeavour to avoid the nearest. Such was the state of mind of Sixtus V. as regards France, or rather such was the manner in which he and the rest of Europe understood the dilemma.

What was Philip's policy? We do not intend to examine the personal worth of that prince; we merely attach ourselves to facts and to things. In consequence of the division of the Empire of Charles V. between the two branches of the house of Austria, Spain, that is the Iberian peninsula, the kingdoms, principalities, earldoms, and colonies beyond the sea were placed in a new position under the sceptre of Philip IV.; and it was not long before it became clear that their position was not tenable. That great political act, which had been caused by the natural love of a father for a son, and by a crowd of other reasons of a higher order, became, while it extended the power of Spain, an element of dissolution. The two Flanders, Franche Comté, the Milanese, the kingdom of Naples, which, with the exception of the latter, all lay in the centre of the great European movement, must in future gravitate towards the Iberian peninsula, which that movement could never altogether reach, owing to the character and insular existence of the Castilian population. Moreover, those countries were separated from the

peninsula either by the sea or by France. What was the moral link, what was the community of interests and of traditions, which united them to Spain? There was none whatever. On abdicating, the Emperor, who was ill and disgusted, had made a present to his son of all his States. They were in future mere provinces, or at best Spanish colonies, and to such a fate they would not submit. Had they been given to Ferdinand, their individual existence was guaranteed. They would have become indirectly, not legally but *de facto*, members of the Holy Empire as long as the Hapsburgs should wear the imperial crown. What followed? The Netherlands revolted. An army and the greatest commanders of the age, the blood of Spain and the precious metals of the new world, were required to put down a portion only of the revolted provinces, which were occupied by overwhelming forces. The Milanese presented the aspect of an immense camp. The Neapolitans, who were of a less martial nature, were more easily governed; but even there there were periodical attempts at insurrection. Almost every two or three years a number of people were seen in Rome who had fled from Naples and escaped the scaffold, which was permanently erected, and the prisons, which were crowded. Was it the fault of the Government in Madrid? Partly so, perhaps. The influence of the new religious feeling, which formed so important an element in the Dutch insurrection, must also be taken into account. But the principal cause of these hostile dispositions is, we believe, to be found in the peculiar character of these States, which were formerly

independent, and were now annexed to Spain. This is, however, a question which we could not touch upon without going beyond the limits of our subject. To maintain a power over these countries, and not to lose, either sooner or later, the Transatlantic possessions, two things were necessary in which Spain was wanting—insured communication with Italy and with Flanders, on the one hand, and the dominion of the seas, which Spain had possessed, but which she was fast losing through the growing navy of England. The Spain of Philip, such as his father had made it for him, was either too big or too small.

This explains and even justifies the policy followed by the King; for he had a right, and even it was his duty, to maintain the kingdom in the state in which he had received it, and he could not do so without enlarging it. It was impossible for him to stop. If he advanced, he would be entitled to be called the arbiter of Europe. But if he drew back, Spain would become what we now see it. To insure his communications with the detached members of that body, to preserve New Spain—in other words, to maintain his monarchy—it was necessary for him to have Brittany, so as to recover his dominion of the seas, and to have the supremacy in France, in order to be able to communicate freely with Flanders, with Italy, and with Franche Comté. Such were the incentives of the policy he pursued. This is no mere fancy, for he himself has made them known to us; we know it from his own words, and on this head his contemporaries never

questioned his perfect sincerity. It was only when he gave out religion to be his chief, and indeed his only motive for doing what he did, that they disbelieved him. The reader besides has been able to read his most intimate thoughts, which are laid bare in the series of secret instructions given to his agents, Olivarès, Mendoza, Tarsis. 'I shall in any case,' he said, 'carry out the expedition against Brittany. Brittany belongs to my daughter, the Infanta.' In truth, he needed Brittany. Had he possessed it the Armada would not have perished, and, probably, he would have become the arbiter of the destinies of England. 'If the Duke of Lorraine,' he again said, 'is elected King of France, the duchy of that name must come into the hands of Spain. It will form the means of communication between Burgundy and Flanders; but, in any case, it cannot be annexed to France.' The Duke of Mayenne, who knew the King's mind on this subject, hinted to him that he might receive, as the reward for helping him to be elected, not only Provence, but the Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Brittany. And, as if he wanted to silence his own conscience, he said to himself, 'France not long ago did not possess those provinces, and was already a great kingdom.' Philip, on the other hand, by a course not uncommon in such cases, tried to justify, by moral principles, a conduct which the force of circumstances obliged him to follow. This is the reasoning by which he tried to persuade himself that his pretensions were just. We have more than once seen him declare that he was the arm, the secular

vicar of God upon earth. 'It is my mission,' he said. I must have the power which God has given me; to preserve that power I must have France and the sea.' He was, undoubtedly, the most powerful pillar of the Church; and he was so in the opinion of all the Catholics, as well as in that of Sixtus V. We know it from the Pope himself; for here, we cannot too often repeat it, we confine ourselves to the evidence of contemporary witnesses. On this head the Pope and the King were agreed; only, and this explains the conduct of Sixtus V., Philip saw the salvation of Spain in the possession of France and of the sea alone—that is, in a universal monarchy under his own rule; whereas the Pope considered a universal monarchy to be incompatible with the existence of the Church.

Let us now consider the King of Navarre, one of the three principal characters of that great historical drama. On the election of Sixtus V., France, at least apparently so, was divided into only two camps, the Catholics and the Protestants. If Henry of Navarre was victorious, he would be so at the head of the Huguenots, with auxiliary troops furnished to him by the Queen of England, by Germany, and by Switzerland. His victory would be the final and complete triumph of the new creed. That is what everyone believed; for Europe lived under the *régime* of the principle 'cujus regio ejus religio': subjects followed the religious creed of their sovereigns. In virtue of this maxim, to which in Germany the Augsburg Diet had given the force of a law, England had twice been seen to pass from one religion to another. It might therefore be believed,

and everyone was convinced of it, that at that time Henry's triumph would be equivalent to the total annihilation of the Catholic religion in France.

Thus it was that, shortly after his election, Sixtus fulminated his 'privatory' bull against the King of Navarre. Meanwhile he offered to Henry III. his armed interference. In doing this he was consistent with himself. He pursued his high object, which was to save at the same time both religion and France. But, new as he was then to politics, he made a mistake in his appreciation of men and things. He believed in the possibility of the success of both the Catholic parties, by their own means; which implied an honest but really impossible reconciliation between Henry III. and the League. The murder of the Guises changed the situation. Affairs assumed a new phase, which first brought Philip upon the stage. As long as the League and Henry III. had fought together—in the hope of receiving the help which Sixtus had offered, but which he had not given, owing to the contempt he had conceived for Henry III., and to the little confidence he had in the heads of the League—it was to be hoped, and even it was possible, that the Huguenots might be vanquished without the co-operation of the League. That chance had now vanished. Another fact, of still greater importance, was to be taken into account; and that was the alliance of the two Henrys, and the number of Catholics who had joined the party of the united kings. Some time after the King was assassinated, and Henry of Navarre became the sovereign of a portion of France. What were the elements of his strength? In the first

place he had the Huguenot army, then the suffrages of the national party, of the Catholic-royalists. If he were victorious, as he would undoubtedly be, provided Spain, which was always slow, did not interfere, this is the position in which France would have been: the Huguenot element would predominate, and Catholics would be granted the free exercise of their religion, which would thus fall into the rank of a tolerated creed. Henry might even go so far as to give up Protestantism, but such a conversion would necessarily be feigned. The Catholic religion would not be saved; it would at best be an adjournment of its ruin. It was, therefore, through fear of such a result that the Pope chose the lesser of two evils, that of sacrificing France to save religion. He therefore threw himself into the arms of Spain. He sent Gaetano to the Duke of Mayenne with the instructions with which the reader has been made acquainted; and proposed in Madrid, through Gesualdo, an armed invervention in common with Philip. Judging of French affairs by the light in which he viewed them, he could not do otherwise. To give 'that poor kingdom' a last favourable chance, he intended to keep the whip-hand—that is, the supreme direction in the undertaking—and offered to furnish the largest number of troops, asking, at the same time, that the united forces might be placed under the command of a general of his choice.

Meanwhile in Henry's camp adhesions to his rule came pouring in. From every quarter the Pope heard that the King would recant. The Catholic spirit of the country showed itself with such force that the

conversion of the future sovereign was no longer a useful means of success, but an actual condition of his accession to the throne. France was Catholic, and would remain Catholic. France was a great and independent kingdom, that wished to remain so, and could do so only under the rule of Henry, all the other princes being either foreigners or incapable of reigning; nor could Henry fulfil such a mission except by embracing the faith of the country over which he was to reign. Even in his army the parts were changed. The Huguenots were in a minority. There was a time when Henry commanded Huguenots only, when he had only Protestant allies. Then the Catholic-royalists joined his cause; the two creeds were represented in his camp, where the Huguenot element was in the majority. Then—and this is the last phase—the Huguenots became mere auxiliaries, who were still valuable and were to be considered, but with whom after victory there could in the future be but little reckoning. If Henry triumphed, the Catholic religion must triumph with him. He would scarcely owe anything to his old co-religionists. During the first period Henry's conversion was impossible. During the second, it was probable, but feigned, and therefore inadmissible in the eyes of the Head of the Church. In the last, it had become necessary and inevitable, and imposed upon him by the will of France, over which he was to reign, because he was the only one who could reign. Then why and by what right did the Pope refuse him absolution? It was not all of a sudden, but little by little, that these ideas found their way into the mind of

the Pontiff. When he had got well imbued with them, when events confirmed what his good sense suggested to him, when they justified the reasoning of the Duke of Luxemburg, of Monsignor Seraphino, of Donato, of Badoer, he changed his line of conduct, not his policy, for he had always aimed and still aimed at the same results. The Spanish ambassadors accused him of being influenced by events; and no doubt the successes of Henry—the votes of Catholic France which were daily given to him—did exercise a great influence over the Pope's conduct. He acted as the tactician who directs his operations according to those of the adversary, who changes his line of battle, orders a march and a countermarch, advances or falls back, according to the requirements of the moment, but who pursues the same aim, that of beating the enemy; and the Pope's enemy was the new creed and the ambition of Philip. He therefore tried to get rid of his engagements with Spain, certain as he was that France would now issue from the crisis both Catholic in religion and independent as a nation.

Then begins that long and terrible struggle with the representatives of the son of Charles V., which fills, while it shortens, the remaining period of his life. No one can deny, and everyone is at liberty to appreciate as he pleases, the fact that in this duel he opposed craft to strength, that he made use of the arms which were at his disposal, that he entrenched himself behind his scruples as a Pontiff in order to gain the delay which alone could give the solution he hoped for; just as a woman appeals, as a last resource, to the

weakness of her sex. The truth is that, with many fluctuations and temporary weaknesses, with much heroic courage, he fought for the same cause, which he never deserted, and did so vigorously, constantly, and to the last. The tree that defies the elements, groans and bends beneath the fury of the hurricane, loses its foliage and breaks its branches, but yet resists and stands erect.

Another question remains to be cleared. We have to elucidate the part taken by Sixtus V. in the final solution, the triumph of Henry. We shall not write here history founded on mere conjectures. Everyone knows how difficult it is, even as regards events which have come under our notice, to form an opinion of any value upon possible issues, or to say that such and such a thing might have occurred supposing so and so to have taken place. This time also we shall confine ourselves to quoting the authority of contemporary witnesses. We shall specially call attention to what the most eminent statesmen of the period—the keenest observers, and the best judges in political matters—the Venetian ambassadors, thought on the subject. Badoer and the Senate, which was composed of 'those good old sages' for whom Sixtus V. had so much respect, looked upon the great league between Spain and the Pope, and the simultaneous intervention of a Spanish and Pontifical army, under the supreme direction of the Pope, and under the command of a general chosen by and dependent on him, as the destruction of France. That opinion we adopt without reserve. It is corroborated by that of all the political men of that

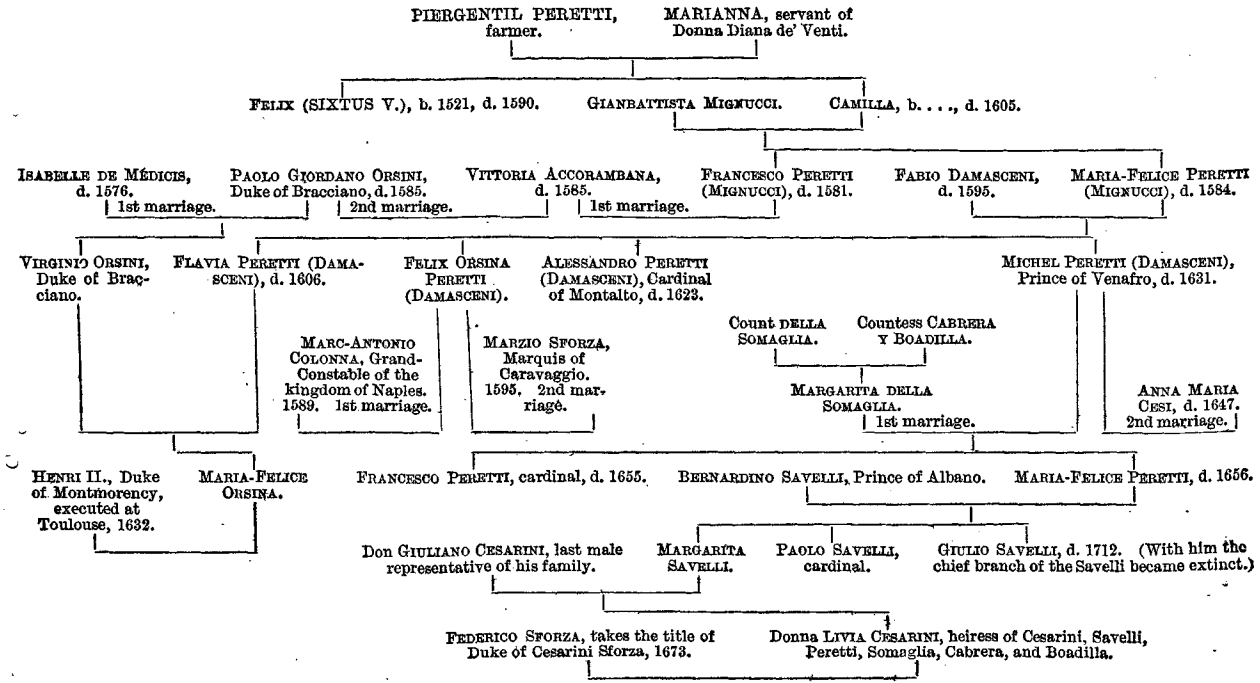
day, and by the facts which then occurred as well as by subsequent events. The Duke of Parma was, it is true, in a critical position. He had rebellion to contend with in the rear and on his flanks, as well as sedition in his ranks; yet he was able to march against Paris, and oblige Henry to raise the siege. The latter had to wait nearly four years before he could enter Paris. When Sixtus V. put his financial and military means (and he had, as he often acknowledged, more money than any other prince) into the scale, with Spain and the League, he might, by pushing operations under the command of a general chosen by himself, and by communicating his energy, his quickness, his constancy to all, as he well knew how to do, have crushed in a few weeks, with 50,000 well-equipped and well-paid men, the weak forces of which Henry could dispose. But, the victory once obtained, when, in the negotiations, the plenipotentiaries of the three allies, the Pope, Philip, and the Duke of Mayenne, would have proceeded to the question of a successor to the throne of France, the influence of the Pope (had he still been alive), however great it might have been during the war, would have faded before the claims of the King of Spain and of the Chief of the League. That is evident, from the engagements into which he had entered, and is confirmed by the opinion of the Venetian ambassador. Sixtus V., after emptying his treasury, which he could only have very slowly filled, would have found himself in the presence of Philip, as he himself said, 'like the fly before the elephant.' To restrain the ambition of his ally he could not have

recourse to spiritual means. He could not excommunicate His Catholic Majesty in order to prevent him from solving the question of succession in the way he pleased, since he had beforehand agreed to recognise as King of France any candidate proposed or favoured by Philip. He had been obliged to make this engagement, because at that time it was a powerful means of obtaining the active, efficacious, and prompt intervention of Spain. This is evident, as we have said, from the position of affairs and from the documents of which we have made known the principal passages. 'The Pope,' says Badoer, 'intends to withdraw later. I fear that he may be mistaken if he joins Spain in a league.' The secret instructions of the King to Mendoza and to Tarsis, as well as the subsequent events, show what the consequences might have been of a victory of Philip and of the Sovereign Pontiff. What would have been the aspect of Europe then? Spain, beyond all doubt, would, either directly or indirectly, have been everywhere the preponderating Power: her dominion would have been impatiently endured, and sooner or later upset. The Papacy would have been humbled; Rome would have been morally transferred to Madrid; the Catholic religion would have been confounded with 'espagnolisme,' and would have run the greatest risk of being carried away in a common ruin, so soon as Spain should succumb under the blows of coalesced Europe; the French people would have been condemned for a long time, before it could become the great and noble nation which it is, to fearful convulsions, perhaps to centuries of struggles and catastrophes, bloodshed and

tears. Such is the dark picture which unfolds itself before our imagination. Happily, Europe has been spared these trials. These contingencies have not arisen. They are phantoms that escape the criticism of the historian and of the politician.

But what may be asserted is that Sixtus the Fifth saved France from incalculable miseries, and has deserved well of the Church and of humanity.

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF PERETTI.


PIERGENTIL PERETTI, farmer.
MARIANNA, servant of Donna Diana de' Venti.
FELIX (SIXTUS V.), b. 1521, d. 1590.
GIANBATTISTA MIGNUCCI.
CAMILLA, b. . . ., d. 1605.
ISABELLE DE MÉDICIS, d. 1576.
1st marriage.
PAOLO GIORDANO ORSINI, Duke of Bracciano, d. 1585.
2nd marriage.
VITTORIA ACCORAMBANA, d. 1585.
1st marriage.
FRANCESCO PERETTI (MIGNUCCI), d. 1581.
FABIO DAMASCENI, d. 1595.
MARIA-FELICE PERETTI (MIGNUCCI), d. 1584.
VIRGINIO ORSINI, Duke of Bracciano.
FLAVIA PERETTI (DAMASCENI), d. 1606.
FELIX ORSINA PERETTI (DAMASCENI).
ALESSANDRO PERETTI (DAMASCENI), Cardinal of Montalto, d. 1623.
MICHEL PERETTI (DAMASCENI), Prince of Venafro, d. 1631.
MARC-ANTONIO COLONNA, Grand-Constable of the kingdom of Naples. 1589. 1st marriage.
MARZIO SFORZA, Marquis of Caravaggio. 1595. 2nd marriage.
Count DELLA SOMAGLIA.
Countess CABRERA Y BOADILLA.
MARGARITA DELLA SOMAGLIA.
1st marriage.
ANNA MARIA CESI, d. 1647.
2nd marriage.
HENRI II., Duke of Montmorency, executed at Toulouse, 1632.
MARIA-FELICE ORSINA.
FRANCESCO PERETTI, cardinal, d. 1655.
BERNARDINO SAVELLI, Prince of Albano.
MARIA-FELICE PERETTI, d. 1656.
Don GIULIANO CESARINI, last male representative of his family.
MARGARITA SAVELLI.
PAOLO SAVELLI, cardinal.
GIULIO SAVELLI, d. 1712. (With him the chief branch of the Savelli became extinct.)
FEDERICO SFORZA, takes the title of Duke of Cesarini Sforza, 1673.
Donna LIVIA CESARINI, heiress of Cesarini, Savelli, Peretti, Somaglia, Cabrera, and Boadilla.

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